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THE WORKS

OF

THOMAS M'CRIE, D.D.

A New Edition

EDITED BY HIS SON

THOMAS M'CRIE, D.D. LL.D.

VOL. III.

THE REFORMATION IN ITALY

THE REFORMATION IN SPAIN

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HISTORY

OF THE

PROGRESS AND SUPPRESSION

OF THE

REFORMATION IN ITALY

IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

INCLUDING A

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN THE GRISONS

BY

THOMAS M'CRIE, D.D.

A NEW EDITION

EDITED BY HIS SON

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
MDCCCLVI

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE PRESENT EDITION.

The History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain was published in October 1829. "More than twenty years have elapsed," the Author says in the Preface, "since I inserted, in a periodical work, a short account of the introduction of the reformed opinions into Spain, and the means employed to extirpate them." The periodical here referred to was the *Christian Magazine*, and in the Numbers for November 1803 and for January 1804 are to be found the sketches to which he refers. In the course of his subsequent reading he was enabled to add very largely to his store of information on this subject, but it was not till twenty-six years had elapsed that he produced the present Work. It is interesting to remark that the Reformation in Spain, which was the first historical subject on which he tried his pen in early life, should have formed the last history which he lived to finish. To penetrate and pour light into the darker corners of ecclesiastical history, to bring out facts over which time had drawn its veil, and characters which were fast fading into oblivion, when these facts were too important to be forgotten, and these characters were worthy of a better fate, was to him at once a pleasure and a passion; and in prosecuting his researches he

was animated much less by the ambition of making a book, than by the interest which he took in the subject, and the delight which he experienced in the task. Writing to a friend, while engaged in this Work, he says: "I have launched out into a sea, by trying to explore the *terra incognita* of the early history of the Spanish Church. I think I have made some discoveries, that is, I flatter myself in this. If you say, Who will care for them? my answer must be in the sublime of Medea, *Egomet.*"

The facts brought to light by the history of the origin, progress, and suppression of the reformed faith in Spain, are even less generally known than those connected with the same history in Italy. But there is now every prospect that the narrative of the sufferings of the martyrs of Spain, so painfully attractive in itself, will derive a vast increase of interest from the changes that are going forward in that long-benighted and ill-fated land. The anticipations in which the Author indulges (p. 165) may not be speedily, but they bid fair to be surely realised: "We are not to conclude that the Spanish martyrs threw away their lives, and spilt their blood in vain. They offered to God a sacrifice of a sweet-smelling savour. Their blood is precious in His sight; He has avenged it, and may yet more signally avenge it. They left their testimony for truth in a country where it had been eminently opposed and outraged. That testimony has not altogether perished. Who knows what effects the record of what they dared and suffered may yet, through the divine blessing, produce upon that unhappy nation, which counted them as the filth and offscouring of all things, but was not worthy of them?"

One promising symptom as regards Spain, which is not to be found in Italy, is that so much has been done of late years

to throw light on this part of its history. Besides the revelations made by Antonio Llorente, of which our Author makes such ample use, the public has been favoured with a work by another native of Spain, containing a minute, and, on the whole, faithful narrative of the same unhappy times.[1] To this, and other similar works, I have been indebted for aid in preparing the Editorial Notes at the close of the volume. But my acknowledgments for assistance in this part of my labours are mainly due to Benjamin B. Wiffen, Esq., near Woburn, Bedfordshire, who has long taken a deep interest in the history of Spain, and for whose kindness in favouring me with notes from his rich stores of information, suggested by reading the present History, I cannot be sufficiently grateful.

THOMAS M'CRIE.

EDINBURGH, *July* 1856.

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[1] "The Spanish Protestants and their Persecution by Philip II.," by Señor Don Adolpho de Castro, an English translation of which made its appearance in 1851, at the same time as the original, the sheets of the work having been forwarded to the translator, Mr Thomas Parker, as they issued from the press at Cadiz.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

The following work is a sequel to that which I lately published on the Reformation in Italy, and completes what I intended as a contribution to the history of that memorable revolution in the sixteenth century, which, in a greater or less degree, affected all the nations of Europe.

More than twenty years have elapsed since I inserted, in a periodical work, a short account of the introduction of the reformed opinions into Spain, and the means employed to extirpate them. The scanty materials from which that sketch was formed have gradually increased in the course of subsequent reading and research. My earliest authority is Reynaldo Gonzalez de Montes, a Protestant refugee from Spain, who in 1567 published at Heidelberg, in Latin, a Detection of the Arts of the Spanish Inquisition, interspersed with anecdotes of his countrymen who had embraced the Protestant faith, and containing an account of such of them as suffered at Seville. That work was immediately translated into English, and underwent two editions, to the last of which is subjoined an account of Protestant martyrs at Valladolid. Another contemporary authority is Cypriano de Valera, who left Spain for the sake of religion about the same time as De Montes, and has given various notices respecting his Protestant countrymen in his writings, particularly in a book on the Pope and the Mass, of which also an English translation was published during the reign of Elizabeth.

These early works, though well known when they first made their appearance, fell into oblivion for a time, together with the interesting details which they furnish. As a proof of this it is only necessary to mention the fact, that the learned Mosheim translated the meagre tract of our countryman Dr Michael Geddes, entitled, The Spanish Protestant Martyrology, and published it in Germany as the best account of that portion of ecclesiastical history with which he was acquainted.

Additional light has been lately thrown on the fate of Protestantism in Spain by the Critical History of the Spanish Inquisition, compiled by Don Juan Antonio Llorente, formerly secretary to the Inquisition at Madrid. Though confusedly written, that work is very valuable, both on account of the new facts which the official situation of the author enabled him to bring forward and also because it verifies, in all the leading features, the picture of that odious tribunal drawn by De Montes and other writers, whose representations were exposed to suspicion on account of their presumed want of information, and the prejudices which, as Protestants, they were supposed to entertain. Llorente was in possession of documents from which I might have derived great advantage ; and it certainly reflects little honour on Protestants, and especially British Protestants, that he received no encouragement to execute the proposal which he made, to publish at large the trials of those who suffered for the reformed religion in his native country.

The other sources from which I have drawn my information, including many valuable Spanish books lately added to the Advocates' Library, will appear in the course of the work itself.

My acknowledgments are due to Dr Friedrich Bialloblotzky, who kindly furnished me, from the University Library of Göttingen, with copious extracts from the dissertation of Büsching, *De Vestigiis Luther-*

anismi in Hispania, a book which I had long sought in vain to procure. For the use of a copy of De Valera's *Dos Tratados, del Papa y de la Missa*, now become very rare, as well as of other Spanish books, I am indebted to the politeness of Samuel R. Block, Esquire, London.

The general prevalence, both among Spaniards and others, of the mistaken notion that the Spanish Church was at an early period dependent on the See of Rome, has induced me to enter into minuter details in the preliminary part of this work than I should otherwise have thought necessary.

EDINBURGH, 23*d October* 1829.

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ADVERTISEMENT TO THE PRESENT EDITION.

In his Preface to the following Work, the Author informs the reader that he had formerly stated his conviction "that the reformed opinions had spread to a much greater extent in Italy than is commonly supposed," and had expressed a wish "that some person who had leisure would pursue the inquiry." This was done in a note which occurs in the Second Edition of the Life of John Knox, but which was expunged in the editions published after he had given to the world his Reformation in Italy. It may be interesting to reprint here the portion of that note to which he refers. After stating that "few comparatively are acquainted with the facts respecting the progress of the Reformation in that country," he adds: "It is foreign to the design of the present Work to enter on this subject, and my object in introducing it here is to express a regret that no account of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy has been given in our language. Many facts relating to it are to be found scattered through the letters of Luther, Calvin, and Peter Martyr; in the Lives of the last-mentioned divine, of Bernardin Ochin, Jerom Zanchy, Emanuel Tremellius, Galeazzo Caraccioli, Marquis of Vico, and of other eminent Italian exiles, either published apart, or in foreign

biographical collections. The most important of these facts were collected by the very learned and laborious Gerdes, and published, after his death, under the title of '*Specimen Italiæ Reformatæ.*' I had once intended drawing up an account from these authorities, but laid aside the design owing to other engagements, and not being able to procure all the information I could have wished; and it will give me great pleasure if these hints shall excite some person to undertake the task who has more leisure, and better access to materials."

The invitation here given by our Author, though accompanied by those hints regarding sources of information, which, with his characteristic generosity, he was always so ready to furnish to his fellow-labourers in the field of history, had not the effect of tempting any to undertake the task; and, after waiting fourteen years, and "hearing of none who was willing to accept the invitation," he published, in 1827, his History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy.

The difficulties inseparably connected with the composition of such a work may be easily estimated by all who consider the multiplicity of independent states into which Italy was then divided, and which have rendered its history, whether civil, literary, or religious, so perplexing to the reader. The Author had to notice consecutively, and under so many distinct heads, the rise, the progress, and the suppression of the reformed opinions in no less than twenty-five different states, and to give accounts of a vast number of different characters, who were more or less distinguished in these states. The difficulty of arranging the facts illustrative of these periods and persons, must have been enhanced by the absence of any single hero, like Knox or Melville, to give unity and cohesion

to the narrative. One of his reviewers has complained that "we meet with the *disjecta membra heroum,* which we are obliged to combine into a whole, as well as we can, by the help of an imperfect index;"[1] and he suggests that, "where a number of persons are to be presented, of whom no one takes a leading part, and the accounts of whom amount, after all, only to detached notices, the Author's judgment and address should be shown in selecting the proper places at which to introduce the substance of the entire information which he has to offer concerning them respectively in their rise, their period of service, and their close." None was more sensible of "the unconnected anecdotical form" of the History, as he termed it, than the Author himself; and "it is easy to see," as his reviewer observes, "how he had fallen into this mismanagement, which divides, and thus weakens the impression of his sketches." But it is not so easy to see how it could have been remedied. We cannot help regretting that the scattered notices of such characters as Curio, Carnesecchi, Paleario, Ochino, and Olympia Morata, had not been presented as connected episodes; but it was not possible to treat of the rise, progress, and issue of the Reformation, in the respective places where they flourished, without noticing, at the same time, the men who were so closely associated with these different eras, and very difficult to separate the information regarding the former from the history of the latter.

From the History, as it stands, it would be easy, no doubt, to compose a series of monographs; and attempts of this kind have not been wanting. We might refer, particularly, to a Life of Olympia Morata, by the accomplished authoress of

[1] The reader will observe that, in the present edition, a new and more useful index has been substituted for the one above referred to.

"Selwyn," "Tales of the Moors," &c., who remarks in her Preface: "The author of these pages knows not how the discovery may have affected others more learned, more callous, or more philosophical than herself; but it was with a sense of strange and spirit-stirring emotion that she first gathered, from the valuable work of her countryman Dr M'Crie, how bright though brief a ray the beacon-light of the blessed Reformation once shed over now, alas! universally benighted Italy." Another work on the same subject, with higher literary pretensions, has more recently appeared from the pen of M. Jules Bonnet, the learned and indefatigable collector and editor of Calvin's Letters. It is entitled, "Vie d'Olympia Morata, Episode de la Renaissance et de la Réforme en Italie. Paris, 1850." This beautiful monograph, which is drawn up in the best spirit of enlightened Protestantism, brings to light several new facts connected with the heroine of the Italian Reformation, and the general history of her times.

The "Reformation in Italy" has excited considerable interest on the Continent. It has been translated into French, Dutch, German, and Italian. The French translation was published anonymously at Paris in 1831. It is taken, therefore, from the first edition, and the version is elegant, and on the whole faithful. The author of the Dutch translation is the Rev. William Nicholas Munting, one of the ministers of Leyden, who has also translated our Author's "History of the Reformation in Spain," and added valuable notes to both of his versions, chiefly, however, illustrative of literary works connected with Holland. I may add, on the authority of the Rev. Dr Steven, author of the History of the Scotch Church in Rotterdam, &c., that M. Munting has discharged his task as translator with much ability, and that the work has been favourably received

by his countrymen, having passed through two editions. The German translation appeared in 1836, with notes and a preface, by MM. Plieninger and Bauer, and was published at Stuttgardt. The Italian translation was published in Paris by Baudry in 1835. The name of the Italian translator is not given; but I understand the translation is so very bad that it verifies the Italian proverb, "Traduttori traditori." It has been proposed by some friends of the cause of evangelical truth in Italy to revise this version, with the view of publishing a new edition.

The circulation of such a work, especially in the language of the natives of Italy, has, as might be expected, roused the jealousy of the Court of Rome. Accordingly, in the Index of Prohibited Books, by command of Pope Gregory XVI., under the decree of 22d September 1836, the Italian version of Dr M'Crie's Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy, takes its place with other criminals. It stands thus, with a mistake in the name, in the original:—

"Macerie, Thomas, Istoria del Progresso, e dell' estinzione della Reforma in Italia nel secolo sedicesimo, tradotta dell' Inglese." P. 235.

In the famous Encyclical Letter, published by the same pontiff on the 8th May 1844, against the Bible Society and the Christian Alliance, our Author's work is again denounced in the goodly company of the Bible and the History of the Reformation by Dr Merle d'Aubigné, though in such a blundering style, that it is hard to say whether the censor had ever seen the book which he denounced. "They employ all means," says this document, "for conveying their Bibles even to the gates of Rome, by the hands of persons gathered from all parts of

the earth, who distribute with them, in order to alienate the minds of the readers from their obedience to this Holy See, the most detestable books and libels, either composed by Italians, or translated from other authors; among which they particularly recommend the *History of the Reformation* by Merle d'Aubigné, and *Memoirs of the Reform in Italy* by Jean Cric!"

This style of denunciation, however well it may have suited those times when the Court of Rome had the power of burning the book and its author at the same pile, serves no other purpose now than to indicate those books, from the disclosures of which the Romish Church feels that she has most to dread. Viewed in this light, the insertion of this Work in the Index Expurgatorius will be regarded by all, save the advocates of Romish intolerance, as one of its best recommendations; and the tone of vituperation with which it is mentioned, instead of being reverenced as a solemn judgment from the bench of authority, can only remind us of the impotent rage of the prisoner in the dock, who contents himself with loudly protesting his innocence in the face of all proof, and hurling maledictions on the witnesses who depone against him.

It is needless to advert to the stirring events which have of late imparted so much additional interest to the following pages,—the incipient struggles for freedom in Rome and other Italian States, the liberal policy adopted in Piedmont, the religious emancipation of the Vaudois, and the intimate relations into which we have been brought with Sardinia. Everything betokens the near approach of a time when important changes may be expected in that rich and beautiful, but much

oppressed and benighted land; and few works of the present day promise to bear more directly on the future of Italy than that which is now presented in a more accessible form to the British public.

The History of the Reformation in Italy was a favourite with the Author; it was almost untrodden ground; at every step of his progress he was shedding light on a region little known, and the native productions of which were as rare as they were intrinsically valuable and interesting. And as yet the field is all his own. A modern periodical (the *Eco di Savonarola*) has directed public attention occasionally to the history of the Italian martyrs; and something has been done of late to illustrate the writings and characters of those that distinguished themselves in the attempted evangelisation of Italy. But it is remarkable that, with the literary treasures within their reach, and the learned leisure which they enjoy, our English literati should have done little more as yet beyond showing their antiquarian lore in the publication of rare editions of their writings, and dealing profoundly with the minutiæ of their history; while the only work of standard merit on the Reformation in Italy—"the one book on the subject," as it is termed by an Italian correspondent—has been the production of a Scottish minister, whose time was so occupied by other pursuits, which he held to be of paramount importance, that the wonder must be how he could have contrived to collect, condense, and arrange in such an interesting narrative, the mass of information which it contains.

This work has already passed through two editions, the last having been considerably enlarged. The present edition is

enriched with a portrait of Savonarola, who occupies such a distinguished niche among the many good and great men that have carried their protest against the corruptions of Rome to the gates of the seven-hilled city, and sealed that protest with their blood.

THOMAS M'CRIE.

EDINBURGH, *June* 1856.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

A CONSIDERABLE number of years has elapsed since I was convinced that the reformed opinions had spread to a much greater extent in Italy than is commonly supposed. This conviction I took an opportunity of making public, and, at the same time, expressed a wish that some person who had leisure would pursue the inquiry, and fill up what I considered as a blank in the History of the Reformation. Hearing of none who was willing to accept the invitation, I lately resolved to arrange the materials relating to the subject which had occurred to me in the course of my reading, with the addition of such facts as could be discovered by a more careful search into the most probable sources of information.

To some of the quarters from which the most interesting information might be expected, I entertained no hope of finding access; nor shall I inquire at present why the late revolutions which have led to the disclosure of the mysteries of the Spanish should have sealed up those of the Roman Inquisition.

Unfortunately, none of the Italian Protestants in the sixteenth century thought of recording the facts connected with the religious movement which issued in their expulsion from their native country; a task which was not altogether neglected by those who were driven from Spain for their attachment to the same cause. On the other hand,

writers of the Roman Catholic persuasion appear to have agreed, from an early period, to pass over a subject at once dangerous to themselves and ungrateful to their countrymen; or, if they did touch it, to represent any agitation which took place as exceedingly slight and transient, and as produced by a few individuals of no note or consideration, who had suffered themselves to be led astray by fondness for novelty. Facts which contradicted this representation were indeed to be found in writings composed during the struggle, but these were afterwards carefully suppressed; and the *Index Expurgatorius* of Rome was itself reformed, with the view of preventing it from being known that certain names had once been branded with the stigma of heresy. In these circumstances, the modern historian, if he does not choose to rest in general statements, must have recourse to the tedious process of examining the epistolary correspondence of those who lived in that age, the memoirs of private individuals, and dedications and prefaces to books on various subjects; while, at the same time, he must carefully ascertain that the editions which he consults are original, or at least unmutilated.

The labour attending this task has been in no small degree lightened by the numerous and valuable collections relating to literary and ecclesiastical history which John George Schelhorn, the learned superintendent and librarian of Memmingen, published in Latin and in his native tongue, during the first half of the eighteenth century. Some of his statements respecting the progress which the Reformation had made in Italy brought forward Cardinal Quirini, the honorary and learned keeper of the Vatican Library; and as is usual in such cases, truth was elicited from the controversy which ensued. In 1765, the *Specimen Italiæ Reformatæ* of Daniel Gerdes, well known by his general History of the Reformation, made its appearance, in which that indefatigable writer collected all the facts which he had met with connected with that subject. This work is scarcely known in Britain, and has not, so far as I have observed, been mentioned by any of our writers. Though

labouring under the defects of a posthumous publication, it is of great utility, and has induced later Italian writers to bring forward facts which they might otherwise, like their predecessors, have passed unnoticed. Had I seen this work earlier, it might have saved me much trouble; but I do not regret the circumstance of its having come so late into my hands, as I was led, in the absence of such a help, to make researches which I would have been tempted to decline, but which have enabled me to supply in part its defects, and to correct some of the mistakes into which its author had inadvertently fallen.

The *Historia Reformationis Rœticarum Ecclesiarum*, by Rosius de Porta, has furnished me with a number of important facts respecting the Italian refugees. To throw light on the settlements which they formed in the Grisons, I have given a sketch of the history of the Reformation in that country, which I trust will not be unacceptable to the reader.

It has not been in my power to procure several Italian works, which, I have reason to think, would have helped to illustrate parts of my subject. Some of the most curious and valuable of those quoted in the following pages I had the opportunity of examining in Holland, and particularly in the library of the venerable Mons. Chevalier, one of the pastors of the French church in Amsterdam, whose uncommon politeness I have to acknowledge, in not only allowing me the freest use of his books, but also in transmitting to me a number of extracts which I had not time to make during my short stay in that city.

Amidst such a multiplicity of facts, as to many of which I had not the advantage arising from a comparison of different authorities, I do not flatter myself that, with all my care, I have kept free from mistakes; and shall feel obliged to any one who shall put it in my power to correct the errors which I may have committed.

It was my intention, even after the Work went to the press, to include in this volume an account of the progress and suppression of the Reformation in Spain. This I have found impracticable, and accordingly have reserved that part of my undertaking for a separate publication. I regret this delay the less, that it will enable me to avail myself of an extensive collection of Spanish books which has been lately purchased by the Faculty of Advocates.

EDINBURGH, *4th May* 1827.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

The interest, perhaps partial, which I feel in the subject of the following Work, has led me to take more pains in preparing this edition for the press than many readers may think to have been necessary. In the introductory chapter, a fuller account has been given of the state of religion in Italy before the Reformation. From books to which I have had access since the first edition was submitted to the public, I have been enabled to bring forward several new and not unimportant facts as to the progress of the reformed doctrine and the treatment of its friends, especially within the states of Tuscany and Modena. And a number of interesting papers will be found added to the Appendix.

EDINBURGH, *20th June* 1833.

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HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION IN ITALY.

CHAPTER I.

STATE OF RELIGION IN ITALY BEFORE THE ERA OF THE REFORMATION.

It is an undoubted fact, though it may appear improbable to those who are imperfectly acquainted with ecclesiastical history, that the supremacy claimed by the bishops of Rome was resisted in Italy after it had been submitted to by the most remote churches of the West. The diocese of Italy, of which Milan was the capital, remained long independent of Rome, and practised a different ritual, according to what was called the Ambrosian Liturgy. It was not till the eleventh century that the popes succeeded in establishing their authority at Milan, and prevailed on the bishops of that see to procure the archi-episcopal pall from Rome. When this was first proposed, it excited great indignation on the part of the people, as well as of the clergy, who maintained that the Ambrosian church had been always independent; that the Roman pontiff had no right to judge in its affairs; and that, without incurring disgrace, they could not subject to a foreign yoke that see which had preserved its freedom during so many ages.[1]

During the pontificate of Nicolas II. the papal claims were strenuously resisted by Guido, archbishop of Milan.[2] And, in the year 1074, when Gregory VII., the noted Hildebrand, issued his decree against the marriage of the clergy, the Milanese ecclesiastics rejected it, branded the pope and his adherents as heretics, and were prevented from making formal separation from the church of Rome only by the arms of Estembald.[3]

[1] Petri Damiani Opusc. p. 5. The archbishop of Milan having consulted Roboald, bishop of Alva, the latter replied, that "he would sooner have his nose slit," than advise him to comply with the demand of pope Honorius—"quod prius sustineret nasum suum sciudi usque ad oculos, quam daret sibi consilium ut susciperet Romæ stolam," &c. Ughelli Italia Sacra, tom. iv. p. 189.

[2] Landulphi Seu. Hist. Mediolan. l. ii. c. 35. Arnulphi, Hist. Mediolan, l. iii. c. 12. Muratori, Script. Rer. Ital. tom. iv.

[3] Arnulphi, l. iv. c. 6, 9, 10.

As the supremacy of the bishop of Rome met with strenuous opposition, so were there individuals in the darkest age who resisted the progress of those superstitions which proved the firmest support of the pontifical power. Among these was Claude, bishop of Turin, who, in the ninth century, distinguished himself not only by his judicious commentaries on the Scriptures, but also by his vigorous opposition to the worship of images and pilgrimages to Rome; on which account, he, with his followers in Italy, have been branded as Arians by popish historians, who are ever ready, upon the slightest pretexts, to impute odius opinions to those who may dissent from the dominant church.[1]

Scarcely had the bishops of Rome secured the obedience of the Italian clergy, and silenced the opposition which arose from Turin, when their attention was called to other opponents. Among these were the Arnoldists, who take their name from Arnold of Brescia, a disciple of Abelard, and a man of great learning and spirit, who maintained publicly that the possessions and rents of the popes, bishops, and monasteries, should be transferred to the supreme rulers of each state, and that nothing should be left to the ministers of religion but a spiritual authority, and a subsistence drawn from the tithes and the voluntary contributions of the people. He was condemned by the council of the Lateran in 1139, and obliged to retire to Zurich; but returning, on the death of Innocent II., and finding Rome in a state of great agitation, from the contest between the pope and the emperor, he persuaded the inhabitants to throw off the degrading yoke of a priest, and secure their independence by reviving the ancient authority of the senate. The circumstances of the time, and the degenerate spirit of the Romans, equally forbade the success of such an attempt. Arnold was obliged to fly, and being taken, was crucified, and his body reduced to ashes; but he left behind him a great number of disciples who inherited the zeal and intrepidity of their master, and were always ready, on a favourable opportunity, to take part in any design which had for its object the reformation of the church.[2]

In the twelfth century, those Christians known in history under the several names of Vaudois, Waldenses, and Albigenses, as the hereditary witnesses for the truth against the corruptions of Rome, penetrated through the Alps into Italy. As early as the year 1180, they had established themselves in Lombardy and Puglia, where they received frequent visits from their brethren in other countries;[3] and, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, they were to be found in the capital of Christendom. In the year 1231, pope Gregory IX. published a furious bull against them, ordaining that they should be sought out and delivered to the secular arm to be punished, and that such as harboured them should be

[1] Jo. Alb. Fabricii Bibl. Med. et Infim. Ætatis, tom. i. p. 388. Simon, Hist. Crit. du N. Testament, chap. xxv. Weismanni Memorab. Hist. Eccles. tom. i. p. 761.

[2] Allix's Churches of Piedmont, p. 169—174. Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. cent. xii. ch. v. sect. 10.

[3] Leger, Hist. des Eglises Evangéliques, part. i. p. 202.

declared infamous, along with their children to the second generation. The senator or chief magistrate of Rome set on foot an inquisition agreeably to the municipal laws of the city, in consequence of this bull, which was also sent by the pope to the archbishop of Milan, with injunctions to see it executed in his diocese, and those of his suffragans, where heresy had already made an alarming progress. Some curious facts relating to the state of the Waldensian churches to the south of the Alps, are furnished by a letter from Ivo of Narbonne to Gerard, archbishop of Bordeaux. Having been summoned by the inquisitor of heretical pravity, unjustly, according to his own account, Ivo fled into Italy. At Como he became acquainted with certain persons belonging to the sect of the Paterins (as the Waldenses were called in Italy), and pretending that he was banished for holding their opinions, was kindly received by them, and admitted into their confidence. After he had given them his oath of fidelity, and promised to exert himself in propagating the true faith in the places which he visited, they told him, that they had churches in almost all the towns of Lombardy, and in some parts of Tuscany, which sent apt young men to Paris to be instructed in the scholastic logic and theology, with the view of their being qualified for entering the lists with the advocates of the church of Rome; and that their merchants, in frequenting fairs and markets, made it their business to instil their tenets into the minds of the rich laymen with whom they traded, and the landlords in whose houses they lodged. On leaving Como, he was furnished with letters of recommendation to professors of the same faith in Milan; and, in this manner, he passed through all the towns situate on the Po, through Cremona and the Venetian States, being liberally entertained by the Paterins, who received him as a brother, on producing his letters, and giving the signs which were known by all that belonged to the sect.[1]

That their opinions had also spread in Naples and Sicily, appears from a letter to the pope by the emperor Frederick II., who condemned such as were convicted of heresy to the fire, but allowed the bishops to shew mercy where they thought it proper, "provided the tongues of those who should be pardoned were cut out, so that they might not again blaspheme."[2] In Genoa, and some of the neighbouring cities, they had houses in which they assembled for worship, with their *barbs*, or religious teachers.[3] Notwithstanding the persecutions to which they were exposed, the Waldenses maintained themselves in Italy, kept up a regular correspondence with their brethren in other countries, and, in the fourteenth century, had academies in Lombardy, which

[1] This letter, which has attracted less notice from its being entitled De Tartaris, is inserted at length in Mat. Paris, Hist. Maj. (under the year 1243), pp. 538, 539, edit. Wats, Lond. 1684. It is to be remembered, however, that Ivo, according to his own profession, joined the Paterins from motives of conveniency.

[2] Rainaldi Annal. ad ann. 1231, n. xiv. 18—20. Compare the first document in the appendix to Allix's Remarks on the History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont, 297, 298.

[3] Weismanni Memor. Hist. tom. i. p. 1096. Mons Court de Gebelin, in his Dictionnaire Etymologique, says, that the Vaudois were called *Barbets*, "parce que leur pasteurs s'appelloient *Barbe*, du mot Venetien *Barba*, un ancien, un chef a Barbe."

were frequented by young men, and supported by contributions, from churches of the same faith in Bohemia and Poland.[1]

In the year 1370, the Vaudois who resided in the valleys of Pragela, finding themselves straitened in their territories, sent some of their number into Italy to look out for a convenient settlement. The deputies bargained with the proprietors of the soil for liberty to plant a colony in an uncultivated and thinly peopled district of Calabria. Within a short time the place assumed a new appearance; villages rose in every direction; the hills resounded with the bleating of flocks, and the valleys were covered with corn and vines. The prosperity of the new settlers excited the envy of the neighbouring villagers, who were irritated at the distance which they preserved, and at their refusal to join with them in their revels and dissipation. They regularly paid their tithes, according to the stipulation entered into by their deputies; but the priests, perceiving that they practised none of the ceremonies usual at the interring of the dead, that they had no images in their chapels, did not go in pilgrimage to consecrated places, and had their children educated by foreign teachers, whom they held in great honour, began to raise the cry of heresy against the simple and inoffensive strangers. But the proprietors, gratified to see their grounds so highly improved, and to receive large rents for what had formerly yielded them nothing, interposed in behalf of their tenants; and the priests, finding the value of their tithes yearly to increase, resolved prudently to keep silence.[2] The colony received accessions by the arrival, from time to time, of those who fled from the persecutions raised against them in Piedmont and France;[3] it continued to flourish when the Reformation dawned on Italy; and, after subsisting for nearly two centuries, was basely and barbarously exterminated.[4]

It is a curious circumstance, that the first gleam of light, at the revival of letters, shone on that remote spot of Italy where the Vaudois had found an asylum. Petrarch first acquired the knowledge of the Greek tongue from Barlaam, a monk of Calabria; and Boccaccio was taught it by Leontius Pilatus, who was a hearer of Barlaam, if not also a native of the same place, and for whom his grateful pupil procured an appointment among the professors of Florence.[5] The example and the instructions of two individuals, how eminent soever for genius and popularity, could not impart a permanent impulse to the minds of their countrymen, or overcome the obstacles which opposed the cultivation of ancient letters. But the taste which they had been the means of

[1] Wolfii Memor. Lect. tom. i. 312. Beze. Hist. Eccl. des Eglises Ref. de France, tom. i. p. 35, 36. Perrin, Hist des Vaudois, part. i. p. 210—212. Leger, part ii. p. 336.

[2] Perrin, i. 196—198. Leger, part ii. p. 333.

[3] About the year 1500, many left the valley of Fresiniere to take up their residence in the city Volturnata, not far from the settlements of their brethren.—At Florence, the barbs possessed a house, with the requisite funds to defray their expenses. Gilles, Hist. Eccles. des Eglises Ref. ou Vaudoises, p. 20.

[4] Perrin, i. 199. Leger, p. ii. chap. i. p. 7. Morland, Hist. of the Evang. Churches of Piedmont, p. 194.

[5] Sismondi, Histoire des Républiques Italiennes, tom. vi. p. 160—162, 168—170. Hodius de Græcis Illustribus, p. 2—5.

creating was revived, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, by those learned Greeks whom the feeble successors of Constantine sent to the papal court to implore succours against the overwhelming power of the Turks, and who were induced to teach their native language in different parts of Italy. The fall of the Eastern empire, and the taking of Constantinople in 1453, brought them in greater numbers to that country, while it added immensely to the stock of manuscripts which individuals had for some time before been in the habit of procuring from the east.[1] And the art of printing, which was invented about the same period, from its novelty, and its tendency to multiply the number of copies of a book indefinitely, and to afford them at a cheap rate, gave an incalculable acceleration to the human mind in its pursuit of knowledge.

Ancient literature was now cultivated with the greatest enthusiasm; it spread with amazing rapidity through Italy, and, surmounting the Alps, reached, within a short period, the northern extremities of Europe. The human mind was roused from the slumber by which it had been oppressed for ages; its faculties were sharpened by the study of languages; the stores of ancient knowledge were laid open; the barbarism of the schools was exploded; and opinions and practices which had long been held sacred, and which a little before it would have been deemed impious to suspect, were now openly called in question, opposed, and repudiated. The rise of the Papal monarchy, and the corruption of Christianity, may be traced in a great measure to the ignorance and barbarism which fell on western Europe, and increased during the middle ages; the revival of letters, by banishing the darkness, broke the spell on which the empire of superstition rested, and opened the eyes of mankind on the chains with which their credulity had suffered their spiritual rulers to load them.

A taste for letters does not, indeed, imply a taste for religion, nor did the revival of the former necessarily infer the reformation of the latter. Some of the worst of men, such as pope Alexander VI. and his sons, encouraged literature and the arts; and in the panegyrics which the learned men of that age lavished on their patronesses, we find courtezans of Rome joined with ladies illustrious for their birth and virtue.[2] The minds of many of the restorers of literature in the fifteenth century were completely absorbed by their favourite studies. Their views did not extend beyond the discovery of an old manuscript, or printing and

[1] Ginguené is of opinion, that too much influence has been ascribed to the fall of the Eastern empire in producing the revival of letters, and remarks that Florence would have become the new Athens, though the ancient one, with all its islands, and the city of Constantine, had not fallen under the stroke of an ignorant and barbarous conqueror. Histoire Littéraire d'Italie, tom. iii. p. 18. The remark of this elegant writer is not unnatural in one who, by minute investigations, had become acquainted with all the concurring causes of a great revolution. But he has himself owned that Boccaccio's knowledge of Greek was extremely limited, and that the study of ancient literature languished after his death It is undeniable that it was afterwards revived by the arrival of natives of Greece; and what was the fall of Constantinople but the completion of those calamities which at first induced these learned men to visit Italy, to which their successors now transferred their fixed residence and the wreck of their literary treasures?

[2] Roscoe's Life of Leo X. vol. i. p. 335, 336; vol. ii. 220.

commenting on a classical author. Some of them carried their admiration of the literary monuments of pagan Greece so far as to imbibe the religious sentiments which they inculcated; and, in the excess of their enthusiasm, they did not scruple to give a species of adoration to the authors of such "divine works."[1] Others shewed, by their conduct, that they were as great slaves to worldly passions as the most illiterate, and ready to support any establishment, however corrupt, which promised to gratify their avarice, their ambition, or their love of pleasure. Lorenzo de Medici, the munificent patron of letters, and himself an elegant scholar, testified the most extravagant joy at his son's being elected a cardinal at seven years of age,[2] and gave the destined pontiff an education better fitted for a secular potentate than for the head of the church; a circumstance, however, which probably contributed more to bring about the Reformation than all the patronage he lavished on literature and the arts. Bembo and Sadoleti were apostolical secretaries, and, in their official character, composed and subscribed the most tyrannical edicts of the court of Rome. The former, of whom it has been said that he "opened a new Augustan age, emulated Cicero and Virgil with equal success, and recalled in his writings the elegance and purity of Petrarca and of Boccaccio," has his name affixed to the infamous bull vindicating the sale of indulgences; and the latter disgraced his elegant pen, by drawing and signing the decree which condemned Luther as a heretic, ordaining that, if he continued obstinate, he should be seized and sent to Rome, and authorizing the sentence of excommunication and interdict to be pronounced against all powers, civil or ecclesiastical (the emperor excepted), secular or regular, dukes, marquises, universities, and communities, by whom he might be received or harboured.[3] Thus did these two polite scholars divide between them the odium of measures, the object of which was to crush the most glorious attempt ever made to burst the chains of despotism; and in compensation for the stigma inflicted upon literature by the conduct of its representatives, we must be contented with being told, that they "first demonstrated that the purity of the Latin idiom was not incompatible with the forms of business, and the transactions of public affairs." There are, I doubt not, persons who will be gratified with the information which I have it in my power to afford them, that, before the Reformation, there were sums issued from the exchequer of the Vatican, as salaries to learned men, whose task it was to reform the *bullarium*, by picking out all the solecisms which had crept into it, and

[1] Marsil. Ficini Prof. in Plotinum; et Epist. lib. viii. p. 144. Sismondi, Hist. des Rép. Ital. tom. viii. p. 238, 239. Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de Medici, vol. i. p. 162, 163, 169. Ginguené, Hist. Litt. d'Italie, tom. iii. p. 362.

[2] Roscoe's Life of Leo. X. vol. i. p. 19. Another learned man did not scruple to write, on the occasion of this advancement, in the following strain:—"Semen autem Joannis ejusdem, *in quo benedicentur omnes gentes*, est Joannes Laurentiæ genitus, cui adhuc adolescentulo divina providentia mirabiliter Cardineam contulit dignitatem, futuri pontificis auspicium. Ficini Epist. lib. ix. p. 159. Venet. 1495.

[3] Roscoe's Leo X. vol. iii. app. no. cli. and clix.

substituting purer and more classical words in their room.[1] Who knows to what advantages this goodly work of expurgation would have led? What elegant reading might not the papal bulls have furnished to our modern literati, if the barbarous reformers had not interfered, and, by their ill-timed clamour, turned the public attention from words to things—from blunders in grammar to perversions of law and gospel!

But the subject is too serious for ridicule. In fact, the passion for the sciences and fine arts, which was at that time so general in Italy, had a direct tendency to infidelity and heathenish atheism, and, had not the Reformation taken place, it is difficult to say how far the infection would have spread. The fine spirits of that age made the mysteries of religion the butt of their wit, and treated the sacred Scriptures as a godly song or mythological fable; so that the reformation of the Christian faith in the sixteenth century resembled the first introduction of Christianity, which had to contend with intellectual luxury, refined sensuality, and the corroding poison of the Epicurean philosophy. Had the Romish church felt any real concern for the interests of religion and the welfare of the people, she would have taken part with those who united a love of the arts and sciences with a desire to restore the true faith, and to imbue the minds of men with the ancient spirit of Christian piety. But she threw all the weight of her authority into the opposite scale. A love of refined heathenism was the ruling passion of Leo X., and influenced all his other passions. This was also the character of the learned men who frequented his court, or shared his patronage and liberality. The poems of Pontano, Sanazzaro, and others, were constructed on the principles of the ancient mythology; and Marullus published a collection of such pieces, in which the praises of the gods of Greece and Rome are celebrated with great splendour and devotion. Even the clergy followed the example; and, in several instances, their writings were more spotted with ribaldry and profane wit than those of laymen. They were ashamed of the Bible on account of its barbarisms, and would not read it lest it should spoil their fine Latin style; but they made no scruple of seasoning their discourses and writings with quotations from heathen antiquity. They found in pagan theology antitypes of the sacred persons mentioned in Scripture, not excepting the Holy Trinity. God, the Father, was Jupiter Optimus Maximus; the Son, Apollo or Esculapius; and the Virgin Mary, Diana. Erasmus, in one of his letters, has given an account of a sermon which he heard preached, before pope Julius II. and his cardinals, on the sufferings and death of Jesus. The preacher began with the praises of the pope, whom he represented as a second Jupiter, holding in his almighty hand the thunderbolt, and ruling the affairs of the world by his nod. When he came to the sufferings of Christ, he reminded his hearers of Decius and Curtius, who leapt into the gulf for the salvation

[1] "Ante paucos annos, Rhomæ, ex ærario pontificis, eruditis aliquot salarium dari solitum est, qui, e pontificum literis, soloecismos tollerent." Erasmi Roterd. Apologia, refellens suspiciones D. Jacobi Latomi, p. 16. Lovanii, 1519.

of their country. He mentioned, with high eulogium, Cecrops and Menœcius, Iphigenia and others, who nobly preferred their country to their lives. When he wished to move his hearers to compassion by the tragical fate of Jesus, he described the gratitude which the heathen testified for their heroes and benefactors, by deifying them and raising monuments to their memory, while the Jews treated the deliverer of mankind with ignominy, and crucified him. The death of Christ was then compared with that of other celebrated men, who died innocently, suffering for the common welfare;—a Socrates and a Phocion, who, though they had committed no crime, drank the poisoned cup; an Epaminondas, who, after performing many renowned deeds, was obliged to defend himself against a public charge of high-treason; a Scipio, whose numerous services were rewarded with banishment; and an Aristides, who was expelled from his native country, because he was surnamed the Just.[1]

But though many of the revivers of literature intended anything rather than a reformation of religion, they, nevertheless, contributed greatly to forward that desirable object. It was impossible to check the progress of the light which had sprung up, or to prevent the new spirit of inquiry from taking a direction towards religion and the church. Among other books which had long remained unknown or neglected, copies of the sacred writings, in the original languages, with the works of the Christian fathers, were now eagerly sought out, printed, and circulated, both in the original and in translations; nor could persons of ordinary discernment and candour peruse these, without perceiving that the church had declined far from the Christian standard, and the model of primitive purity, in faith, worship, and morals. This truth forced itself on the minds even of those who were interested in the support of the existing corruptions. They felt that they stood on unsafe ground, and trembled to think that the secret of their power had been discovered, and was in danger of becoming every day better and more extensively known. This paralysed the exertions which they made in their own defence, and was a principal cause of that dilatory, vacillating, and contradictory procedure which characterised the policy of the court of Rome, in its first attempts to check the progress of the reformed opinions.

The poets of the middle ages, known by the name of Troubadours, had joined with the Vaudois in condemning the reigning vices of the priests; and several of the superstitious notions and practices, by which the clergy increased their power and wealth, were assailed in those lively satires which were written in the ancient language of Provence, but read by the inhabitants of Italy and Spain. It is a circumstance deserving of notice, and reflecting honour on a sect which has been so

[1] Erasmi Epist. l. xx. ep. 14. Ciceronianus, 34—43. Roscoe's Life and Pontificate of Leo X. iii. 143—148. Marheinecke, speaking of this work of Mr Roscoe, says, "As was the hero, so is his historian." Geschichte der Teutschen Reformation, i. 24.

unmercifully traduced by its adversaries, that the *Nobla Leyçon*, and other religious poems of the Vaudois, which are among the earliest and rarest monuments of *Provençal* poetry, contain few of those satirical reflections on the clergy which abound in the writings of their contemporaries who remained in the Romish Church. "Indulgences," says one of the troubadours, "pardons, God and the devil—all, the priests make use of. To some men they allot paradise by their pardons; others they send to hell by their excommunications. There are no crimes for which pardon cannot be obtained from the monks: for money they grant to renegades and usurers that sepulture which they deny to the poor who have nothing to pay. To live at ease, to enjoy good fish, fine wheat-bread, and exquisite wines, is their great object during the whole year. God grant me to be a monk, if salvation is to be purchased at this price!" "Rome!" says another, "thou hast established thy see in the bottom of the abyss, and of perdition. How much innocent blood hast thou spilt! Falsehood, disgrace, and infamy, reign in thy heart. With the exterior of a lamb, thou art within a ravening wolf and a crowned serpent. Go, then, Sirvente, and tell the false clergy, that he who gave them dominion over us is dead." "If God," says a third, "save those whose sole merit lies in loving good cheer, and paying their court to women—if the black monks, the white monks, the templars, the hospitallers, gain heaven, then St Peter and St Andrew were great fools to submit to such torments for the sake of a paradise which costs others so little."[1]

From the earliest dawn of letters in Italy, the corruptions of the Roman Church had been discovered by persons who entertained no thought of renouncing her communion. These were exposed by the poets, under the protection of that license which they have enjoyed in every age and among almost every people. The *Divina Comedia* of Dante is founded on some of the leading tenets of the Roman Catholic Church, in which he was a sincere believer; but there is much less in it favourable to Popery than this circumstance would have led us to expect, while it abounds with complaints of the corruption of Christianity. Dante appears to have had no faith in the infallibility of either popes or general councils. While he freely bestows the keys on St Peter, and speaks honourably of his early successors, he expresses himself doubtfully of Rome's claim to be the mistress of Christendom.[2] He gives but slender comfort to those who go into purgatory by his advice, "Think on what succeeds," and by telling them that no prayer on earth can avail them but what "riseth up from heart which lives in grace."[3] Priestly absolution he reduces to a conditional declaration of pardon,

[1] Si monge niers vol dieus que sian sal,
Per pro manjar ni per femnas tenir,
Ni monge blanc, per boulas a mentir,
Ni per erguelh Temple ni Espital,
Ni canonge per prestar a renieu,
Bene tene per fol sanh Peir', sanh Andrieu,
Que sofriro per Dieu aital turmen,
S'aquest s'en van aissi a salvamen.
Raymond de Castelnau: Renouard, Choix des Poësies Orig. des Troubadours, tom. iv. p. 383.

[2] Inf. c. ii.

[3] Purg. c. iv. x.

by teaching that "no power can the impenitent absolve."[1] In Paradise he makes a confession of his faith at the desire of St Peter; it is what every sound Protestant could subscribe; and when asked by the apostle as to the source from which he derived his faith, he answers,

> From that truth
> It cometh to me rather, which is shed
> Thro' Moses, the rapt prophets, and the Psalms,
> The Gospel, and what ye yourselves did write,
> When ye were gifted of the Holy Ghost.

When asked how he knew these to be the word of God, he does not reply by appealing to the authority of the church or tradition, but says, "The works that followed, evidence their truth;" and when still farther questioned by St Peter how he knew that, his reply is at once just and strikingly illustrative of his sentiments.

> "That all the world," said I, "should have been turn'd
> To Christian, and no miracle been wrought,
> Would, in itself, be such a miracle,
> The rest were not a hundredth part so great.
> E'en thou wentest forth, in poverty and hunger,
> To set the goodly plant, that, from thy vine
> It once was, now is grown unsightly bramble."[2]

It is impossible to pronounce a clearer and more decisive judgment on one of the leading and most important points of controversy between the Popish and Protestant Churches, than Dante has given in this part of his poem. The poet repeatedly inculcates a simple adherence to Scripture, in opposition to the human inventions and fables with which it was mixed up in his time.

> E'en they whose office is
> To preach the gospel, let the gospel sleep,
> And pass their own inventions off instead.

And having given some specimens of this, he adds—

> The sheep, meanwhile, poor witless ones, return
> From pasture, fed with wind; and what avails
> For their excuse, they do not see their harm?

Dante has exhibited, in his pictorial style, the indecent buffoonery which disgraced the pulpit in that age; and he treats the credulity of the people with almost as much severity as the impudence and imposture of the priests and friars.

> The preacher now provides himself with store
> Of jests and gibes; and, so there be no lack
> Of laughter while he vents them, his big cowl
> Distends, and he has won the-meed he sought.
> Could but the vulgar catch a glimpse the while,
> Of that dark bird which nestles in his hood,
> They scarce would wait to hear the blessing said,
> Which now the dotards hold in such esteem.[3]

He celebrates the virtues of St Francis and St Dominic, but pronounces a severe censure on the degeneracy of their respective orders.[4] He is warm in his praises of the Virgin, but puts them into the mouth of St Bernard, the great opponent of those who ascribed to her the honours

[1] Inf. c. xxvii.
[2] Parad. c. xxiv.; Carey's Translation.
[3] Parad. c. xxix.
[4] Ibid., c. xi. xii.

due to the Saviour.[1] His *Hell*, as well as his *Purgatory*, are peopled with clergy, from popes down to begging friars. The court of Rome is repeatedly compared by him to the idolatrous Babylon of the Apocalypse.

> Of shepherds like to you, th' Evangelist
> Was ware, when her, who sits upon the waves,
> With kings in filthy whoredom he beheld;
> She who with seven heads tower'd at her birth,
> And from ten horns her proof of glory drew,
> Long as her spouse in virtue took delight.
> Of gold and silver ye have made your god,
> Diff'ring wherein from the idolater,
> But that he worships one, a hundred ye.
> Ah! Constantine, to how much ill gave birth,
> Not thy conversion, but that plenteous dower
> Which the first wealthy father gained from thee? [2]

In describing the avarice and luxurious living of the clergy,[3] he seems sometimes at a loss whether to employ the language of ridicule or of indignation, and therefore combines them; as in the following passage, put into the mouth of a cardinal, who, by a rare fate, had escaped both hell and purgatory.

> I was constrain'd to wear the hat, that still
> From bad to worse was shifted.—Cephas came,
> He came who was the Holy Spirit's vessel,
> Barefoot and lean; eating their bread, as chanc'd,
> At the first table. Modern shepherds need
> Those who on either hand may prop and lead them,
> So burly are they grown; and from behind
> Others to hoist them. Down the palfrey's sides
> Spread their broad mantles, so as both the beasts
> Are cover'd with one skin. Oh! patience, thou
> That look'st on this, and dost endure so long! [4]

With such a deep impression of the corruptions of the popedom on his spirit, we need not be surprised to find the poet writing in a strain which may be interpreted as prophetic of its speedy downfal, and of the Reformation.

> Yet it may chance, ere long, the Vatican,
> And other most selected parts of Rome,
> That were the grave of Peter's soldiery,
> Shall be delivered from th' adult'rous bond.[5]

Nor were these the mere effusions of poetical exaggeration. In his treatise on monarchy, he inveighs against the abuses of the church with as great freedom as in his poem; and, not contented with depriving the popes of their temporal authority, he attacks tradition, the main pillar on which they have always rested their claim to spiritual authority.[6]

Petrarch followed in the steps of Dante, and he is still more severe against the papal court in his prose compositions than in his poetical.

[1] Parad., c. xxxiii.

[2] Inf. c. xix. conf. Purg. c. xxxii.

[3] In a similar strain did Ariosto afterwards write on this subject; and, speaking of avarice, he says,—

> Worse did she in the court of Rome, for there
> She had slain popes and cardinals.
> Orl. Fur. c. xxvi. st. 32.

[4] Parad. c. xxi.

[5] Ibid., c. ix.

[6] Speaking of the decretalists, or masters of canon law, he says, "I have heard one of them saying, and impudently maintaining, that traditions are the foundation of the faith of the church." De Monarchia, lib. iii. The Monarchia of Dante has a place in the Index Prohibitorius of Rome for 1559; and it is not improbable that his *Heaven* and *Hell* would have shared the same fate, had not *Purgatory* come between, and saved them.

In proof of this, we need not refer to a letter, ascribed to him, which was dropt in the consistory at Rome, and read in the presence of Clement VI. and his whole court. It was inscribed, "Leviathan, prince of darkness, to pope Clement, his vicar, and the cardinals, his counsellors and good friends;" contained an enumeration of the crimes committed by the prelates of the court, for which he expressed his thanks, exhorting them to continue in the same course, by which they would merit, more and more, his favour; and concluded with these words—"Given at the centre of hell, in the presence of a crowd of demons." In his confidential letters, Petrarch seems at a loss for words to express his detestation of the sins of the papal court. "I am at present," says he to a friend, "in the western Babylon, than which the sun never beheld any thing more hideous, and beside the fierce Rhone, where the successors of the poor fishermen now live as kings. Here the credulous crowd of Christians are caught in the name of Jesus, but by the arts of Belial; and being stripped of their scales, are fried to fill the belly of gluttons. Go to India, or wherever you choose, but avoid Babylon, if you do not wish to go down alive to hell. Whatever you have heard or read of as to perfidy and fraud, pride, incontinence and unbridled lust, impiety and wickedness of every kind, you will find here collected and heaped together. Rejoice and glory in this, O Babylon, situated on the Rhone, that thou art the enemy of the good, the friend of the bad, the asylum of wild beasts, the whore that has committed fornication with the kings of the earth! Thou art she whom the inspired evangelist saw in the spirit; yes, thee, and none but thee, he saw, 'sitting upon many waters.' See thy dress,—'A woman clothed in purple and scarlet.' Dost thou know thyself, Babylon? Certainly what follows agrees to thee and none else—'Mother of fornications and abominations of the earth.' But hear the rest—'I saw,' says the evangelist, 'a woman drunk with the blood of the saints, and the blood of the martyrs of Jesus.' Point out another to whom this is applicable but thee."[1] In this strain does Petrarch go on to comment on the description of the apocalyptic Babylon, and to inveigh against the monstrous vices, heresies, and false miracles of the papal court.[2] Several of his Latin eclogues are concealed satires on the popes and their clergy. In his sonnets the satire is avowed, and the holy see is characterised as "impious Babylon—avaricious Babylon

[1] Epistolæ sine titulo, ep. 4, 12, 15, 16. Abbé Sade complains that the Protestants "have, in their declamations against the Church of Rome, abused certain secret letters which Petrarch wrote to his friends, in which he opens his heart with a little too much freedom." Memoires de Petrarche, tom. iv. p. 3, 4. The only way in which they have abused them, is by quoting them, which the Abbé has prudently avoided amidst his copious extracts; and, when he calls the letters "secret," he seems to have forgotten that Petrarch himself had carefully collected them into a volume by themselves, intended for public use, as appears from his preface, and his having suppressed the names of the persons to whom they were written.

[2] It is true that Petrarch refers to the residence of that court at Avignon in France (where it continued during his lifetime); and he sometimes deplores its transference from Rome under the name of a captivity. But the chief part of his description is borrowed from that of Dante, which preceded that event; and he himself traces the deplorable change on the face of the church to a much higher period.

—the school of error—the temple of heresy—the forge of fraud—the hell of the living."[1] The following may be given as a specimen :—[2]

The fire of wrathful heaven alight,
And all thy harlot tresses smite,
Base city ! thou, from humble fare,
Thy acorns and thy water, rose
To greatness, rich with others' woes,
Rejoicing in the ruin thou didst bear.

Foul nest of treason ! Is there aught
Wherewith the specious world is fraught
Of bad or vile—'tis hatch'd in thee ;
Who revellest in thy costly meats,
Thy precious wines, and curious seats,
And all the pride of luxury.

The while within thy secret halls,
Old men in seemly festivals
With buxom girls in dance are going :
And in the midst old Beelzebub
Eyes, through his glass, the motely club,
The fire with sturdy bellows blowing.

In former days thou wast not laid
On down, nor under cooling shade ;
Thou naked to the winds wast given,
And through the sharp and thorny road
Thy feet without the sandals trod ;
But now thy life is such, it smells to heaven.

The alternate style of broad humour and keen wit with which Boccaccio exposed the superstition and knavery of churchmen was at once more fatal to them, and more suited to the spirit of the age in which he lived, than the lofty and severe invective of his master. Poggio Bracciolini, the author of an eloquent and pathetic description of the martyrdom of Jerome of Prague, of which he was an eye-witness, employed his wit in exposing the vices of the clergy, and the ignorance and absurdities of the preachers of thate time, in his dialogues on avarice, luxury, and hypocrisy. That such freedoms should have been permitted in a pontifical secretary, must excite surprise ; and tolerant and friendly to learned men as Nicholas V. was, it is probable that Poggio would have suffered for his temerity, had he not secured the protection of his master, by writing an invective against his rival, the anti-pope Amedæus.[3] It would be endless, however, to give examples from him or the other ancient poets and novelists of Italy, whose satires against the clergy, and especially their lampoons on the monks and friars, were afterwards imitated or translated by writers in the different countries of Europe. The practice was continued by Ariosto and Berni down to the very time of the Reformation. After that period, when no poet who wished his works to be circulated would venture on such freedoms, the task was taken up by the writers of pasquinades and other anonymous satires, who often employed the images and language of their illustrious predecessors.[4]

[1] Petrarchi Opera, tom. iii. p. 149.

[2] Fiamma del ciel su le tue treccie piova, Malvagia, &c.
Le Rime del Petrarcha, edit. Lod. Castelvetro, tom. i. p. 325.

[3] Ginguené, vol. vii. p. 308, 313, 319. Shepherd's Life of Poggio Bracciolini, p. 88, 428.

[4] The following verses, on the death of Alexander VIII., are transcribed from an

The corruptions of the Church of Rome were attacked by others in a graver style. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, Laurentius Valla, "who rescued literature from the grave, and restored to Italy the splendour of her ancient eloquence,"[1] wrote against the pretended donation of Constantine, and various papal abuses. This learned Italian had advanced far before his age in every species of knowledge; as a grammarian, a critic, a philosopher, and a divine, he was equally distinguished. His scholia on the New Testament, in which he proposes numerous corrections on the Vulgate, display an intimate acquaintance with the Greek language; and in his dialogue on free-will, he defends, with much acuteness, the doctrine on that subject, and on predestination, afterwards espoused by Luther and Calvin.[2] The freedom of his sentiments roused the resentment of the patrons of ignorance and fraud; and Valla was condemned to the flames, a punishment from whith he was saved by the protection of Alphonsus V. of Arragon.[3] The writings of Baptista, the modern poet of Mantua, who flourished in the end of the fifteenth century, abound with censures of the corrupt manners of the court of Rome, which deserve the more credit, as they proceeded from a friar, whose verses are distinguished for their moral purity still more than for their classical elegance.[4]

It has been common to place Savonarola among the witnesses of the truth before the Reformation; and some have called him the Luther of Italy.[5] By others, he is described as a delirious fanatic and turbulent demagogue, who, by pretending to the gift of prophecy, and immediate intercourse with heaven, sought to excite the populace against their rulers, civil and ecclesiastical, and to gratify his own ambition by humbling his superiors. In this last light he has been represented, not only by the interested advocates of the church of Rome, but also by the warm admirers of the house of Medici.[6] Those who impartially consider the character of the Florentine reformer, will not be disposed to adopt

Italian MS. in the Advocates' Library, entitled, "Raccolta delle migliori Satire venute alla luce in occasione di diversi Conclavi da quello di Alesandro VIII."

Sacro Nume del Ciel, non diro mai,
Che tu facesti far papa Alessandro,
Che al Tebro cagione più danno assai,
Di quel che fece il fuoco alla Scamandro.

Sempre voleva dir qualche saldonia,
Parlando ancor di cosa alta e divina;
E stava quasi ridotta in Babilonia,
Questa di Dio Jerusalem Latina.

Che più? Si vedde al suo pontificato,
Libertà di conscienza, e di costumi:
E il solo non peccar, era peccato,
Per far contro le stelle, e scorno a Numi.

Spirit of heaven, it never shall be said,
That thou for pope this Alexander made,
Who caused the Tiber more to mourn his name
Than that Scamander once the Grecian flame.

His wish was still to have his sprightly quips,
Even then when truths divine forsook his lips:
But this Jerusalem, God's chosen throne,
He had well nigh reduced to Babylon.

Truly, when he was pontiff, man was free,
Conscience and conduct both had liberty,
When one might scoff the heavens, and stand secure
In every crime, but one—the being pure.

[1] Erasmi Epist. lib. vii. ep. 3.

[2] Laurentii Vallæ Opera, Basileæ, 1540, fol.

[3] Cave, Hist. Liter. App. 121, 122. Wolfius, Lect. Mem. ii. 7. Ginguené, Hist. Littér. d'Italie, tom. vii. p. 349.

[4] Venalia nobis
Templa, sacerdotes, altaria, sacra, coronæ,
Ignes, thura, preces; cœlum est venale, Deusque.
Ite lares Italos, et fundamenta malorum,
Romuleas arces et pontificalia tecta,
Colluviem scelerum, &c.
Baptista Mantuanus, lib. iii. De Calam. Temp.

[5] M. Flacii Illyrici Testes Veritatis, p. 890. Wolfii Lect. Memor. tom. i. p. 800. Bezae Icones, sig. Biiij.

[6] Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de Medici, vol. ii. p. 158, 269; and Life of Leo X. vol. i. p. 278.

either the one or the other of these representations. It cannot be denied that the fervour of his zeal betrayed him into extravagance, and that, in prosecuting his plans of reform, he yielded to the illusions of an overheated imagination, and persuaded himself that he was possessed of supernatural gifts; but instances of this kind were not uncommon among those who, like him, had been brought up in a cloister. On the other hand, the best and most enlightened men of that age bear unequivocal testimony to his integrity, sanctity, and patriotism.[1] It has been supposed, but without satisfactory proof, that he held the doctrines concerning justification, the communion under both kinds, indulgences, and tradition, which were afterwards called Protestant. The reform which he sought had, for its object, a change on the manners, not the faith, of the Christian world. He believed that the discipline of the church was corrupted, and that those who had the charge of souls, from the highest to the lowest, were become unfaithful. To this persuasion he joined an ardent passion for political liberty, which qualified him for being the organ of those of his countrymen, who felt as Christians for the dishonours done to religion, and as citizens for the encroachments made on their political rights. The appearance of such a person, at a time when the papal throne was filled by a man of the most profligate character, and the Italian republics were on the eve of being stripped of the last remains of their freedom, claims the attention of the inquirer into the causes of the Reformation.

Jeronimo Savonarola was descended from an illustrious family, originally belonging to Padua, and was born at Ferrara in the year 1452. He distinguished himself early in his studies, which were chiefly directed to theology; and, in the twenty-third year of his age, entered the Dominican convent at Bologna. His ardent piety, and his talents, recommended him to the superiors of his order, from whom he received an appointment to read lectures on philosophy. The admiration which he gained in the academical chair was forfeited when he ascended the pulpit; his voice was at once feeble and harsh, and his address ungraceful. But he exerted himself, in conquering these natural defects, with all the enthusiastic perseverance of the Athenian orator; and those who heard him, in 1488, modulating a deep-toned voice, accompanied with all the graces of action, could not believe he was the same person to whom they had listened with impatience six years before. The piety of Savonarola took alarm at the success of his own eloquence; he redoubled his monastic austerities; and it has been supposed, not without probability, that this metamorphosis first suggested to him the idea of his divine mission. In 1484 he began to preach on the book of the Revelation at Brescia, and, inveighing against the vices of its inhabitants, told them that their walls should one day be deluged with blood; a threatening which was thought to

[1] Marsilii Ficini Epist. lib. xii. f. 197. Joan. Fr. Pici Mirandulæ Opera, tom. ii. p. 40. Guicciardini, Istor. lib. iii. Petri Martyris Anglerii Opus Epistol. ep. 191.—John Francis Budæus, in his youth, published a dissertation unfavourable to Savonarola, of which he afterwards candidly wrote a refutation. Both treatises are included in his *Parerga Historica-Theologica.*

be accomplished two years after his death, when the city was sacked by the French. In 1489 he fixed his abode at Florence, in the convent of St Marc. Lorenzo de Medici, aware of the influence he exerted over the public mind, strove to attach him to his interests; but Savonarola resisted all his advances, and would not so much as visit the man whom he regarded as the usurper of the liberties of his country. Lorenzo, on his death-bed, sent for the monk, who asked him if he had an entire confidence in the mercy of God; if he was willing to make restitution of all goods which he had procured unlawfully; and if he was prepared to restore the Florentine republic to its former liberty. To the two first questions the dying man replied in the affirmative, but was silent at the last request; upon which Savonarola left him without administering absolution.[1] During the government of Pietro, the haughty and luxurious successor of Lorenzo, the influence of Savonarola increased, and his enthusiasm kept pace with his popularity. He spake to the people, in the name of heaven, of the calamities which were approaching, and summoned them to speedy repentance; he painted, with all the force of a brilliant and fervid imagination, the luxury and immorality which prevailed among all classes of the citizens, the disorders of the church and the corruption of its prelates, the disorders of the state and the tyranny of its rulers. The effect of his denunciations was greatly heightened by the rumours of the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. of France, whom Savonarola did not scruple to announce as the monarch whom Providence had raised up to punish the vices of his native country, to introduce a salutary reform into the church, and to break the fetters of political bondage. The preacher had the satisfaction of, at least, witnessing the success of his exhortations on the inhabitants of Florence; luxury was repressed, the women gave an example of modesty in their dress, and a change of manners became visible over the whole city. On the expulsion of the Medici, Savonarola lent all the weight of his authority to those who established a popular government in Florence, and his advice had the greatest influence on the counsels of the new republic; but he continued still to keep in view his main object, of preserving a rigorous morality in the state.

Without possessing the prophetic powers claimed by Savonarola, it was easy to foresee what his fate would be. He was equally hated by the secret adherents of the house of Medici, and the dissolute portion of the citizens, which submitted with impatience to the freedom of his reproofs and the severity of the laws which he had procured. To accomplish his ruin, they had recourse to Rome. Savonarola had preached, that the reform, which was indispensably necessary, must begin with the head of the church; and, in his invectives, he had not spared the reigning pontiff, Alexander VI. The crimes which, in 1497, disgraced the family of the pope, and scandalised all Italy, were publicly denounced

[1] Roscoe disputes the accuracy of this statement, (vol. ii. p. 238;) but it has been adopted by the more impartial Sismondi, who had access to all the authorities, (Historie des Républiques Italiennes tom. xii. p. 69.)

by the Florentine monk; and thus personal resentment was added to the fears which Alexander entertained lest the reforms introduced into Florence should be pleaded as an example against the court of Rome. He accused Savonarola as a heretic, interdicted him from preaching, and finally launched the sentence of excommunication against him. At the request of the senate, the preacher desisted for some time from the exercise of his office, and sought to pacify the irritated pontiff; but, resuming courage, and acting on the principle which afterwards induced Luther to burn the bull of excommunication by Leo X., he appeared in public, declared that an unjust sentence of the pope was unvalid, that relaxation from it was not to be sought, that the inspiration of the Almighty obliged him to renounce obedience to a corrupt tribunal; and, having celebrated mass, and communicated along with his brethren and a great number of secular persons, he conducted a solemn procession round the convent, after which he preached in the cathedral church to greater crowds than ever. Defeated in this attempt, the pope stirred up the Augustinian and Franciscan monks against the object of his hatred. Francesco de Pouille, a preacher of the Minor Observantines, who was sent from Rome, publicly denounced him as a heresiarch who had seduced the republic, and called upon the senate to silence him instantly, under the pain of having their territory laid under an interdict, and the property of their merchants confiscated in foreign countries. Deprived of the assistance of France, and alarmed at the consequences of an open breach with the pope, the Florentines yielded, and Savonarola was ordered to desist from preaching.

Pursuing his advantage, Pouille next declared from the pulpit, that he understood that Savonarola spoke of confirming his false doctrines by a miracle. He therefore offered to submit to the trial with his adversary, by walking through the flames. Savonarola, suspecting a snare on the part of his enemies, declined the fiery contest; but Bonvicini, one of his disciples, zealous for his master's honour, accepted the challenge. The whole city took a deep interest in this strange affair, and the chief officers of the republic were engaged in making preparations for it. The pope wrote to the Franciscans of Florence, praising their zeal for the honour of the holy see, and declaring that the memory of the glorious exploit would be imperishable. On the 7th of April, 1498, the combustibles being prepared, the champions, accompanied by their friends, appeared on the spot, surrounded by an immense crowd of eager spectators, consisting of the inhabitants of the city and adjoining territories. Pouille had previously excused himself, on the pretext that he would enter the fire with none but the heresiarch himself; and another Franciscan, named Rondinelli, appeared as his substitute. After the religious ceremonies had been performed, and the people waited in breathless anxiety to see the champions enter the flames, which were already kindled, the Franciscans began to raise difficulties. First, they

urged that the Dominican might be an enchanter, and therefore insisted that he should be stripped of his raiment, and clothed with a suit of their choosing. This having been complied with, they next objected to their opponent bearing the host along with him, alleging that it was an impious act to expose the body of Christ to the risk of being consumed by the flames. But on this point Savonarola was inflexible, and urged that it was unreasonable to deprive his friend of that which was the comfort of all Christians in their trials, and the pledge of their safety. The dispute on this point continued to a late hour; and, while it was yet undecided, a violent and unexpected shower of rain extinguished the fire, upon which the senate dismissed the assembly, to the satisfaction, it may be presumed, of both parties. It was not, however, to the satisfaction of the multitude, whose curiosity, wrought up to the highest pitch, was now converted into ridicule and indignation. They were ignorant of the real ground of the dispute between the monks which had prevented the spectacle; but they heard that Savonarola had refused to comply with some condition required by the opposite party, and he was insulted as he passed through the crowd. On reaching his convent, he addressed the people, and gave an explanation of the affair; but an unfavourable impression had already been made on their minds. Next day he preached with great unction; and, at the close of his sermon, as if foreseeing what would befall him, took farewell of his audience, and declared himself ready to offer his life in sacrifice to God. In fact, his enemies availed themselves of the temporary dissatisfaction, to irritate the public mind against him, by representing him as a false prophet, who, at the moment of danger, drew back from the proof of his mission which he had affected to court. Having collected in the cathedral church that same night, they raised the cry, during the time of divine service—"To arms! To St Marc!" Instantly an infuriated mob rushed, with hatchets and lighted torches, to the convent, forced open its gates, and seizing Savonarola and two other monks, conducted them to prison amidst insults and threatenings. Without allowing the ferment to cool, the conspirators conducted the mob through the city, killed many of the popular party, and forced others to abdicate their places, which were immediately filled with persons belonging to the libertine faction. The carnival which was proclaimed in the city, and the renewal of the sports which had been suppressed for several years, conveyed to Savonarola the intelligence that the government had passed into different hands, and that his favourite reform was overthrown.

One of the first things done by the insurgents was to dispatch a courier to the pope, to inform him of the imprisonment of Savonarola. Alexander urged that he should be sent to Rome; and, with the view of obtaining his request, granted indulgences to the Florentines, with power to reconcile to the church all those who had incurred excommunication, by attending the sermons of the heretical monk. The senate insisted, however, that he should be tried in Florence, and

requested the pope to depute two ecclesiastical judges to conduct the process. On their arrival, the process commenced with the torture; and Savonarola, whose constitution, originally feeble, had been further weakened by austerities and labours, being unable to endure the rack, confessed that his prophecies were only simple conjectures; but when his deposition was afterwards read to him, he declared that it was extorted by bodily agony, and maintained anew the truth of his revelations, and of the doctrines he had preached. A second attempt was made with exactly the same results.[1] Being condemned to the flames, along with his two companions, Savonarola spent the interval in composing a commentary on the fifty-first psalm, which, in lecturing through the psalter, he had passed by, saying, he would reserve it for the time of his own calamity. On the 23d of May 1498, a pile of faggots was erected on the spot where the voluntary trial by fire was to have taken place; and the three monks, after being degraded, were bound to the stake. When the presiding bishop declared them separated from the church, Savonarola exclaimed, "From the militant;" intimating that he was about to enter into the triumphant church. This was all that he spoke. The fire was applied to the pile by one of his enemies, who took upon him the office of the executioner. Strict orders were given by the magistrates to collect the ashes of the three monks, and to throw them into the Arno; but some relics were preserved by the soldiers who guarded the place, and are still shewn at Florence for the adoration of the devout.[2]

From the time of the council of Constance, or rather from that of Pisa, held in the year 1409, a reformation of the church, both in its head and members, had been loudly demanded. This demand was repeated at the beginning of the sixteenth century, in the council which the pope was compelled to convocate; as appears from the decrees which that assembly passed during its sitting at Pisa, and from the orations delivered in it after its translation to the Lateran, where it sat under the eye of the supreme pontiff. Among these, the most noted were the speeches of Egidio of Viterbo, general of the order of Augustinians, and Gianfransesco Pico, the learned and pious count of Mirandula; both of whom denounced, with singular freedom and boldness, the abuses which threatened the ruin of the church and the utter extinction of religion.[3]

Secure in the plenitude of their authority, and lulled asleep amidst wealth and luxury, the popes had overlooked the influence of satirical effusions from the press, and become habituated to censures, which, though sometimes uttered with offensive boldness, seldom reached beyond the walls within which the fathers, assembled in general coun-

[1] Roscoe has given an incorrect account of the trial; and, indeed, his whole account of Savonarola is marked with partiality. Life of Lorenzo de Medici, vol. ii. p. 269—272.

[2] Jacopo Nardi, Hist. Fior. lib. ii. Guicciardini, lib. iii. Della Storia e delle gesta del Padre Girolamo Savonarola, Livorno, 1782: Sismondi, Hist. des Rép. Ital. tom. xii. p. 73, 237, 261, 450, 474. Specimens of Savonarola's eloquence may be seen in Tiraboschi, Stor. della Letter. Ital. tom. vi. p. 1160.

[3] The speech of Egidio is published by Gerdesius, Hist. Reform. tom. i. app. no. v.; and that of Pico, by Roscoe, in his Life of Leo X. vol. iii. app. no. cxlvi. See also Wolfii Lect. Memor. tom. i. p. 30—35.

cil, were permitted at intervals to give vent to their zeal. But at length these complaints began to find their way into the pulpit, and to reach the ears of the people. This was a mode of attack which could not be safely tolerated; and, accordingly, in 1516, a papal bull was issued, which, after reprimanding certain irregularities, forbade preachers to treat in their sermons of the coming of Antichrist.[1] But it was too late. In the course of the following year, a cry was raised in the heart of Germany, and the ominous sounds, Antichrist and Babylon, reverberating from every corner of Europe, struck the Vatican, and awoke its astounded inmates from the security in which they had slumbered for ages.

It would be unsuitable to enter here into a minute detail of the ecclesiastical grievances which were the subject of such general complaint and remonstrance. Suffice it to say, that all of them existed, and some of them in an aggravated form, in Italy, if we except such as were felt by other countries on account of their distance from Rome. The vices of the clergy, their neglect of religious instruction, the consequent ignorance of the people, the sale of ecclesiastical offices, and the prostitution of sacred things to worldly purposes, had grown to the greatest height among the Italians. The court of Rome had become more corrupt than any of the secular courts of Europe, by the confession of popish writers, and of persons who, from their official situations, were admitted into all its secrets. The unprincipled and faithless character of its policy had become proverbial. It was a system of intrigue, cabal, and bribery; and its ministers, while they cordially agreed in duping the world, made no scruple of deceiving and supplanting one another, whenever their personal interests happened to interfere. The individuals who filled the papal chair for some time before the Reformation openly indulged in vices, over which the increasing knowledge of the age should have taught them, in point of prudence, to throw a veil.[2] During the pontificate of Sixtus IV. we are presented with the horrid spectacle of a supreme pontiff, a cardinal, and an archbishop, associating themselves with a band of ruffians to murder two men who were an honour to their age and country, and agreeing to perpetrate this crime during a season of hospitality, within the sanctuary of a Christian church, and at the signal of the elevation of the host. Alexander VI. was so notorious for his profligate manners and insatiable rapacity, that Sanazzaro has compared him to the greatest monsters of antiquity—to Nero, Caligula, and Heliogabalus. Julius II. was more solicitous to signalise himself as a soldier than a bishop, and by his ambition and turbulence kept Italy in a state of continual ferment and warfare. Leo X., though distinguished for his elegant accomplishments, and his patronage of

[1] Locher, Vollstandige Reformationsacta, tom. I. p. 104.

[2] Julius; Dialogus, in quo impietas Julii II. Papæ depingitur, lectu utilis ad judicandum de moribus, vita et studiis Pontificum Romanorum. Addita sunt Huttenii Epigrammata ejusdem argumenti. 1567. Erasmus was the author of this dialogue, which was originally published soon after the accession of Leo X. to the pontificate.

literature and the arts, disgraced the ecclesiastical seat by his luxury and voluptuousness, and scandalised all Christendom by the profane methods of raising money to which he had recourse, for the purpose of gratifying his love of pleasure and his passion for magnificent extravagance.

To this rapid sketch I shall add the description of the papal court, drawn by the pen of an Italian who lived in the age of the Reformation, in whose writings we sometimes find the copiousness of Livy combined with the deep-toned indignation against tyranny which thrills through our veins in perusing the pages of Tacitus. The reader need not be told that the following passage was struck out by the censors of the press, before the work was allowed to be published in Italy :—"Having raised themselves to earthly power on this basis, and by these methods, the popes gradually lost sight of the salvation of souls and divine precepts ; and, bending their thoughts to worldly grandeur, and making use of their spiritual authority solely as an instrument and tool to advance their temporal, they began to lay aside the appearance of bishops, and assumed the state of secular princes. Their concern was no longer to maintain sanctity of life, to promote religion, or to shew charity to mankind ; but to accumulate treasures, to raise armies, to wage wars against Christians. The sacred mysteries were celebrated with thoughts and hands stained with blood ; and, with the view of drawing money from every quarter, new edicts were issued, new arts invented, new stratagems laid, spiritual censures were fulminated, and all things, sacred and profane, sold without distinction and without shame. The immense riches amassed in this way, and scattered among the courtiers, were followed by pomp, luxury, licentiousness, and the vilest and most abominable lusts. No care was taken to maintain the dignity of the pontificate ; no thought bestowed on the character of those who should succeed to it : the reigning pope sought only how he might raise his sons, nephews, and other relations, to immoderate wealth, and even to principalities and kingdoms ; and, instead of conferring ecclesiastical dignities and emoluments on the virtuous and deserving, he either sold them to the best bidder, or lavished them on those who promised to be most subservient to his ambition, avarice, and voluptuousness. Though these things had eradicated from the minds of men all that reverence which was once felt for the popes, yet their authority was still sustained to a certain degree by the imposing and potent influence of the name of religion, together with the means which they possessed of gratifying princes and their courtiers, by bestowing on them dignities and other ecclesiastical favours. Presuming on the respect which men entertained for their office—aware that any prince who took up arms against them incurred general odium, and exposed himself to the attack of other powers, and knowing that, if victorious, they could make their own terms, and, if vanquished, they would escape on easy conditions—the pontiffs abandoned themselves to their ruling

passion of aggrandizing their friends, and proved, for a long time, the instruments of exciting wars, and spreading conflagrations over the whole of Italy."[1]

On the other hand, the obstacles to ecclesiastical reform, and the reception of divine truth, were numerous and formidable in Italy. The Italians could not, indeed, be said to feel at this period a superstitious devotion to the see of Rome. This did not originally form a discriminating feature of their national character; it was superinduced, and the formation of it can be distinctly traced to causes which produced their full effect subsequently to the era of the Reformation. The republics of Italy, in the middle ages, gave many proofs of religious independence, and singly braved the menaces and excommunications of the Vatican, at a time when all Europe trembled at the sound of its thunder. That quick-sighted and ingenious people had, at an early period, penetrated the mystery by which the emptiness of the papal claims was veiled, while the opportunity which they enjoyed of narrowly inspecting the lives of the popes, and the real motives by which they were actuated in the most imposing of their undertakings, had dissipated from their minds those sentiments of veneration and awe for the holy see which continued to be felt by such as viewed it from a distance. The consequence of this, under the corrupt form in which Christianity everywhere presented itself, was the production of a spirit of indifference about religion, which, on the revival of learning, settled into scepticism, masked by an external respect to the established forms of the church. In this state did matters remain until the middle of the sixteenth century, when, from causes to be explained hereafter, bigotry and superstition took the place of irreligion and infidelity, and the popes recovered that empire over the minds and consciences of their countrymen which they had almost entirely lost. If, before this period, there were few heretics in Italy, or if those who swerved from the received faith were less eagerly inquired after, and less severely punished there than in other countries, it was because the people did not give themselves the trouble to think on the subject. Generally speaking, devotion, even according to the principles authorised by the Roman church, was extinct among the Italians. They were not attached to the church either by a lively faith or an ardent enthusiasm, by the convictions of the understanding or the sentiments of the heart. The religion of the statesmen resolved itself into their secular interest; the learned felt more respect for Aristotle or Plato, than for the sacred Scriptures or the writings of the Christian fathers; and the people, always under the influence of their senses and imagination, were attracted to the services of the church by the magnificence of its temples, and by the splendour and gaiety of its religious festivals.[2]

On a superficial view of the matter, we may be apt to think that a

[1] Guicciardini Paralipomena, ex autographo Florentino recensita, p. 46—48. Amstel. 16[illegible].

[2] Sismondi, Hist. des Rép. Ital. tom. viii. p. 237—240.

people, who felt felt in the manner which has been described, might have been detached, without much difficulty, from their obedience to the church of Rome. But a little reflection will be sufficient to satisfy us, that such expectations are unreasonable. None are more impervious to conviction, or less disposed to make sacrifices to truth, than those who have sunk into indifference about religion under the practice of its forms. The spiritual and humbling doctrines of the gospel, as brought forward, simply and without disguise, by the first reformers, are offensive to the pride of the human mind; and experience has shewn, that men, whose minds were emancipated from vulgar prejudices, but whose hearts were dead to religious feeling, have yielded as ready a support to established systems of error, and proved as bitter enemies and persecutors of the truth, as the mose superstitious and bigoted. But this is not all. The want of religious principle was, on the present occasion, supplied by national vanity and a regard to national interest; two principles which had operated, for more than a century before the Reformation, in strengthening the attachment of the Italians to the Roman see. By the removal of the papal court to Avignon, the wealth and importance of the city of Rome had been greatly diminished. After the return of the popes to their ancient seat, and the revival of the pontificate from the deadly wound inflicted on it by the schism of the anti-popes, the Romans congratulated themselves on the recovery of their former distinction. In this feeling, their countrymen in general participated; and the passion for political liberty, by which they had been animated, having subsided, they seemed to think that the loss of the ancient glory of Italy as the mistress of the world was compensated by the flattering station to which she was now raised as the head of Christendom. Accordingly, when the councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle, attacked the corruptions of the Roman court, and sought to abridge its extensive authority, the Italians came forward in its defence. They felt themselves dishonoured as a nation, by the invectives which were pronounced against the "Italian vices" of the pontiffs; and they saw that the reforms, which were so eagerly pressed, would cut off or drain those pecuniary resources by which they hoped to be enriched. The popes were careful to foster this spirit. By a system of artful policy, they had taken effectual care that the power, which they had gradually acquired over the nations of the West, should not be empty or unproductive; and the wealth of Europe continued to flow in various channels to Rome, from which it was distributed through Italy. Under the name of annats the pope received the first year's produce of all ecclesiastical livings after every vacancy. He drew large sums of money for the confirmation of bishops, and for the gift of archi-episcopal palls. His demands on the clergy for benevolences were frequent, besides the extraordinary levy of the tenths of benefices, on pretence of expeditions against the Turks, which were seldom or never undertaken.[1]

[1] The chief of the new Pharisees meantime,
Waging his warfare near the Lateran,
Not with Saracens or Jews; his foes
All Christians were.—*Dante*, *Inf.* c. xxvii.

Add to these, the sums exacted for dispensations, absolutions, and indulgences, with the constant and incalculable revenue arising from law-suits, brought from every country by appeal to Rome, carried on there at great expense, and protracted to an indefinite length of time. The pope had also an extensive right of patronage in every country which owned his authority: he presented to all benefices which came under the name of *reserved*, and to those vacant by translation, or which had been possessed by persons who died at Rome, or within forty miles of it, on their journey to or from that city.[1] These, if not sold to the highest bidder, were generally conferred on Italians, upon whom the pope could rely with more implicit confidence than on foreigners, for extending his authority, and supporting him in those contests in which his ambition involved him with the secular powers. In consequence of the influence which the court of Rome had come to exert in the political affairs of Europe during the fifteenth century, almost every sovereign strove to procure for his near relations, or for some of his subjects, seats in the sacred college; and these were usually purchased by the gift of the richest benefices within his kingdom to those who, from their situation or connections, had it most in their power to serve his interests in the conclave. There was not an Italian state or town which did not, on these accounts, depend on the papal court; nor a great family which had not some of its relations in offices connected with it. The greater part of the learned either held ecclesiastical benefices, or enjoyed pensions which they drew from them. Italy was a land of priests. The regular clergy, the sworn clients of the popedom, formidable by their numbers, and by the privileges which they enjoyed, were always prepared to take part with the court of Rome, which, in its turn, supported them against every attempt of the government under which they lived to resist their encroachments, or to correct their most flagrant vices.[2] Though the states of the church properly so called, even after they had been enlarged by the warlike Julius, were confined within narrow bounds,

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. x. and xi. Appellatio Univers. Paris.; apud Richer. Hist. Concil. Gen. lib. iv. p. 2. cap. iv. § 15. Georgii Gravamina, p. 363, 522. Kappe, Nachlese Ref. Urkunden, P. ii. p. 399, 435; P. iii. p. 246—350. Robertson's Charles V. vol. ii. p. 148—150, 273. Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition d'Espagne, vol. i. p. 239—256.

[2] In 1562, the city of Florence alone contained four thousand three hundred and forty-one monks, divided into forty-five monasteries. Cosmo, duke of Tuscany, in 1545, ordered the Dominican Observantines, who had disturbed his government, to quit the monastery of St Marco, which he gave to the Augustinians. The expelled monks complained to the pope, who ordered the Augustinians, under the highest pains, to retire instantly from the convent; endeavoured to stir up all Christian princes against the duke, as an innovator in religion; and issued a brief, threatening him with excommunication, if he did not, within three days, remit the whole cause to be judged at Rome. In consequence of this, the Dominicans returned to their convent in triumph. Cosmo was equally unsuccessful in his attempts to abridge the privilege of the monks to exemption from secular jurisdiction, which was deluging the country with crimes of every description; and he was obliged to supplicate his holiness to send a legate, "il quale avesse autorità di castigare li Frati nei delctti di eresia, monasteri, bestemia, &c.; perchè i Frati non gli castigano ancora di assassinio e omicidio, e che non gli castighino in abbiamo provato infinite volte. Ancora avesse autorità di castigare li Preti che dai loro Vescovo non fossero puniti secondo i canoni, perchè ogni giorno vediamo grandissimo stravaganze, e voremmo castigando noi li Laici che ancor li Frati e li Preti con l'impunità non dessero simili esempio." Galuzzi, Istoria del Granducato di Toscana, tom. i. 66—68, 73, 139, 365.

yet the pontiffs had taken care to preserve their paramount power over those districts or cities which withdrew from their government, by transferring it to particular families, under the title of vicars of the church. Indeed, there were few places in Italy to which they had not, at one time or another, advanced a claim, founded on real or pretended grants;[1] and provided any prince testified a disposition to withdraw his allegiance from the see of Rome, or to resist its authority, it was easy for the pope to revive his dormant claim, and having launched the sentence of excommunication, to add the forfeited possessions to the patrimony of the church, or to bestow them on some neighbouring rival of the rebellious heretic.[2]

When these things are taken into consideration, it will be matter of surprise, that the reformed doctrine made so much progress in Italy as we shall find it to have made; and we can easily account for the mistake into which some writers, guided by theory rather than fact, have fallen, when they assert that it had few converts in that country.[3]

[1] Franc. Guicciardini Paralipomena: Discorso levato del tutto via dell'historia nel quarto libro, p. 35—42, 44.

[2] So late as the year 1555, the pope, Paul IV., not only excommunicated Marc-antonio Colonna, and deprived him of the dukedom of Palieno, but ordered a legal process to be commenced, in the apostolical chamber, against Philip II., king of Naples, as a schismatic and favourer of heresy, inferring, if proved, that he should be deprived of the crown of the two Sicilies, as a fief of the holy see; and sentence would have been pronounced against him, had not the duke of Alva advanced with his troops from Naples to Rome. Llorente, ii. 172—181.

[3] "Peu de personnes prirent le parti de Luther en Italie. Ce peuple ingénieux occupé d'intrigues et de plaisirs n'eut aucun part à ces troubles." Voltaire, Essai sur les Mœurs, chap. cxxviii. Voltaire is not the only author who has committed this error.

CHAPTER II.

INTRODUCTION OF THE REFORMED OPINIONS INTO ITALY, AND CAUSES OF THEIR PROGRESS.

A CONTROVERSY, which had been carried on for several years with great warmth in Germany, and which was at last brought before the papal court for decision, deserves notice here, as having contributed, in no small degree, to direct the attention of the Italians, at an early period, to the reformed opinions. A suspicious convert from Judaism, either from hostility to learning, or with the view of extorting money from his countrymen, leagued with an inquisitor of Cologne, and obtained from the imperial chamber a decree, ordaining all Jewish books, with the exception of the Bible, to be committed to the flames, as filled with blasphemies against Christ. John Reuchlin, or Capnio, a learned man of Suabia, and the restorer of Hebrew literature among Christians,[1] exerted himself, both privately and from the press, to prevent the execution of this barbarous decree. His successful opposition exposed him to the resentment of the clergy, and sentence was pronounced against him, first by the divines of Cologne, and afterwards by the Sorbonne at Paris. Reuchlin appealed to Rome, and the friends of learning determined to make his cause a common one. Erasmus and other distinguished individuals wrote warmly in his favour to their friends at Rome, several of whom belonged to the sacred college; and the monks exerted themselves with equal zeal to defeat a party which they had long hated, and from which they had much to dread. No cause of the kind had, for a long time, excited such general interest. On the one side were ranked the monks, the most devoted clients of the papal throne; on the other, the men who had attracted the admiration of Europe by their talents and writings. The court of Rome was afraid of offending either side, and by means of those arts which it knew so well how to employ in delicate cases, protracted the affair from time to time. During this interval, the monks and their supporters were

[1] It ought to be mentioned, to the honour of the Netherlands, that Reuchlin received his first knowledge of Hebrew from John Wessel, a native of Groningen. Mains, Vita Joannis Reuchlini Phorcensis, p. 154. To this singular man, Luther gives the title of *God-taught*; and, in an epistle prefixed to his works, he says, "If I had read them before, my enemies might have said, that Luther had borrowed everything from Wessel, so much do our writings breathe the same spirit." Luther's Sämtliche Schriften, tom. xiv. p. 219—223. Wessel died in 1489.

subjected to the lash of the most cutting satires ;[1] and the ultimate sentence, enjoining silence on both parties, was scarcely ratified, when the controversy between Luther and the preachers of indulgences arose, and was brought before the same tribunal for decision.[2]

The noise excited by the late process had fixed the attention of the Italians on Germany ; the facts which it brought to light abated the contempt with which they had hitherto regarded the inhabitants of that country ; Luther had taken part with Reuchlin ;[3] and some of the keenest and most intrepid defenders of the latter, such as Ulric Hutten, declared, at an early period, in favour of the religious opinions of the former.

It was not to be expected, after all, that a dispute managed by a friar in an obscure part of Germany, against the sale of indulgences, a traffic which had long been carried on under the auspices and for the profit of the see of Rome, would attract much attention in Italy. But the boldness of his own mind, and the provoking impudence of his antagonists, having led Luther to persevere in his opposition, and gradually to extend his censure to other abuses, his name and opinions soon became the topic of general conversation beyond the limits of his native country. Within two years from the time of his first appearance against indulgences, his writings had found their way into Italy, where they met with a favourable reception from the learned. It must have been highly gratifying to the reformer, to receive the following information, in a letter addressed to him by John Froben, a celebrated printer at Basle :—"Blasius Salmonius, a bookseller of Leipsic, presented me, at the last Frankfort fair, with certain treatises composed by you, which being approved by learned men, I immediately put to press and sent six hundred copies to France and Spain. My friends assure me, that they are sold at Paris, and read and approved of even by the Sorbonists. Several learned men there have said, that they have long wished to see divine things treated with such becoming freedom. Calvus, a bookseller of Pavia,[4] himself a scholar and addicted to the muses, has carried a great part of the impression into Italy. He promises to send epigrams

[1] Of these, the most celebrated was the work entitled, Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum, the joint production of several learned men.

[2] Maii Vita Reuchlini, *passim*. Schlegel, Vita Georgii Spalatini, p. 24, 25. Bulæi Hist. Univ. Paris. tom. vi. p. 47—57. Beside the works mentioned by Maius, Pfefferkoru published, "Speculum adhortationis Judaice ad Christum," and "Libellus de Judaica confessione, sive sabbato afflictionis." Both were printed at Cologne in 1508, and evince a bitter hostility to his countrymen.

[3] Luther's Sämtliche Schriften, tom. xxi. p. 518—521. A letter from him to Reuchlin is to be found in Illustrium Virorum Epistolæ ad Joannem Reuchlin. Liber Secundus, sig. C. 3. Hagenoæ, 1519. The interest which he took in the affairs of that scholar, appears from the incidental reference which he made to him in the midst of his own trials :—"Minacibus illis meis amicis nihil habeo quod respondeam, nisi illud Reuchlinianam, Qui pauper est, nihil timet, nihil potest perdere. Res nec habeo, nec cupio." Epistola ad J. Staupicium, die S. Trinitatis, 1518. Opera Omn. tom. i. f. 74. Jenæ, 1564.

[4] The person referred to in the text is Francesco Calvi, often mentioned in the letters of Erasmus, and highly praised by Andrea Alciati the civilian, and other learned men. Tiraboschi, vii. 365. Speaking of the difficulty of disposing of books in Italy, Cælio Calcagnini says, in a letter dated from Ferrara, 17 kal. Febr. 1525, "Unus fuit Calvus, ejus Calvi frater qui rem impressoriam curat Romæ, qui non pecuniam sed librorum permutationem obtulit." Calcagnini Opera, p. 115.

written in your praise by the most enlightened men in that country;[1] such favour have you gained to yourself and the cause of Christ, by your constancy, courage, and dexterity."[2] A letter has also been preserved, written about this time by an individual in Rome, in which the spirit and writings of Luther are applauded.[3]

Burchard Schenk, a German nobleman who had embraced a monastic life and resided at Venice, writes, on the 19th of September 1520, to Spalatin, the chaplain of the elector of Saxony :—"According to your request, I have read the books of Martin Luther, and I can assure you that he has been much esteemed in this place for some time past. But the common saying is, 'Let him beware of the pope!' Upwards of two months ago, ten copies of his books were brought here, and instantly purchased, before I had even heard of their arrival; but, in the beginning of this month, a mandate from the pope and the patriarch of Venice arrived, prohibiting them; and a strict search having been instituted among the booksellers, one imperfect copy was found and seized. I had endeavoured to obtain that copy, but the bookseller durst not dispose of it."[4] In a letter written during the following year, the same person states, that the senate of Venice had at last reluctantly consented to the publication of the papal bull against Luther, but had taken care that it should not be read until the people had left the church.[5] Two circumstances of a curious kind appear from this correspondence. The one is, that Schenk had received a commission from the elector of Saxony to purchase relics for the collegiate church of Wittemberg; but the commission was now revoked, and the relics sent back to Italy, to be sold at what price they would bring; "for," writes Spalatin, "here even the common people despise them, and think it sufficient (as it certainly is) if they be taught from Scripture to have faith and confidence in God, and love to their neighbour."[6] The other fact is, that the person employed by Schenk to collect relics for the elector was Vergerio, afterwards bishop of Capo d'Istria, and legate from the pope to the German princes, but who ultimately renounced popery, and became eminently instrumental in spreading the reformed doctrine in Italy and elsewhere. The character given of him, at this early period of his life, is worthy of notice, as the popish writers, after his defection, endeavoured, in every possible way, to discredit his authority, and tarnish his reputation. Schenk describes him as "a most excellent young man, who had distinguished himself among the students of law at Padua, and was

[1] Schelhorn (Amœnit. Hist. Eccles. et Liter. tom. ii. p. 624), has published a copy of verses in praise of Luther, composed at Milan in 1521, which conclude thus:—

Macte igitur virtute, pater celebrande Luthere,
Communis cujus pendet ab ore salus:
Gratia cui ablatis debetur maxima monstris,
Alcidæ potuit quæ metuisse manus.

[2] Miscellanea Groningana, tom. iii. p. 61—63. Froben's letter is dated, Basileæ d. 14. Februar. 1519." A letter to the same purpose by Wolfgangus Fabricius Capito, dated "12. kal. Martii, 1519," is inserted in Scultetti Annal. Reform. p. 44.

[3] Riederer, Nachrichten fur Kirchengelehrten und Buchergeschichte, tom i. p. 179.

[4] Seckendorf. Hist. Lutheranismi, tom. i. p. 115.

[5] Ibid., p. 116.

[6] Schlegel, Vita Spalatini, p. 59.

desirous of finishing his studies at Wittemberg, under the auspices and patronage of the elector Frederic."[1]

In spite of the terror of pontifical bulls and the activity of those who watched over their execution, the writings of Luther and Melanchthon, Zuingle and Bucer, continued to be circulated and read with avidity and delight in various parts of Italy. Some of them were translated into the Italian language,[2] and, to elude the vigilance of the inquisitors, were published under disguised and fictitious names, by which means they made their way into Rome and even into the palace of the Vatican; so that bishops and cardinals unwittingly read and praised works, which, on discovering their real authors, they were obliged to pronounce dangerous and heretical. The elder Scaliger relates an incident of this kind, which happened when he was at Rome. "Cardinal Seraphin," says he, "who was at that time counsellor of the papal Rota, came to me one day, and said, 'We have had a most laughable business before us to-day. The Common Places of Philip Melanchthon were printed at Venice with this title, *par Messer Ippofilo da Terra Negra*.[3] Being sent to Rome, they were freely bought for the space of a whole year, and read with great applause, so that the copies being exhausted, an order was sent to Venice for a fresh supply; but, in the meantime, a Franciscan friar, who possessed a copy of the original edition, discovered the trick, and denounced the book as a Lutheran production from the pen of Melanchthon. It was proposed to punish the poor printer, who probably could not read one word of the original; but, at last, it was agreed to burn the copies and suppress the whole affair.'"[4] A similar anecdote is told of Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans, and his treatise on justification, which were eagerly read for some time, as the productions of cardinal Fregoso.[5] The works of Zuingle were circulated under the name of Coricius Cogelius;[6] and several editions of Martin Bucer's commentary on the Psalms were sold in Italy and France as the work of Aretius Felinus. In this last instance, the learned stratagem was used with the consent of the author. "I am employed," says Bucer, in a letter to Zuingle, "in an exposition of the Psalms, which, at the urgent request of our brethren in France and Lower Germany, I propose to publish under a foreign name, that the work may be bought by their booksellers; for it is a capital crime to

[1] Seckend. tom. i. p. 223.

[2] Luther's Shorter Catechism, and his Exposition of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Decalogue, &c. were printed in Italian. Ukert, Luther's Leben, tom. ii. p. 305.

[3] *Schwartzerd*, which was his proper name, signifies in German, as *Melanchthon* does in Greek, and *Terra Negra* in Italian, *black earth*. The Italian translator of the Common Places is erroneously supposed by Fontanini to have been the celebrated critic, Ludovico Castelvetro. Della Eloquenza Italiana, p. 490—509.

[4] Scaligerana Secunda, art. *Rota*. See also Brucker, Miscel. Hist. &c. part. ii. p. 323, 333. Greater mistakes than this have been committed in Italy since that period. "My hostess, the good mother Coleti," says Chardon de la Rochette, "says her prayers every day before a beautiful miniature, which represents Luther on the one side and Melanchthon on the other. She believes them to be portraits of St Peter and St Paul." Litterarische Analekten von F. A. Wolf, vol. i. p. 405.

[5] Vergerii Adnot. in Catal. Hæret, Romæ, 1559.

[6] Gerdesii Ital. Ref. p. 12—14.

import into these countries books which bear our names. I therefore pretend that I am a Frenchman, and, if I do not change my mind, shall send forth the book as the production of *Aretius Felinus*, which, indeed, is my name and surname, the former in Greek, and the latter in Latin."[1]

It is one thing to discover the errors and abuses of the Church of Rome, and it is another, and a very different thing, to have the mind opened to perceive the spiritual beauty, and to feel the regenerating influence of divine truth. Many who could easily discern the former, remained complete strangers to the latter, as preached by Luther and his associates; and it is not to be expected that these would make sacrifices, and still less that they would count all things loss, for the excellent knowledge of Christ. Persons of this character abounded at this period in Italy. But the following extracts shew that many of the Italians "received the love of the truth;" and they paint in strong colours the ardent thirst for knowledge which the perusal of the first writings of the reformers had excited in their breasts. "It is now fourteen years," writes Egidio di Porta, an Augustinian monk on the Lake of Como, to Zuingle, "since I, under the impulse of a certain pious feeling, but not according to knowledge, withdrew from my parents and assumed the black cowl. If I did not become learned and devout, I at least appeared to be so, and for seven years discharged the office of a preacher of God's word, alas! in deep ignorance. I savoured not the things of Christ; I ascribed nothing to faith, all to works. But God would not permit his servant to perish for ever. He brought me to the dust. I was made to cry out, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? At length my heart heard the delightful voice, Go to Ulric Zuingle, and he will tell thee what thou shouldst do. O ravishing sound! my soul found ineffable peace in that sound. Do not think that I mock you; for you, nay not you but God, by your means, rescued me from the snare of the fowler. But why do I say *me?* for I trust you have saved others along with me."[2] In these enthusiastic strains does Porta communicate the intelligence, that he had been enlightened by the writings of the Swiss reformer which Providence had thrown in his way, and that he had imparted the knowledge of the truth to some of his brethren of the same convent. In another letter, he adjures Zuingle to write him something that might be useful for opening the eyes of others belonging to his religious order. "But let it be cautiously written," continues he "for they are full of pride and self-conceit. Place some passages of Scripture before them, by which they

[1] Le Long, edit. Masch, vol. iii. part. ii. p. 520. Colomesii Notæ in Scaliger. Secund. p. 538. Fontanini, Della Eloquenza Ital. p. 490. The work was printed first at Strasburg in 1529, under this title: "Psalmorum Libri quinque ad Abraicam veritatem versi, et familiari explanatione elucidati. Per Aretium Felinum Theologum." The dedication to the Dauphin of France is dated, "Lugduni iii. Idus Julias Anno M.D.XXIX." Bucer also assumed the names of *Treu von Friedesleben*, and *Waremund Luithold*.

[2] Epistola Ægidii a Porta, Comensis, Dec. 9, 1525: Hottinger, Hist. Eccl. Sec. xvi. tom. ii. p. 611.

may perceive how much God is pleased to have his word preached purely and without mixture, and how highly he is offended with those who adulterate it, and bring forward their own opinions as divine."[1] The same spirit breathes in a letter addressed by Baltasare Fontana, a Carmelite monk of Locarno, to the evangelical churches of Switzerland. "Hail! faithful in Christ. Think, O think of Lazarus in the gospels, and of the lowly woman of Canaan, who was willing to be satisfied with the crumbs which fell from the table of the Lord. As David came to the priest in a servile dress and unarmed, so do I fly to you for the show-bread and the armour laid up in the sanctuary. Parched with thirst, I seek the fountains of living water; sitting like the blind man by the wayside, I cry to him that gives sight. With tears and sighs we, who sit here in darkness, humbly entreat you who are acquainted with the titles and authors of the books of knowledge, (for to you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God,) to send us the writings of such elect teachers as you possess, and particularly the works of the divine Zuingle, the far-famed Luther, the acute Melanchthon, the accurate Ecolampade. The prices shall be paid to you through his excellency, Werdmyller. Do your endeavour that a city of Lombardy, enslaved by Babylon, and a stranger to the gospel of Christ, may be set free."[2]

The attention which had been paid to sacred literature in Italy contributed, in no small degree, to the spread of the reformed opinions. In this, as well as in every other literary pursuit, the Italians took the lead, though they were afterwards outstripped by the Germans. From the year 1477, when the psalter appeared in Hebrew, different parts of the Old Testament, in the original, continued to issue from the press; until at last, in the year 1488, a complete Hebrew Bible was printed at Soncino, a city of the Cremonese, by a family of Jews, who, under the adopted name of Soncinati, established printing-presses in various parts of Europe, including Constantinople. This department of typography was almost entirely engrossed by the Jews, until the year 1518, when an edition of the Hebrew Scriptures, accompanied with various readings and Rabbinical commentaries, proceeded from the splendid press which Daniel Bomberg had recently erected at Venice.[3]

A minute investigation of ancient documents shews that the knowledge of Hebrew was not quite extinct among Christians in Italy anterior to the revival of letters. An individual now and then had the curiosity to acquire some insight into it from a Jew, or had the courage to grapple, in his own strength, with the difficulties of a language whose very characters wore a formidable aspect to European eyes; and persons

[1] Epist. Dec. 9, 1525: Hottinger, Hist. Eccl. Sec. xvi. tom. ii. p. 16.

[2] "Apud Comum, 15th December 1526." Another letter from the same individual, dated, "Ex Locarno Kal. Mart. anno 1531," is published by Hottinger, Hist. tom. vi. part. ii. p. 618, 620, 271. Tempe Helvetica, tom. iv. p. 141.

[3] De Rossi, De Heb. Typogr. Origin. Wilhelm Fried. Hetzels Geschichte der Hebraischen Sprache und Litteratur, p. 143—176. Le Long. Bibl. Sac. edit. Masch, vol. i. par. i. Baueri Crit. Sac. p. 230, 232.

who, like Fra Ricoldo of Florence, and Ciriaco of Ancona, travelled into Turkey, Syria, and adjacent countries, picked up some acquaintance with other languages of the East. In the literary history of Italy, during the early part of the fifteenth century, several persons are spoken of as Hebrew and Arabic scholars; the most distinguished of whom was Giannozzo Manetti, a Florentine, who drew up a triglot psalter, containing a Latin translation made by himself from the original.[1] But the study of Hebrew in Italy, properly speaking, was coeval with the printing of the Hebrew Scriptures; and it was facilitated by the severe measures taken by Ferdinand and Isabella, at the instigation of the inquisitors, against the Jews, which induced many of that people to emigrate from Spain to Italy, where, from lucrative motives, they were favourably received by the popes.[2]

One of the earliest students of the oriental tongues in Italy was Giovanni Pico, a young man of rank, and the prodigy of his age for learning. He was the son of Gianfrancesco Pico, prince of Mirandula and Concordia. From early youth he possessed so quick an apprehension, and so retentive a memory, as to forget nothing which he heard or read. After studying in the most celebrated universities of his native country and France, he came to Rome, with the reputation of knowing twenty-two languages; and, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, published nine hundred propositions, relating to dialectics, morals, physics, mathematics, metaphysics, theology, and natural magic, as treated by the Chaldean, Arabian, Greek, and Latin philosophers, and by the Christian fathers and schoolmen, declaring that he was ready to dispute with any person upon every one of them.[3] The challenge was not accepted; and it exposed Pico to a more serious charge than that of vanity. He was accused to Innocent VIII. as a heretic; and thirteen propositions, selected from his work, having been submitted to certain divines, the pope condemned them as suspicious and dangerous, but exempted the author from punishment, because he had protested, on oath, his willingness to submit in all things to the judgment of the church. In the meantime, he published a large apology for the offensive articles, in which he shewed much ingenuity in reconciling them to the Catholic doctrine. This produced a fresh summons, from the effects of which he was saved by the demise of Innocent; and, after remaining for some time at Florence, he obtained, through the good offices of his friends, a brief of absolution and security from the new pope, Alexander VI.[4] At Florence he contracted an intimate friendship with

[1] Tiraboschi, Storia della Letteratura Italiana, tom. vi. p. 792, 679.

[2] Basnage, Histoire des Juifs, liv. vii. chap. xxix. sect. iv.—vii. Sadoleti Epist. lib. xii. p. 5, 6. Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition d'Espagne, tom. i. p. 161—170.

[3] A MS. copy of the propositions, preserved in the library of Vienna, has, at the end, the following notification in Latin:—"The dispute on these conclusions will not take place until after Epiphany. In the meantime, they will be published in all the academies of Italy; and if any philosopher or divine choose to come from the remotest parts of Italy to dispute, his expenses shall be borne." (Lambacher, Biblioth. Civit. Vindobon. p. 286.)

[4] The papal brief is prefixed to the edition of his works printed at Basle in 1572. Among the condemned propositions are the two fol-

Lorenzo de Medici, and other men of genius, by whom he was courted for his erudition and taste. But his mind underwent a great change about this time; and, having relinquished the pursuit of secular learning, and committed to the flames a collection of his Italian and Latin poems, which had been revised and approved of by Politiano, he devoted himself to sacred studies and the practice of piety. In the midst of these exercises, he was seized with a fever in 1494, and prematurely cut off in the thirty-second year of his age.[1] Pico had begun the study of the oriental languages before he became decidedly pious. He was instructed in Hebrew by a Jew, called Jochana.[2] His teacher in Chaldee was one Mithridates, of whom he gives the following singular account, in a letter to a friend:—"As to your request for the Chaldee alphabet, you cannot obtain it from Mithridates, nor from me, who am always ready to grant you everything. For this man would not agree to teach me the Chaldee tongue until I had taken an oath, in express words, that I would impart it to nobody. Of this you may be assured by the testimony of our friend Geronimo Benivieni, who, happening to be present one day when I was about to receive a lesson, Mithridates, in a rage, drove him out of the room. But, not to disappoint you altogether, instead of the Chaldee, you will receive with this packet the Arabic characters, which I copied with my own hand."[3] Judging from the writings of Pico, his knowledge of Hebrew was not inconsiderable;[4] of the enthusiasm with which he studied it and the cognate languages of the east, we have the most satisfactory evidence in his confidential letters. Writing to his nephew, he says—"The reason why you have not had an answer to your letter is, that I have met with certain Hebrew books, which have occupied me for a whole week, night and day, so that I am nearly blind. They were brought me twenty days ago by a Jew from Sicily, and, as I am afraid that they may be recalled, you must not expect to hear a word from me till I have thoroughly examined their contents. When that is done I shall overwhelm you with letters."[5] In a letter to Marsilio Ficino, he writes—"You could not have demanded back your Latin Mahomet at a more convenient time, as I expect shortly to be able to read him in his native tongue. Having laboured a whole month in studying the Hebrew language, I am about to apply myself to Arabic, and am not afraid but that I shall make as much proficiency in it as I have done in Hebrew, in which I

lowing:—That Christ did not descend into hell truly, or in respect of real presence; and that neither the cross of Christ, nor any other image, is to be adored with the worship called *latria*, as taught by Thomas Aquinas. There are other propositions in the work which, it might have been supposed, would have given equal offence, such as, that the will of God is the sole reason why he reprobates some, and elects others; that the true body of Christ is in heaven locally, and on the altar sacramentally; and that the same body cannot be made, by the power of God, to exist in different places at the same time. Opera J. Pici, p. 62—65.

[1] Biblioteca Modonese, dal Girol. Tiraboschi, tom. iv. p. 95—103. Roscoe's Lorenzo de Medici, vol. ii. p. 91—95.

[2] Opera J. Franc. Pici, p. 1371.

[3] Opera J. Pici, p. 385.

[4] See his *Heptaplus*, or treatise on the Mosaic account of the creation, in the collection of his works.

[5] Opera, p. 360.

can now write a letter correctly, though not with elegance. You see what resolution, accompanied with labour and diligence, can do, even when the bodily strength is small. Certain books, in both languages, which have come into my hands, not by chance, but by the direction of a kind Providence favouring my studies, have encouraged and compelled me to lay aside everything for the sake of acquiring the knowledge of Arabic and Chaldee. Having obtained these, (shall I call them books or treasures?) I was inflamed with the desire of being able to read them without an interpreter—a task at which I am now toiling with all my might. Do not think, however, that I forget your favourite Plotinus."[1] We need not wonder that the enthusiasm of this scholar made him the dupe of designing and covetous men. Perceiving his strong desire to demonstrate the truth of the Christian religion, and its mysteries, from the recondite sources of Pythagorean and Jewish philosophy, certain impostors interpolated some cabalistic books, of which they sold him seventy volumes at a great price, with a solemn assurance that they were written under the direction of Ezra, and contained that interpretation of the law which the Jews had hitherto religiously concealed from Christians.[2] The same thing happened to his contemporary and countryman, Annius, or Nanni, of Viterbo, who was induced to publish a number of fabulous works, as the authentic productions of Berosus, Manetho, Fabius Pictor, and other ancient writers;[3] and similar impositions have been practised upon literary men in later and more enlightened times. Gianfrancesco Pico inherited his uncle's taste for Hebrew literature;[4] and other scholars arose, who cultivated it, not indeed with equal zeal, but certainly with more success.

Germany had the honour of giving to the world the first elementary work on Hebrew which was written by a Christian, or in the Latin language, in the grammar and lexicon of John Reuchlin, printed at Pfortzheim in the year 1506; but, as early as 1490, the Book of Roots, or lexicon, of the celebrated Jewish grammarian, David Kimchi, was published in the original at Venice.[5] Francesco Stancari of Mantua, who afterwards embraced the Protestant religion, and excited great commotions in Poland, published a Hebrew grammar in 1525.[6] Felix of Prato, a converted Jew, who published a Latin translation of the Psalms in 1515, appears to have been the first Christian in Italy who taught Hebrew, being invited to Rome, for this purpose, in 1518, by Leo X.[7] About the same time, Agathias Guidacerio, a native of

[1] Opera, J. Pici, p. 367, 368.

[2] Ib. p. 123. Reuchlin, De Arte Cabbalistica, lib. i. f. 13. b. Bruckeri Hist. Philos. tom. ii. p. 669, 910. Simon, Lettres Choisies, tom. ii. p. 188.

[3] Tiraboschi, Lett. Ital. tom. vi. part ii. p. 17.

[4] Opera Joan. Francisci Pici, p. 1371. Colomesii Italia Orientalis, p. 46—51.

[5] Hirts Orientalische und Exegetische Bibliothek, tom. i. p. 35, 44. . G. Laur. Baueri Hermeneutica Sacra, p. 175.

[6] Tiraboschi, tom. vii. p. 1087. Stancari became professor of Hebrew, first in the university of Cracow, and afterwards in that of Konigsberg. Harknochs Preussische Kirchenhistorie, p. 333. Hetzel speaks as if none of his grammatical works appeared before 1547. Geschichte der Heb. Sprache, p. 169.

[7] Tiraboschi, vii. 1083. Colomesii Ital. Orient. p. 19. Le Long, edit. Masch, vol. i. part i. p. 97; vol. ii. part ii. p. 534.

Catano, also taught it at Rome, from which he was called by Francis I. to be professor of the sacred tongue in the Trilingual college at Paris, in which Paolo Paradisi, or Canossa, his countryman, and, like him, the author of a work on Hebrew grammar, afterwards held the same situation.[1]

As early as 1514, a collection of prayers was printed in the Arabic language and character at Fano, in the ecclesiastical states, at a press which had been founded by the warlike pontiff, Julius II.[2] Previous to this, an edition of the Koran, in the original language, had been begun, and a part of it at least printed at Venice, by Pagnino de Pagninis.[3] But the principal work in this language, so far as biblical literature is concerned, was produced by Agostino Justiniani, bishop of Nebio in Corsica, in a polyglot psalter, containing the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic, Greek, and Latin; printed at Genoa in the year 1516, and intended as a specimen of a polyglot bible, which the author had been long engaged in preparing for the press.[4] This work procured him an invitation from Francis I. to teach the oriental tongues at Paris.[5] Juan Leon, a native of Elvira in Spain, better known as a historian by the name of Leo Africanus, instructed many of the Italians in Arabic, and, among others, Egidio of Viterbo, a prelate still more distinguished for elegant taste and extensive learning than for rank, who zealously promoted oriental studies among his countrymen, both by example and patronage. The master went to Tunis, and relapsed to Mahometanism; the scholar was advanced to the purple, and sent as ambassador to Constantinople.[6]

Certain deputies sent to Rome, from the Christians of Abyssinia, during the sitting of the Lateran council in 1512, were the means of introducing into Europe the knowledge of the Ethiopic, or, as they called it, Chaldean language, in which their countrymen continued to perform the religious service. In consequence of instructions received from them, John Potken, provost of St George's at Cologne, was able, in 1513, to publish, at Rome, the Psalter and Song of Solomon in Ethiopic, with a short introduction to that language.[7] At a subsequent period, a learned abbot of that country, named Tesso-Sionis Malhesini, or, as he called himself in Europe, Peter Sionita, who resided at Rome under the patronage of cardinal Marcello Cervini, taught his native tongue to Pierpaolo Gualtieri and Mariano Vittorio, afterwards bishop

[1] Prefat. in Lib. Michlol, per Agathiam Guidacerium; Parisiis in Collegio Italorum, 1540. Conf. Colomesii Ital. Orient. p. 60, 68—70.

[2] Schnurreri Bibliotheca Arabica, p. 231—234.

Ibid. p. 402—404.

[4] Dedic. Justiniani ad Leonem X. Conf. Le Long, edit. Masch, vol. i. part i. p. 400.

[5] Tiraboschi, tom. vii. p. 1067. Colomesii Ital. Orient. p. 31—36. Sixt. Senensis Bibl. Sacr. p. 327. Justiniani himself says, "Mi fece suo consigliero e suo elemosinaro,—e mi mandò in Pariggi, dove me detenni insino al quinto anno, & lessi & piantai in l'universita Parisiense le litere Hebree." Castigatissimi Annali della Republica di Genova, lib. iii. a 1537.

[6] Widmanstädter's Dedication, to the Emperor Ferdinand, of his edition of the Syriac New Testament. Compare the testimonies to Egidio's merits, collected by Colomies. Ital. Orient. p. 41—46. Hetzel's Geschichte, p. 180.

[7] Le Long, edit. Masch, vol. i. par. ii. p. 146, 147.

of Rieti; and, with their assistance, and that of two of his own countrymen, he published the New Testament in Ethiopic, at Rome, in the year 1548. Four years after this, the first grammar of that language was given to the public by Vittorio.[1]

It may appear strange, that no part of the Syriac version of the Scriptures should as yet have come from the press. Bomberg intended to print the gospel according to Matthew in that language, from a copy of the four gospels which was in his possession, but delayed the work in expectation of obtaining additional manuscripts.[2] Teseo Ambrogio, of the noble family of the Conti d'Albonese, a doctor of laws and canon regular of St John's of the Lateran, who had received instructions in Ethiopic from the Abyssinians who visited Rome in 1512, was initiated into the Syriac language by one of three individuals, Joseph Acurio a priest, Moses, a deacon, and Elias, a sub-deacon, whom Peter, patriarch of the Maronites, had sent as a deputation to Rome, soon after the advancement of Leo X. to the pontificate. From that time Ambrogio became passionately fond of these languages, and being appointed to teach them at Bologna, gave from the press a specimen of his qualifications for that task in his Introduction to the Chaldaic, Syriac, Armenian, and ten other languages, with the characters of about forty different alphabets.[3] Various untoward events prevented him from executing his favourite design of publishing the Gospels in Syriac, which, at an accidental interview, he devolved on Albert Widmanstädter, the learned chancellor of Easter Austria. In the year 1552, Ignatius, patriarch of Antioch, sent Moses Mardinæus, as his "orator" to the Roman pontiff, to obtain, among other things, the printing of an edition of the Syriac New Testament, for the use of the churches under his inspection. The orator exerted his eloquence in vain at Rome, Venice, and other places of Italy: and, after wasting nearly three years, was about to return home in despair, when he was advised to apply to Widmanstädter, by whose zealous exertions the work was published in 1555, at Vienna.[4] Thus was Italy deprived of the honour of giving to the world the New Testament in the best and most venerable of all the ancient versions.

The first edition of the Septuagint came from the Aldine press in 1518, under the direction of Andrew of Asolo. In 1516, Erasmus published at Basle his edition of the Greek text of the New Testament, accompanied with a Latin version formed by himself; to which his fame gave an extensive circulation in Italy. And in 1527, Sante Pagnini of Lucca published his Latin translation of the whole Bible, which had excited

[1] Tiraboschi, tom vii. p. 1073. Le Long, edit. Masch, vol. i. part. ii. p. 152—154. Colomesii Ital. Orient. p. 107. 108, art. Marianus Victorius Reatinus. Michaelis, Introd. to the New Testament, by Marsh, vol. ii. part i. p. 612.

[2] Postel, Linguarum Duodecim Alph. Introd. sig. Biiij. Parisiis, 1538. Conf. Postelli Epist. prefix. Vers. N. Test. Syriaci, Vien. Austr. 1555.

[3] Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam, Syriacam, &c. Papiæ, 1539. Tiraboschi, vii. 1068—1072. Henr. a Porta, (Prof. Linguarum Oriental. apud Acad. Ticin.) De Ling. Orient. Præstantia, p. 189.

[4] Dedic. et Præfat. in N. Test. Syriac. Vien. Austr. 1555. Assemani Bibl. Orient. tom. i. p. 535. Le Long, edit. Masch, vol. i. par. ii. p. 71—79. Michaelis, Introd., by Marsh, vol. ii. part. i. p. 8, 535—540.

great expectations, from the reputation which the author enjoyed as a Hebrew scholar, and its being known that he had spent upwards of twenty-five years on the work.

The publication of the Scriptures in the original languages, and in various versions, was followed by illustrations of them, which were neither without merit nor utility. The work of Pietro Colonna, commonly called from his native place, Galatinus, from which later writers on the Jewish controversy have drawn so many of their materials, was not the less useful, that it was afterwards found to be a compilation from the unpublished work of another author.[1] Besides his own paraphrases, Erasmus edited the notes of Laurentius Valla on the New Testament, which came recommended to the Italians as the work of one of their countrymen, who had distinguished himself as a reviver of letters, but whom Bellarmine afterwards called, not without reason, the precursor of the Lutherans.[2] The Scriptural simplicity which characterises the commentaries of cardinal Cajetan, and a few others, forms a striking contrast to the writings of the scholastic divines who preceded them. Cardinal Sadolet's commentary on the Epistle to the Romans was the work of an orator, who wished to correct the barbarisms of the vulgate, and combat the tenets of St Augustine.[3] The works of Agostino Steuchi, or Steuco, of Gubbio, discover an extensive acquaintance with the three learned languages, mixed with cabalistical and Platonic ideas. I shall afterwards have occasion to speak of the commentaries of Folengo. Isidoro Clario, a Benedictine abbot of Monte Cassino, who was advanced to the bishopric of Foligno, published the Vulgate, corrected from the original Hebrew and Greek, and accompanied with preliminary dissertations and explanatory notes; but as the work did not appear until 1542, when the progress of heresy had alarmed his brethren, it, in consequence, underwent the process of expurgation, and the prolegomena were suppressed.[4] He gave great offence by saying in his preface, that he had corrected the version of the Old Testament by the Hebrew, and of the New by the Greek verity.[5] The author had also availed himself of the notes of the Protestants, but tacitly; "for, in the time in which he wrote, to cite a Protestant author was an unpardonable crime," as Tiraboschi candidly owns. "Heresy," says another modern writer, "was a pest, the very touch of which created horror; the cordon of separation or precaution was drawn all around; Clario did not dread the contagion for himself, but he dreaded to appear to have braved it, and his prudence excuses his plagiarism."[6]

By means of these studies, the minds of the learned in Italy were turned to the Scriptures, and prepared for taking part in the religious

[1] Galatinus, De Arcanis Catholicæ Veritatis, Ortonæ, 1518. See the account of the *Pugio Fidei* of Raymond Martini, given in the History of the Reformation in Spain, p. 66.

[2] Simon, Hist. Crit. des Commentateurs du N. Test. p. 484—487.

[3] Ibid. p. 550—556. Sadolet was thrown into great distress, in consequence of the master of the sacred palace refusing to approve of his commentary. (Tiraboschi, tom. vii. p. 313—315.)

[4] Riveti Opera, tom. ii. p. 916

[5] Tiraboschi, tom. vii. p. 348.

[6] Ginguené, tom. vii. p. 36.

controversy which arose. Individuals in the conclave, such as Egidio, Fregoso, and Aleander were skilled in the sacred tongues, which were now studied in the palaces of bishops and in the cells of monks. All were not concerned to become acquainted with the treasures hid in those books which they turned over by night and by day, and still less were they led by them to renounce a system to which, among other secular advantages, they owed their literary leisure: but neither, on the other hand, were men disposed, at that period, as they were at a subsequent one, to employ sacred criticism as an art to invent arguments for supporting existing abuses; and there were always individuals, from time to time, whose minds welcomed the truth, or were accessible to conviction. Accordingly, we shall find among the converts to the reformed doctrine, men eminent for their literary attainments, the rank which they held in the church, and the character which they had obtained for piety in those orders to which the epithet religious had long been appropriated. The reformers appealed from the fallible and conflicting opinions of the doctors of the church to the infallible dictates of revelation, and from the Vulgate version of the Scriptures to the Hebrew and Greek originals; and in these appeals they were often supported by the translations recently made by persons of acknowledged orthodoxy, and published with the permission and warm recommendations of the head of the church. In surveying this portion of history, it is impossible not to admire the arrangements of Providence, when we perceive monks and bishops, and cardinals and popes, active in forging and polishing those weapons which were soon to be turned against themselves, and which they afterwards would fain have blunted and laboured to decry as unlawful and empoisoned.

The works which have been described were confined to the learned; and, however useful they were, it is not probable that any impression would have been made on the public mind in Italy, unless the means of religious knowledge had been laid open to the people at large. As the Church of Rome has strictly confined the religious service to an unknown tongue, we need not be astonished at the jealousy with which she has always viewed translations of the Scriptures into vulgar languages. There would be still less reason for astonishment at this, if we might believe the statement of a learned Italian, that, down to the sixteenth century, all the sermons preached in churches were in Latin, and that those in Italian were delivered without the consecrated walls, in the piazzas or some contiguous spot.[1] This statement, however, has been controverted. The truth appears to be, that, in the thirteenth century, the sermons were preached in Latin, and afterwards explained in Italian to the common people; and that instances of this practice occur

[1] Fontanini, Della Eloquenza Italiana, lib. iii. cap. ii. p. 250—254. It is certain that, so late as the middle of the sixteenth century, Isidoro Clario, bishop of Foligno, preached in Latin to a crowded assembly of men and women—"Frequens iste, quem cerno, virorum, *mulierumque*, conventus," says the preacher. (Orationes Extraord. Venet. 1567. tom. i. orat. xvi.)

in the history of the fifteenth century.[1] It was pleaded, that the dignity of the pulpit and the sacredness of the word of God suffered by using a different method; and with equal force might it be urged, that "the sacred Scriptures were vilified by being translated into the vulgar tongue."[2] But, in spite of this prejudice, translations of the Bible into Italian were attempted, as soon as the language had been purified by Dante, Petrarch, and others; and they came from the press within a few years after the invention of the art of printing.

Jacopo da Voragine, bishop of Genoa, and author of the Golden Legend, is said to have translated the Scriptures into the language of Italy as early as the middle of the thirteenth century.[3] It is certain, that this task was undertaken by more than one individual in the subsequent age, but executed, as may be supposed, in a rude and barbarous manner.[4] An Italian version of the Scriptures, by Nicolo Malermi or Malerbi, a Camaldolese monk, was printed at Venice so early as the year 1471,[5] and is said to have gone through no fewer than nine editions in the fifteenth and twelve editions in the sixteenth century;[6] a proof that the Italians were addicted to reading in their native tongue, if there did not exist among them at that time a general desire for the word of God. We find an additional proof of this in the Italian versions of parts of Scripture which appeared about the same period.[7] Malermi's translation, like those on which it was founded, was made from the Vulgate, and written in a style unsuited to the sixteenth century. A version less barbarous in its diction and more faithful to the original had long been desired by the learned. This was at last executed by Antonio Brucioli, of whose history and qualifications

[1] Apostolo Zeno, Note alla Biblioteca del Fontanini, tom. ii. p. 424. Sig. Domenico Maria Manni, Prefaz. alle Prediche di Fra Giordano: Tiraboschi, tom. iv. p. 496—498.

[2] "*Avvilire* la sacra Scrittura il tradurla in lingua volgare," says Passavanti, in his *Specchio di vera Penitenza*, quoted by Fontanini, p. 674.

[3] Le Long doubts if there ever was such a version. Bibl. Sac. tom. i. p. 352, edit. 3. Fontanini denies its existence. Della Eloq. Ital. p. 673.

[4] Fragments of such translations were to be found in libraries during the fifteenth century. Malermi expressly mentions one of them, which contained, he says, "cose enormi, que non lice ser dicte, ne da esser leggiute." D. Abbate Giov. Andres, Dell' Origine d'ogni Letteratura, tom. xix. p. 200. Girolamo Squarzafico, a learned man, who wrote a preface to the edition of the Bible in 1477, says:—"Venerabilis Dominus Nicolaus de Malermi (aut de Malerbi) sacra Biblia ex Latino Italice reddidit, eos imitatus, qui vulgares antea versiones, si sunt hoc nomine, et non potius confusiones nuncupantur, confecerunt." Lettera Critica dal Signor Abbate N.N. all' Erud. Padre Giov. degli Agostini, p. 8. Roveredo, 1739.

[5] Fontanini, p. 673. De Bure (Partie de la Theologie), p. 89. It was printed, "Kal. Aug. 1471," by "Vind. de Spira," and contains a prefatory epistle by Nicolo di Malherbi. Another version of the Bible was printed in the month of October of the same year, without notice of the translator, printer, or place of printing. Dibdin's Ædes Althorp. vol. ii. p. 44. Bibl. Spencer. vol. i. p. 63.

[6] Foscarini, Della Letteratura Veneziana, vol. i. p. 339. Dr Geddes says it went through thirteen editions in the space of less than half a century. Prospectus of a New Translation, p. 103. Andrew Rivet possessed a copy of the edition printed in 1477. Opera, tom. ii. p. 920. Père Simon, who is not always so accurate as a severe critic on the works of others should be, speaks of Malermi's version as published for the first time in 1541. Hist. Crit. de V. Test. p. 371, 598. edit. 1680.

[7] The two following are mentioned by Maffei:—"Li quattro volumi de gli Evangeli volgarizzati da frate Guido, con le loro esposizioni fatte per Frate Simone da Cascia, Ven. 1486." "L'Apocalisse con le chiose de Nicolo da Lira; traslazione di Maestro Federico da Venezia, lavorata nel 1394, e stampata Ven. 1519." Esame del Sig. Marchese Scipione Maffei, p. 19. Roveredo, 1739

as a biblical interpreter I shall afterwards have occasion to speak. His Italian version of the New Testament was printed at Venice in 1530,[1] and his version of the whole Bible came from the same press in 1532.[2] The latter was reprinted with great accuracy in 1541;[3] and, in an advertisement prefixed to it, the translator seems to intimate that the whole work appeared in 1530;[4] but as no copy of the Old Testament printed in that year has ever been heard of, it is probable that he referred only to the New Testament. So great was the success of this work, that other translations were produced within a few years; and the Roman Catholics reckoned it necessary to oppose versions of their own to those which came from Protestants, or which were thought favourable to their views. This was the origin of the Italian Bible by Sante Marmochini,[5] which, though professing to be translated from the Hebrew and Greek, is in reality a version of the Vulgate, except when it slavishly copies Brucioli. Fra Zaccario, in his version of the New Testament,[6] followed Marmochini. Subsequently, the New Testament was translated by Massimo Teofilo,[7] and the whole Bible by Filippo Rusticio.[8] Both of them avow it to be their object to preserve the purity of the Italian language, which had been neglected by those who had gone before them; and, in their prefatory and subjoined discourses, they defend the reading of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongues, and write on this subject in every respect as Protestants.[9]

The new opinions were also propagated in Italy by the intercourse which letters and travelling had established between it and the protestant parts of Europe. It had long been the custom for the German youth to finish their education, especially in law and medicine, at Padua, Bologna, and other Italian universities. The Italians began now, in their turn, to visit the schools of Switzerland and Germany, whose literary reputation was daily advancing; and many of them were attracted to Wittemberg by the fame of Melanchthon, who was known to most of the learned in Italy, and with whom Bembo and

[1] It came from the press of his countryman, Luca Antonio Giunti. A copy of this rare book is to be found in the royal library at Berlin.

[2] Le Long, Bibl. Sac. par. ii. p. 125, 126, edit. Boerneri. Wolfii Notæ ad Colom. Ital. Orient. p. 59. Gerdes, Ital. Ref. p. 190. Miscell. Groningana, tom. ii. p. 658. Simon, Hist. Crit. de V. Test. l. ii. chap. 22; and Disquis. Crit. p. 193. The most accurate account is given by Schelhorn, Ergötzlichkeiten aus der Kirchenhistorie und Literatur, tom. i. p. 401—419, 643—647.

[3] The following is the title of this edition: —"La Biblia la quale in se contiene i sacro santi Libri del vecchio & nuovo Testamento, i quali ti apporto Christianissimo Lettore, nuovamente trodotti da la Hebraica & Greca verita in lingua Toscana per Antonio Brucioli. Con le Concordantie di tutta essa scrittura santa. Et con due tavole d'una delle quali montra i luoghi & ordine di quella, & l'altra dichiara tutta le mâterie che si trattono in essa, remittendo a suvi luoghi i Lettori. Cosa nuova, & utilissima à tutti i Christiani. In Venetia nel MDXLI." At the end is, "Impresso in Venetia nelle case di Francesco Brucioli & i Frategli nel mese di Agosto MDXLI." Schelhorn, Ergötzlich. aus der Kirchenhist. und Literer. tom. i. p. 410.

[4] Brucioli complains of the incorrectness of this impression, and states that he will not acknowledge as his translations any that have not been executed by the printers of the edition in 1541.

[5] Printed at Venice in 1538.

[6] Printed in 1542.

[7] Printed at Lyons in 1551.

[8] Printed at Geneva in 1562.

[9] Henr. a Porta De Ling. Orient. p. 71. Abbate D. Giov. Andres, D'Ogni Letteratura, tom. xix. p. 242. Schelhorn, Ergötz. tom. i. p. 418, 645, 646. Gerdes, Ital. Ref. p. 329, 340.

Sadoleti did not scruple to maintain a friendly correspondence.[1] The effects of this intercourse were so visible, that it was repeatedly complained of by the more zealous defenders of the old religion; and a writer of that age gives it as his advice, "that a stop should be put to all commerce and intercourse, epistolary or otherwise, between the Germans and Italians, as the best means of preventing heresy from pervading the whole of Italy."[2] At a later period, the reformed opinions and books were imported by merchants belonging to Lyons, and other parts of France, who traded with the Italian states.[3]

War, which brings so many evils in its train, and which proved such a scourge to Italy during the first half of the sixteenth century, was overruled by Providence for disseminating in that country the inestimable blessings of the Gospel. The troops which Charles V. brought from Germany to assist him in his Italian expeditions, and the Swiss auxiliaries who followed the standard of his rival Francis I., contained many Protestants.[4] With the freedom of men who have swords in their hands, these foreigners conversed on the religious controversy with the inhabitants among whom they were quartered. They extolled the spiritual liberty which they enjoyed at home, derided the frightful idea of the reformers which the monks had impressed on the minds of the people, talked in the warmest strains of Luther and his associates as the restorers of Christianity, contrasted the purity of their lives and the slender income with which they were contented with the wealth and licentiousness of their opponents, and expressed their astonishment that a people of such spirit as the Italians should continue to yield a base and implicit subjection to an indolent and corrupt priesthood, which sought to keep them in ignorance, that it might feed on the spoils of their credulity. The impression which these representations were calculated to make on the minds of the people, was strengthened by the angry manifestoes which the pope and the emperor published against each other. Clement charged the emperor with indifference to religion, and complained that he had enacted laws, in various parts of his dominions, which were highly injurious to the interests of the church and derogatory to the honour of the holy see. Charles recriminated, by accusing the pope of kindling the flames of war in Europe, that he might evade, what was universally and loudly called for, the reformation of the church in its head and members: he wrote to the cardinals to summon a general council for this purpose; and threatened that, if this were not done, he would abolish the jurisdiction of the pope throughout Spain, and convince other nations, by his example, that ecclesiastical abuses might be corrected, and the ancient discipline of the church restored, without the intervention of papal authority.[5]

[1] Melanchthon, Epist. coll. 368, 373, 712, 728, 733, 758, edit. Lond.

[2] Busdragi Epistola de Italia a Lutheranismo preservanda; in Scrin. Antiq. tom. i. p. 324. It has been supposed by some, that *Vergerio* concealed himself under the feigned name of *Gerardus Busdragus*, and that the whole letter is a piece of irony.

[3] Galluzzi, Istoria del Granducato di Toscano, tom. i. p. 142.

[4] Robertson's Charles V. vol. ii. p. 356. Gerdes. Ital. Ref. p. 17.

[5] Pro divo Carolo ejus nominis quinto, Apologetici libri duo; Mogunt. 1527. Sleidan, Comment. tom. i. p. 332—336, edit. Am Ende. De Thou, Hist. lib. i. sect. 11.

Nor did the emperor rest in threatenings. His general, the Duke of Bourbon, having entered the papal territories, Rome was taken and sacked; and the pontiff, after enduring a siege in the castle of St Angelo, was obliged to surrender to the imperial troops, and to remain for a considerable time as a captive in their hands. According to the accounts given by Roman Catholic historians, the Germans in the emperor's army behaved with great moderation towards the inhabitants of Rome after the first day's pillage, and contented themselves with testifying their detestation of idolatry; the Spaniards never relented in their rapacity and cruelty, torturing the prisoners to make them discover their treasures; while the Italians imitated the Spaniards in their cruelty, and the Germans in their impiety.[1] A scene which was exhibited during the siege of the castle, will convey an idea of the indignity shown to all that had been held sacred in the Roman see. A party of German soldiers, mounted on horses and mules, assembled one day in the streets of Rome. One of them, named Grunwald, distinguished by his majestic countenance and stature, being attired like the pope, and wearing a triple crown, was placed on a horse richly caparisoned. Others were arrayed like cardinals, some wearing mitres, and others clothed in scarlet or white, according to the rank of those whom they personated. In this form they marched, amidst the sounding of drums and fifes, and accompanied by a vast concourse of people, with all the pomp and ceremony usually observed in a pontifical procession. When they passed a house in which any of the cardinals was confined, the procession stopped, and Grunwald blessed the people by stretching out his fingers in the manner practised by the pope on such occasions. After some time he was taken from his horse, and borne on the shoulders of one of his companions on a pad or seat prepared for the purpose. Having reached the castle of St Angelo, he drank from a large cup to the safe custody of Clement, in which he was pledged by his attendants. He then administered to his cardinals an oath, in which they engaged to yield due obedience and faithful allegiance to the emperor, as their lawful and only prince; and not to disturb the peace of the empire by intrigues, but, as became them, according to the precepts of Scripture and the example of Christ and his apostles, to be subject to the civil powers. After a speech, in which he rehearsed the civil, parricidal, and sacrilegious wars excited by the popes, and acknowledged that Providence had raised up the Emperor Charles V. to revenge these crimes and bridle the rage of wicked priests, the pretended pontiff solemnly promised to transfer all his authority and power to Martin Luther, that he might remove the corruptions which had infected the apostolical see, and completely refit the ship of St Peter, that it might no longer be the sport of the winds and waves, through the unskilfulness and negligence of its governors, who, intrusted with

[1] Guicciardini, Il Sacco di Roma; and the authorities quoted by Sismondi, Hist. des Rép. Ital. tom. xv. p. 274—276.

the helm, had spent their days and nights in drinking and debauchery. Then raising his voice, he said, "All who agree to these things, and would see them carried into execution, let them signify this by lifting up their hands;" upon which the whole band of soldiers, raising their hands, exclaimed, "Long live pope Luther! Long live pope Luther!" All this was performed under the eye of Clement VII.[1]

In other circumstances, such proceedings would have been regarded in no other light than as the unbridled excesses of a licentious soldiery, and might have excited compassion for the captive pontiff: but at this time it was the general conviction, that the wars which had so long desolated Italy were chiefly to be ascribed to the ambition and resentment of the popes; the conduct of Clement, in provoking a powerful enemy whom he was incapable of resisting, appeared to be the effect of a judicial infatuation; the disasters which befell the papal see and the city of Rome were interpreted as marks of divine displeasure; and those who insulted over them were regarded as heralds employed to denounce the judgments of heaven against an incorrigible court, and a city which was desecrated and defiled by all manner of wickedness. These were not merely the sentiments of the vulgar, or of such as had already imbibed the reformed opinions; they were entertained by dignitaries of the Roman church, and uttered within the walls of the Vatican. We have a proof of this in a speech delivered by Staphylo, bishop of Sibari, at the first meeting of the apostolical Rota held after Rome was delivered from a foreign army. Having described the devastations committed on the city, the bishop proceeds in the following strain: "But whence, I pray, have these things proceeded? and why have such calamities befallen us? Because all flesh have corrupted their ways: because we are citizens, not of the holy city Rome, but of Babylon the wicked city. The word of the Lord spoken by Isaiah is accomplished in our times—'How is the faithful city become an harlot! It was full of judgment and holiness: righteousness formerly dwelt in it; now sacrilegious persons and murderers! Formerly it was inhabited by a holy nation, a peculiar people, but now by the people of Gomorrah, a depraved seed, wicked children, unfaithful priests, the companions of thieves!' Lest any should suppose," continued the bishop, "that this prophetic oracle was fulfilled long ago in the overthrow of the Babylonish Jerusalem by the Roman emperors Vespasian and Titus, seeing the words appear to refer to the time in which the prophet lived, I think it proper to observe, agreeably to ecclesiastical verity, that future things were set before the eyes of the prophet's mind as present. This is evident from the sacred writings throughout—'The daughter of Zion shall be forsaken and made desolate by the violence of the enemy.' This daughter of Zion, the apostle John, in the book of Revelation, explains as meaning not Jerusalem, but the

[1] Narratio Direptionis Expugnatæ Urbis, ex Italico translata a Casparo Barthio: Fabricii Centifol. Lutheran. tom. i. p. 96—98. The principal facts in this narrative are confirmed by the popish writers, Cochlæus, Spondanus, &c.

city Rome, as appears from looking into his description. For John, or rather the angel explaining to John the vision concerning the judgment of the whore, represents this city as meant by Babylon. 'The woman whom thou sawest is that great city which reigns (he refers to a spiritual reign) over the kings of the earth.' Again John says—'She sits on seven hills;' which applies properly to Rome, called, from ancient times, *the seven-hilled city*. She is also said to 'sit on many waters,' which signify people, nations, and various languages, of which, as we see, this city is composed more than any other city in the Christian world. He says also, 'She is full of names of blasphemy, the mother of uncleanness, fornications, and abominations of the earth.' This supersedes the necessity of any more specific proof that Rome is the city referred to; seeing these vices, though they prevail everywhere, have fixed their seat and empire with us."[1]

If such was the impression which this event made on the mind of a bishop, and such the language held within the hearing of the sovereign pontiff, what must have been the feelings and the language of those who were less interested in the support of the ecclesiastical monarchy, and who were still greater sufferers from the ambition and tyranny of those who administered its affairs? The mysterious veil of sanctity, by which the minds of the vulgar had been long overawed, was now torn off; and, when revealed, the claims of the priesthood appeared to be as arrogant and unfounded as their conduct was inconsistent with the character which they had assumed, and with the precepts of that religion of which they professed to be the teachers and guardians. The horror hitherto felt at the name of heretic and Lutheran began to abate in Italy, and the minds of the people were prepared to listen to the teachers of the reformed doctrine, who, in their turn, were emboldened to preach and make proselytes in a more open manner than they had hitherto ventured to do. "In Italy also," says the historian of the council of Trent, speaking of this period, "as there had neither been pope nor papal court at Rome for nearly two years, and as most men looked on the calamities which had fallen on both as the execution of a divine judgment, on account of the corruptions of its government, many listened with avidity to the Reformation; in several cities, and particularly at Faenza, which was situated within the territories of the pope, sermons were delivered in private houses against the church of Rome; and the number of those named Lutherans, or, as they called themselves, Evangelicals, increased every day."[2] That these sermons were not entirely confined to private houses, and that the reformed doctrine was publicly preached in Italy before the year 1530, we learn from the highest authority. "From the report made to us," says pope Clement

[1] Oratio habita ad Auditores Rotæ, de causis Excidii Urbis Romæ, anno 1527; inter Rerum German. Scriptores, a Schardio, ii. 613, &c. Wolfii Lect. Memor. ii. 300.

[2] Fra Paolo, Hist. du Concile de Trente, vol. i. p. 87, edit. Courayer. With this the statement of Giannone exactly agrees. Hist. Civ. de Naples, tom. iv. p. 110.

VII., "we have learned with great grief of heart, that, in different parts of Italy, the pestiferous heresy of Luther prevails to a high degree, not only among secular persons, but also among ecclesiastics and the regular clergy, both mendicant and non-mendicant; so that some, by their discourses and conversation, and, what is worse, by their public preaching, infect numbers with this disease, greatly scandalise faithful Christians, who live under the obedience of the Roman church and observe its laws, and contribute to the increase of heresies, the stumbling of the weak, and the no small injury of the Catholic faith."[1] These appearances, while they gave alarm to the friends of the papacy, excited hopes in the breasts of those who had espoused the cause of the Reformation. Both parties calculated on the national character of the Italians; and it was a common remark, that as the plague, aggravated by the intenser heat of the sky, was more virulent in Italy than in Germany, so Lutheranism, if it seized on the more susceptible and ardent minds of the Italians, would rage with an impetuosity and to an extent as yet unparalleled.[2]

[1] Raynaldi Annales, ad ann. 1530. Imperii Norimberg.; apud Seckendorf, i. 289.
[2] Campegii Cardinalis Oratio ad ordines Busdr. Epist.; in Scrin. Antiq. t. i. ii. 325.

CHAPTER III.

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN THE DIFFERENT STATES AND CITIES OF ITALY.

HAVING given a general account of the introduction of the reformed opinions into Italy, and the causes which led to this event, I now proceed to trace the progress which they made through the different states and cities of that country.

FERRARA is entitled to the first notice, on account of the protection which it afforded, at an early period, to the friends of the Reformation, who fled from various parts of Italy and from foreign countries. Under the government of its dukes of the illustrious house of Este, Ferrara had, for some time, vied with Florence in the encouragement of learning and the fine arts. Ariosto lived at the court of Alfonso I., as did Bernardo Tasso, and, at a subsequent period, his more illustrious son, the author of *Jerusalem Delivered*, at the court of Ercole II. ; and, in consequence of this, the genealogy and achievements of the dukes of Ferrara have been transmitted to posterity by the first poets of that age. Hercules had received a good education, and was induced, by personal judgment and feeling, to yield that patronage to learned men which contemporary princes paid as a tribute to fashion, and out of regard to their own fame.[1] The house of Este had, in several late instances, been but ill repaid for the devotion which it had shown to the interests of the see of Rome ; but the reason already mentioned, as attaching the Italian princes to the pope, overcame the sense of injury. Ippolito, a younger son of duke Alfonso, and afterwards his nephew Ludovico, were cardinals ; and, from time immemorial, a branch of the family had occupied a place in the sacred college.[2] Accordingly, Alfonso had proved a faithful ally to Clement during the humiliating disasters to which he was exposed ; and his successor, though more liberal in his religious views than his father, avoided anything which might give offence to the supreme pontiff.

[1] Cælii Calcagnini Opera, p. 77, 116, 144, 175. The eulogium which Calcagnini has pronounced on him is justified by the account of a conversation between them respecting the choice of a tutor to the duke's son. Ib. p. 168 ; Conf. p. 160—162.

[2] Black's Life of Tasso, i. 348. To this Ariosto alludes :—

'Twere long to tell the names of all thy race,
That in the conclave shall obtain a place,
To tell each enterprise their arms shall gain,
What conquests for the Roman church obtain.
Orlando Furioso, book iii.

In the year 1527, Hercules II. married Renée, or Renata, daughter of Louis XII. of France; and the countenance shown to the reformed opinions at the court of Ferrara is chiefly to be ascribed to the influence of this amiable and accomplished princess. Distinguished for her virtue and generosity, at once dignified and engaging in her manners, speaking the French and Italian languages with equal purity, and deeply versed in the Greek and Roman classics, she attracted the love and admiration of all who knew her.[1] Before leaving her native country she had become acquainted with the reformed doctrine, by means of some of those learned persons who frequented the court of the celebrated Margaret, Queen of Navarre; and she was anxious to facilitate its introduction into the country to which her residence was now transferred. For some time she could only do this under the covert of entertaining its friends as men of letters, which the duke, her husband, was ready to encourage, or at least to wink at. The first persons to whom she extended her protection and hospitality on this principle, were her own countrymen whom the violence of persecution had driven out of France.

Madame de Soubise, the governess of the duchess, had introduced several men of letters into the court of France during the late reign.[2] She now resided at the court of Ferrara, along with her son, Jean de Parthenai, sieur de Soubise, afterwards a principal leader of the Protestant party in France; her daughter, Anne de Parthenai, distinguished for her elegant taste; and the future husband of this young lady, Antoine de Pons, count de Marennes, who adhered to the reformed cause until the death of his wife.[3] In the year 1534, the celebrated French poet, Clement Marot, fled from his native country, in consequence of the persecution excited by the affair of the *Placards*, and after residing for a short time at the court of the queen of Navarre, in Béarn, came to Ferrara.[4] He was recommended by Madame de Soubise to the duchess, who made him her secretary;[5] and his friend, Lyon Jamet, finding it necessary soon after to join him, met with a reception equally gracious.[6] About the same time, the celebrated reformer, John Calvin, visited Ferrara, where he spent some months, under the assumed name of Charles Heppeville. He received the most distinguished attention from the duchess, who was confirmed in the Protestant faith by his instructions, and ever after retained the highest respect for his character and talents.[7] In the year 1536, the Duke of Ferrara entered into a

[1] Muratori, Antichità Estensi, tom. ii. p. 368. Tiraboschi, Storia, tom. vii. par. i. p. 37. Calcagnini Opera, p. 149, 150.

[2] Œuvres de Clement Marot, tom. ii. p. 182—184. A la Haye, 1731.

[3] Ibid. p. 178—181. Bayle, Dict., art. Soubise. J. de Parthenai.

[4] In the biographical and critical preface to the Hague edition of Marot's works, by *Le Chevalier Gordon de Percel* (under which name *Nicole Lenglet du Fresnoy* is supposed to have concealed himself), it is stated, that the famous Diana of Poitiers, afterwards mistress of Henry II., instigated the persecution against Marot, in revenge for some satirical verses which he had written on her for deserting him. Tom. i. p. 25, 76.

[5] Œuvres de Marot, tom. i. p. 75—79. Beze, Hist. Eccl. tom. i. p. 22. Le Laboureur, Addit. aux Mem. de Castelnau, p. 716. Nolten, Vita Olympiæ Moratæ, p. 60—62, edit. Hesse.

[6] Nolten, p. 65—67.

[7] Beza, Vita Calvini. Muratori, Antichità Estensi, tom. ii. p. 389. Ruchat, Hist. de la Reform. de la Suisse, tom. v. p. 620. The misstatements of Varillas and Moreri, respecting Calvin's visit to Italy, are corrected by Bayle, Dict., art. Soubise.

league with the pope and the emperor, by one of the secret articles of which he was bound to remove all the French from his court; and, in consequence of this, the duchess was obliged reluctantly to part with Madame de Soubise and her family.[1] Marot retired to Venice, from which he soon after obtained permission to return to his native country.[2] It is not improbable, that the poet was induced at first to take part with the reformers from resentment at the opposition which the clergy made to every species of literature; but he appears to have conceived a real attachment to the Protestant doctrine during his residence at Ferrara, if we may judge from the strain of the letters and other pieces which proceeded from his pen at this time, and which breathe the spirit of martyrdom. He would probably have shrunk from the fiery trial, if he had been exposed to it; but it does not follow from this, either that the sentiments referred to are not noble, or that the author was not in earnest when he uttered them.[3] Lyon Jamet was allowed to remain with the duchess, probably as a person less known than Marot, and discharged the duty of secretary to Renée after the departure of his friend.[4] Hubert Languet, an accomplished scholar, and one of the first, or at least soundest, politicians of his age, embraced the reformed faith while residing in Ferrara.[5]

Several persons, who were decidedly favourable to the Reformation, obtained a place in the university of Ferrara, which was now fast recovering its former lustre, after having suffered severely from the civil wars, in which the family of Este had, for many years, been involved.[6] But the reformed doctrine was propagated chiefly by means of those learned men whom the duchess retained in her family for the education of her children. This was conducted on an extensive scale, suited to the liberality of her own views and the munificence of her husband. Teachers in all branches of polite letters and arts were provided. In the galaxy of enlightened men which adorned the court of Ferrara, were Celio Calcagnini, Lilio Giraldi, Bartolomeo Riccio, Marzello Palingenio,

[1] Epîtres de Rabelais, p. 18. Marot has described with much tenderness the distress of mind which the duchess felt on this occasion, in an epistle to the Queen of Navarre:—

Ha, Marguerite! escoute la souffrance
Du noble cueur de Renee de France,
Puis comme sœur plus fort que d'esperance
Console-la.
Tu sçais comment hors son pays alla,
Et que parens et amis laissa la,
Mais tu ne sçais quel traitement elle a
En terre estrange.
Elle ne voit ceux a qui se veult plaindre,
Son œil rayant si loing ne peult attaindre,
Et puis les monts pour se bien lui estaindre
Sont entre deux.

Œuvres, tom. ii. p. 317, 318.

[2] In the title to his twenty-first *Cantique*, he is said to be "banni de France, depuis chassé de Ferrara, et de là retiré à Venise 1536." (Œuvres, tom. ii. p. 316, comp. tom. i. p. 82, 83. Bayle, art. Marot, Clement.

[3] The account which he gave of his faith, in his poetical epistle, addressed to his prosecutor, Mons. Bouchar, in 1525, differs widely from that which is contained in his epistle addressed to Francis I. in 1536. Œuvres, tom. ii. p. 39, comp. p. 167. In the latter, his willingness to suffer martyrdom, which his biographer, after Bayle, laughs at, is expressed in the following lines:—

Que pleust a l'Eternel,
Pour le grand bien du peuple desolé,
Que leur desir de mon sang fust saoulé,
Et tant d'abus, dont ils se sont munis,
Fussent a cler descouverts et punis,
O quatre fois et cinq fois bien heureuse
La mort, tant soit cruelle et rigoureuse!
Qui feroit seule un millieu de vies
Sous tels abus n'estre plus asservies?

[4] Œuvres de Marot, tom. ii. p. 159. Bayle, art. Marot, Clement.

[5] Languetii Epistolæ, lib. i. part ii. p. 111, 264. Halæ, 1699.

[6] In the beginning of the sixteenth century, there were so many English students at the university of Ferrara, as to form a distinct nation in that learned corporation. Bersetti Hist. Gymn. Ferrar. apud Tiraboschi, tom. vii. p. 119.

and Marcantonio Flaminio, all of them men whose minds were elevated above the superstitions of their age, if they were not converts to the Protestant faith.[1] During a visit which the pontiff Paul III. paid to Ferrara, in the year 1543, the Adelphi of Terence was acted by the youth of the family, and the three daughters of the duke, the eldest of whom was only twelve and the youngest five years of age, performed their parts with great applause.[2] His holiness was not then aware of the religious sentiments of the masters, by whom the juvenile princesses had been qualified for affording him this classical amusement. Chilian and John Sinapi, two brothers from Germany, instructed them in Greek, and being Protestants, imbued their minds with sound views of religion.[3] Fulvio Peregrino Morata, a native of Mantua, and a successful teacher of youth in various parts of Italy, had been tutor to the two younger brothers of the duke, and having returned to Ferrara in 1539, was re-admitted to his professorship in the university.[4] Like most of his learned countrymen, Morata's mind had been engrossed with secular studies during the first part of his life, but having met with Celio Secundo Curio, a refugee from Piedmont, he imbibed from him the knowledge of evangelical truth and a deep sense of religion.[5] Esteemed for his learning and integrity, he became still more celebrated as the father of Olympia Morata, the most enlightened female of the age, whom he educated with a zeal prompted by parental fondness and professional enthusiasm. In consequence of her early proficiency in letters, Olympia was chosen by the duchess to be the companion of her eldest daughter, Anne, with whom she improved in every elegant and useful accomplishment; and although she afterwards acknowledged that her personal piety suffered from the bustle and blandishments of a court, yet it was during her residence in the ducal palace that she first acquired that knowledge of the Gospel which supported her mind under the privations and hardships which she afterwards had to endure.[6]

We have no means of ascertaining the number of Protestants at Ferrara, which probably varied at different times, according to the fluctuating politics of the duke, and the measures of religious constraint or toleration which were alternately adopted by the other states of Italy. One account mentions, that they had several preachers as early as the year 1528;[7] but whether they were permitted to teach publicly or not,

[1] Nolten, Vita Olympiæ Moratæ, p. 67—87, ed. Hesse.

[2] Muratori, Antich. Est. ii. 368.

[3] Opera Olympiæ Moratæ, p. 76, 97, 203, 205.

[4] Nolten, *ut supra*, p. 14—17. His works in Italian and in Latin are mentioned by Tiraboschi (Storia, tom. vii. p. 1197—1200), and by Schelhorn. Amœn. Eccl. et Lit. tom. ii. p. 647. A warm eulogium is passed on him by Calcagnini (Opera, p. 156), and by Bembo. Epist. Famil. apud Schelhorn. Bembo, in a letter "a M. Bernardo Tasso, Secretario della Signora Duchessa di Ferrara," May 27, 1529, speaks of "Maestro Pellegrino Moretto," as having said some injurious things of his prose works. Lettere, tom. iii. p. 226. Milano, 1810.

[5] Fulvio Morata calls Curio his "divine teacher—one sent of God to instruct him, as Ananias was sent to Paul." Nolten, Vita Olympiæ Moratæ, p. 17, 18, ed. Hesse. Opuscula Olympiæ Moratæ, p. 94, 96, ed. Basil. 1580.

[6] Cœlii Secundi Curionis Araneus, p. 153, 154. Basil. 1544.

[7] Tempe Helvetica, tom. iv. p. 138.

we are not informed. That their labours were successful, is evident from the number of distinguished persons who either imbibed the Protestant doctrine, or were confirmed in their attachment to it, at Ferrara. The most eminent of the Italians who embraced the reformed faith, or who incurred the suspicions of the clergy by the liberality of their opinions, had resided for some time at the court of Ferrara, or were indebted in one way or other to the patronage of Renée.[1]

Modena was also under the government of the house of Este, and most probably owed its first acquaintance with the reformed opinions to the same cause which introduced them into Ferrara. Some of the Modenese were among the early correspondents of Luther.[2] Few cities of Italy in that age could boast of having given birth to a greater number of persons eminent for talents and learning than Modena. It reckoned among its citizens four of the most accomplished members of the sacred college (including Sadolet), Sigonio, the celebrated antiquary, Castelvetro, a critic of great acuteness, and many others, whose names occur frequently in the history of Italian literature. Modena possessed one of those academies which sprung up in such great numbers in Italy during the sixteenth century, and threw into shade the old and endowed seminaries of science. It owed its origin to Giovanni Grillenzone, an enlightened physician, in whose house it met. The object of the associates was, at first, to promote their mutual improvement, by conversation and the reading of papers on literary and scientific subjects. But lectures were grafted on the original institution, which became so celebrated, especially after it procured the services of Franciscus Portus, a learned Greek, as to attract young men from all parts of Italy to Modena. The academy appears, at an early period, to have incurred the suspicion of being infected with the new opinions respecting religion. A writer who has thrown great light on the history of Italy is of opinion, that the proceedings against this society originated in one of those quarrels in which the literati of that age were not unfrequently involved with the religious orders, and in the resentment of Annibale Caro against Castelvetro, a member of the academy, who had written a severe criticism on one of his poems;[3] but more accurate investigation has proved that they had a deeper foundation. It would seem that the priests looked upon the academy, from its commencement, with a jealous eye; while the academicians, in their turn, were not scrupulous in expressing their contempt of the priests, and especially of

[1] Gerdes, Ital. Ref. p. 28, 29. One of these was Giovanni Francesco Virginio, a native of Brescia, and author of a paraphrase on the Epistles of Paul to the Romans, Galatians, and Hebrews; printed at Lyons in 1565. Speaking of Renée, Fontanini says, "Gianfrancesco Virginio Bresciano in dedicarlo quegli le sue lettere, seminata di frasi Protestanti, e stampate in Venezia—nel 1548." Della Eloq. Ital. 306. [2] Gerd. Ital. Ref. 61.

[3] Muratori, Vita del Castelvetro; Opere Critiche, p. 17. In the former edition, I was guided chiefly by the account which Tiraboschi gives of the affair in his history of Italian Literature; but I have since had access to the *Biblioteca Modenese* of that author, in which he furnishes more ample details, supported by the most authentic documents. It is in 6 vols. 4to, printed at Modena in 1781—1786.

the monks, on account of their ignorance and hypocrisy; and, according to all accounts, the latter appear to have had good reason for the feelings which they indulged.[1] But the clergy had also reason for suspecting that their opponents had departed from the Romish faith. In December 1537, Serafina, a canon regular of St Augustine, preaching in the cathedral church, told his audience that the Lutheran errors had begun to spread in Modena; and, in proof of his assertion, referred to a book, infected with heresy, which had come into his hands. He had found it in the chamber of Lucrezia Pica, widow of Count Claudio Rangone, and had examined it, along with the inquisitor of heretical pravity and the vicar of the diocese, who had set on foot an inquiry as to the author of the work, and the person who had brought it into the city. It was easily traced to Gadaldino, a printer and bookseller; the author could not be discovered, but it was strongly suspected he was one of the members of the academy, several of whom did not scruple to avow their approbation of the book, as containing doctrine which was both orthodox and edifying. The book was publicly burnt at Rome, and all the copies of it appear to have been carefully destroyed.[2] Soon after this occurrence, at the marriage of a daughter of Niccolo Machelli, a member of the academy, two persons in masks entered the place of entertainment, and recited a long satire on the preacher Serafino; and at the same time similar pasquinades were affixed to the pillars of the cathedral, the gate of the Dominican convent, and other public places in the city. Through the influence of the Countess Lucrezia, who felt herself scandalised by the affair, the duke ordered two persons, tutors to two of the principal families of the city, to be thrown into prison, as the authors of this insult on the clergy; but they were soon after liberated, on the ground that they had not named any individual as the object of their raillery. As the clergy persevered in declaiming against the new opinions, the academicians had recourse to their former method of retaliation; and, irritated by the ignorant harangues to which they were obliged to listen, they, in some instances, rose up in the midst of the church, criticised the sermon, and held up the preacher to the

[1] In 1530, a friar, preaching in the cathedral of Modena during Lent, produced and read to his audience a letter from Jesus Christ, drawn up in the style of a papal brief; beginning with "Jesus Episcopus," and ending with "Nulli ergo omnino hominum, &c. Datum in Paradiso Terrestri Creationis Mundi die sexto Pontificatus nostri anno æterno," &c. Biblioteca Modenese, dal Girolamo Tiraboschi, tom. i. p. 11. Grillenzone, in a letter to Sadolet, accounts for the informations which the monks had laid against him, by saying, "My nature is such, that I could never conceal my displeasure at the conduct of the idle, ignorant, and hypocritical." Ib. tom. ii. p. 435.

[2] Bibl. Modenese, tom. i. pp. 8—10, 14. We are indebted for all our knowledge of this book to an honest chronicler who lived at that time in Modena. On hearing it denounced from the pulpit as heretical, he returned a copy of it, which he had lately purchased, and reclaimed his money; but his curiosity conquered his fears so far, that he previously inserted a description of it in his diary. It was in *mezzo quarto*, and consisted of ninety-six pages, divided into thirty-one chapters. The following is the title: Il Summario de la Sancta Scriptura, & l'ordinario de li Christiani, qual demonstra la vere fede Christiana, mediante la quale siamo justificati, & de la vertu del baptismo secondo la doctrina de l'Evangelio & de li Apostoli, cum una informazione, como tutti li Stati debbono vivere secondo l'Evangelio." It had no name of author or printer, nor any date. "Summarium Scripturæ" is mentioned in the Index Libr. Prohib. of 1559, sig. E 7.

derision of the audience. Fra Serafina, who had left the city for some time, having ventured to return in 1539, was driven from the pulpit in disgrace. So far indeed were the monks from being able to check the progress of the reformed doctrine in the city, that they could not prevent it from finding its way into their own cloisters. A friar, named Antonio della Catellina, having preached with great applause during the feast of Pentecost, was accused of heresy ; but, instead of retracting, he appeared again in the pulpit, and defended the doctrine which he had taught.[1] This produced a papal rescript, charging the inquisitor to make a strict investigation into the opinions of the religious orders established in the city.[2]

Matters were in this state, when, in 1540, Paolo Ricio came to Modena.[3] He was a native of Sicily, obtained the degree of doctor of theology at Naples, and belonged to the order of Minor Conventuals ; but having thrown off the cowl, that he might disseminate the Gospel with greater freedom, took the name of Lisia Fileno. He was cordially welcomed by the members of the academy, and made it his business to seek out the friends of truth in the city, whom he persuaded to meet for worship in a private house. They were confirmed by his instructions, which were the means of adding to their numbers. A great sensation was produced in the city ; the Scriptures became the common topic of conversation ; and the subjects in dispute between the church of Rome and the reformers were freely and eagerly discussed. "Persons of all classes," says a contemporary historian of the popish persuasion, "not only the learned, but also the illiterate, and even women, wherever they met, in the streets, in shops, or in churches, disputed about faith and the doctrine of Christ, and all promiscuously tortured the sacred Scriptures, quoting Paul, Matthew, John, the Apocalypse, and all the doctors, whose writings they never saw."[4] The news of this success of the Gospel reached Germany, and drew from Bucer a letter of congratulation and advice to the Modenese disciples.[5] Loud complaints were made by the priests to the pope, who remonstrated with the duke ; and Ricio, who, foreseeing the danger, had left Modena, was seized at the neighbouring village of Staggio, and being conducted as a prisoner to Ferrara, chose to make a public recantation of his opinions, rather than be sent to Rome, where he expected no mercy. But the seed sown by him in Modena had taken too deep root to be injured by his defection. With the view of preventing the renewal of the contentions, the duke had issued orders that none should occupy the pulpit without the permission of the vicar of the diocese ; but so great was the avidity of

[1] Bibl. Modenese, tom. i. p. 9—12.

[2] Spondani Annal. ad an. 1539.

[3] Riederer, Nachrichten zur Kirchengelehrten und Büchergeschichte, tom. i. p. 172, 174 ; tom. iii. p. 444.

[4] Cronaca di Alessandro Tassoni : Tiraboschi, Storia della Letter. Ital. tom. vii. p. 168. Ginguené has translated this passage into good French, and given it as his own description of the fact, without seeming to be aware that it was the common language of Roman catholic writers of that age, when they spoke of the reading of the Scriptures, or conversation on religious topics, by the people.

[5] Buceri Scripta Anglicana, p. 687.

the people to hear the Scriptures expounded, that some of the preachers were bold enough to break through the restriction, in which they were supported by the local magistrates, who wrote in their favour to the ducal court. In the course of the year 1540, the celebrated Ochino, of whom we shall afterwards have occasion to speak largely, came to Modena, and preached in the cathedral church, to so great a crowd, that, according to the testimony of one of the audience, "there was scarcely room to stand." He resisted the entreaties of the academicians, who urged him to remain during Lent, promising that they would prevail on the preacher, whose services had been engaged for that season, to yield his place to him. Though the defection of Ochino from the catholic faith was not then known, the clergy were displeased at a mode of preaching so different from their own, and at the applause bestowed on it, especially by their adversaries of the academy. One of the most obnoxious of these was Giovanni di Politiano, called also de' Berettari. In his youth he had been highly esteemed by cardinals Bembo and Bibbiena for his poetical vein, and was, at this time, tutor to Cammillo, a son of the celebrated Francesco Molza. Being in priest's orders, he expounded the Scriptures in the house of his patron; and to this exercise the citizens resorted in great numbers after the removal of Ricio. In consequence of information lodged against him by a spy, he was accused of having advanced, in his exposition of Paul's Epistles, three erroneous propositions; one of which was, that prayers in an unknown tongue are not pleasing to God. Berettari waited on the inquisitor, to whom he gave an explanation of his words; but this proving unsatisfactory, he was summoned, and, declining to attend, was excommunicated for contumacy. Upon this he appealed to the pope, and, through the influence of Molza with Cardinal Farnese, the nephew of Paul III., the inquisitor was summoned to Rome. After a delay of some months, Berettari was acquitted, and, on the first of October 1541, returned, along with his pupil, in triumph to Modena; but his enemies were clamorous, and a new process having been commenced against him at Rome, he was found guilty, and sentenced to do penance privately in the presence of a few select persons.[1]

During these transactions, Cardinal Morone, the bishop of Modena, was chiefly absent on missions from the pope to Germany. Reports of the progress of heresy in his diocese had repeatedly reached his ear, and they gave him the more uneasiness, that he was no stranger to the corruptions in the church, and felt an esteem for several of the persons who were principally inculpated. In a letter to the Duke of Ferrara, dated the 21st of November 1541, he says: "Eight days ago, I came to Modena to make residence at my church, and to endeavour, with the divine assistance, to do all in my power, consistently with charity, to remove the bad fame which this city of your excellency has incurred, not only in Italy but abroad, in reference to the modern novelties of

[1] Bibl. Modenese, tom. i. pp. 12—14, 230—234.

opinion. I had proceeded so far in this affair, and brought it to some issue, when I received an order from his holiness to repair to Rome."[1] On occasion of another visit to his diocese, he writes, on the 20th of May 1542, to his friend Cardinal Contarini: "I have found things which infinitely distress me, and, while I perceive the danger, am quite at a loss as to the means by which I can extricate myself in the affairs of this flock, which, with my blood, I would willingly secure to Christ, and clear from public infamy. Wherever I go, and from all quarters, I hear that the city is become Lutheran. Your suspicions are not without foundation, for it cannot be denied that much ignorance, joined with great audacity and little charity, reigns among the monks; but against the other side there are many violent suspicions, and even some proofs, which I mean to verify, with the view of adopting the remedies to which God may direct."[2] And, on the 30th of July, he writes to the same person: "Yesterday a minister of that order frankly told me that their preachers would no longer go to Modena, on account of the persecution to which they were exposed from the academy, it being everywhere spread abroad that the city is Lutheran."[3]

Florence, the capital of Tuscany, rose to great distinction at the era of the revival of letters. No city in Italy could vie with it in the number of its enlightened citizens, the flourishing state of its academies, and the encouragement which it gave to every branch of science and liberal art. But the high cultivation of these studies has rarely been favourable either to pure religion or genuine liberty. Superstition, by appealing chiefly to the senses, allies itself with the fine arts; and the munificence with which letters were fostered at their first introduction into Europe, tended in many instances to corrupt both the patrons and their clients. The family of Medici, after raising their native city to renown, concluded by depriving it of its liberties; and so true is the maxim, "men will praise thee when thou dost well to thyself," that their ambition has found apologists in those who have celebrated their early patriotism. Florence, in the course of a few years, felt herself honoured by seeing two of her sons exalted to the chair of St Peter: during the pontificate of Leo X. the Lutheran schism broke out; and before the death of Clement VII., when it began to spread in Italy, Cosmo de Medici had established himself as duke of Tuscany. In these circumstances, it was to be expected that the reformation would encounter the most strenuous and powerful resistance in that city.

Notwithstanding these obstacles, we are assured that the reformed doctrine had made its way into Florence before the year 1525, and was embraced by many of its citizens.[4] Among these was a person who has been already mentioned, but who deserves more particular notice, on

[1] Bibl. Modenese, tom. iii. p. 307.
[2] Quirini Diatrib. ad vol. iii. Epist. Card. Poli, p. cclxix.
[3] Ibid. p. cclxxxvi.
[4] Santes Pagnini, Præfat. in Bibl. Latin. anno 1528.

account of the invaluable services which he rendered to Italy by his writings. Antonio Brucioli was born about the end of the fifteenth century, and early distinguished himself among the members of the Platonic academy erected in his native city. Attached to popular government, he was induced by youthful ardour to embark in a design for expelling the house of Medici from Florence; but the conspiracy being discovered, he was obliged to fly, and after spending some time at Venice, retired into France, from which he went to Germany.[1] During the five years which he spent in exile, his political feelings were mellowed by the infusion of the spirit of religious liberty, and his studies assumed a graver cast. At Venice he applied to the study of Hebrew, in which he afterwards acquired great proficiency:[2] and in Germany he found the best helps for understanding the Scriptures. In the year 1527, when the emperor had humbled Clement VII., and the authority of the Medici was suspended in Florence, Brucioli returned to his native city; but his late intercourse with Lutherans had brought upon him the suspicion of heresy, which was increased by the free manner in which he talked of the clergy. His friends warned him to be more guarded in his conversation, but he replied, "If I speak truth, I cannot speak wrong." The Dominicans of St Marco were particularly galled with his censures; and one of their number, Fojano, then a popular preacher in Florence, denounced him one day from the pulpit as a heretic, and, in allusion to the meaning of his name, exclaimed, "Brucioli is fit for nothing but to be burned."[3] He was soon after thrown into prison, and, in addition to the charge of heresy, was accused of corresponding with France to the prejudice of his native country; but when his papers were examined, nothing suspicious was found among them, except specimens of a translation of the Bible, and a cipher which he had used in corresponding with his friend Alamanno. The monks pleaded hard for capital punishment, and Brucioli irritated the judge before whom he was tried by the boldness of his defence; but, through the influence of friends, his sentence was restricted to banishment for two years. It does not appear that he ever again entertained thoughts of returning to Florence, though he addressed one of his works to Cosmo de' Medici, in a respectful dedication, in which he praises the mildness of his administration, and, without asking any personal favour, exhorts him to encourage the reading of the Scriptures by his people, as calculated, above all other means, to make them devout men and dutiful subjects. Neither his dedications nor letters are dated from any place, probably from a prudential regard to his safety; but there can be no doubt that he resided ordinarily in Venice. He had to struggle at first with the privations attendant on exile,[4] but rather than

[1] Varchi, Storia Fior. lib. vii. p. 211. Giornali de' Letterati d'Italia, xxxii. 232—240.

[2] In a letter addressed to him in 1537, Aretino says, "Voi sete huomo senza pare nel' intelligentia de la lingua Hebraica, Græca, Latina, e Chaldea." Colomesii Ital. Orient. 60.

[3] *Brucioli*, in Italian, means twigs or shavings of wood.

[4] In his dedication of his translation and exposition of the Book of Job, printed in 1534, he speaks of himself as "in bassa e povera fortuna locato."

become dependent on the bounty of a rich patron, he chose to live obscurely, and to support himself by the productions of his pen. For some time he acted as a corrector of the press (no mean employment in those days), until he was able, along with Francesco and Alessandro Brucioli, his brothers, or, as some say, his cousins, to establish a printing-office in the place of his sojourning. From 1530 to 1556, the probable year of his death, he published a variety of works of his own, including translations of the classics; but his biblical labours were the most valuable.

Besides his version of the Scriptures, already mentioned,[1] Brucioli produced a commentary on the whole Bible, extending to seven volumes in folio. Father Simon grants that he translated from the original, and not, like the Roman Catholics, from the Vulgate; but says that, being imperfectly acquainted with the Hebrew, he fell into a multitude of errors by following Pagnini. The charge has, however, been shown, by the most satisfactory proof, to be one of the rash judgments pronounced by that ingenious critic.[2] There is more truth in another remark of the same writer, that his version offends frequently against the purity of the Italian tongue, and abounds with Hebraisms; a fault which every one who resolves to give a literal translation must inevitably commit.[3] We are prepared to expect, that the literary fame of Brucioli would suffer from his religious opinions, and that his countrymen would be cautious in the commendations which they bestow on his talents and erudition. "He was well acquainted," says one of them, "with Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, and endowed by nature with rare talents; but, trusting to his genius, he plunged into grievous errors, which are scattered over many of his writings; and he died without making any recantation."[4] His translations of the Bible were put into the first class of forbidden books, and all his works, on whatever subject, "published or to be published," together with all books which came from his press, even after his death, were strictly prohibited.[5] His commentary on the Scriptures is exceedingly rare, but a foreign writer who examined it, and was every way qualified to pronounce a correct judgment on the subject, has assured us, that it contains numerous and

[1] See before, p. 39. Schelhorn (Ergötz. tom. i. pp. 405—415, 648—670) has given a list of his works, (accompanied with a specimen of his hymns), among which is the following: "Ant. Brucioli Sermoni xxii.;" to which is added, "Epistola a Renata di Francia, Duchessa di Ferrara, intorno a Christo Messia, Venezia per Alessandro Brucioli e fratelli, 1547."

[2] Simon, Hist. Crit. du V. Test. liv. ii. chap. 22. Anmerkung ueber des Urtheil P. Rich. Simons von des Brucioli Italianischen Bibel-Uebersetzung: Schelhorn, Ergötzlichkeiten, tom. ii. p. 535—551.

[3] It was the object of Rusticio to correct this fault in Brucioli's translation. But his version is very inferior in this respect to that of Diodati, an Italian refugee, published at Geneva in 1607, of which Dr Geddes gives the following character: "There is an elegance and ease in this translation that are extremely pleasing to the reader, joined with a conciseness which one would think hardly compatible with ease and elegance. F. Simon greatly injures him when he says, he is rather a paraphrast than a translator; but this is not the only rash assertion which this father has made." Prospectus, p. 86.

[4] Negri, Istor. degli Scrittori Fiorentini, p. 561. A similar character of him is given by Poccianti, Catal. Script. Florent. p. 18.

[5] Ind. Libr. Prohib. sig. A 4. F 3, b., anno 1559.

decisive proofs of the author's attachment to evangelical truth.[1] So far as the influence of the press is concerned, Brucioli is entitled to the name of the reformer of Italy. "Though Italy be the fortress and strength of the papal empire," say the Lucchese refugees at Geneva, "because the authority of the pope is most firmly established over the people of that country, this could not prevent the light from penetrating it in different quarters; in consequence of which the scales fell from the eyes and the fetters from the hands of many who sat in darkness and captivity. This was effected by means of an Italian translation of the Bible by Brucioli, which was published at that time, and which it was not judged prudent to stifle in its birth, by those violent measures which were afterwards employed for its suppression."[2]

The fact of three natives of Florence having at this time translated the Scriptures,[3] whether it be viewed in the light of a cause or an effect, affords the strongest presumptive proof that scriptural knowledge was in request, and that the reformed doctrine had made no inconsiderable advances, in Tuscany. We may draw the same inference from the lamentations of the popish clergy, taken in connection with the number of persons who, as we shall afterwards see, forsook this delightful country to escape the cruelties of the inquisition. "Oh, Florence!" exclaimed a friar of that day from the pulpit. "What is the meaning of *Florence?* The flower of Italy; and thou wast so, till these Ultramontanes persuaded thee that man is justified by faith and not by works."[4]

Bologna, in the sixteenth century, formed part of the territories of the church; and from it the supreme pontiffs issued some of the severest of their edicts against heresy. But this did not prevent the light, which was shining around, from penetrating into that city. The university of Bologna was one of the earliest, if not the very first, of the great schools of Europe; and the extensive privileges enjoyed by its members were favourable to liberal sentiments and the propagation of the new opinions in religion. The essential principles of liberty, equally obnoxious to political and ecclesiastical despots, were boldly avowed in public disputations before the students, at a time when they had fallen into disrepute in those states of Italy which still retained a shadow of their former freedom.[5] John Mollio, a native of Montalcino, in the

[1] Schelhorn, Ergötzlichkeiten, tom. i. p. 417. With this writer Tiraboschi agrees. He accounts for the opposition made to Brucioli, "per le molti eresie di cui egli imbratto la stessa versione, e piu ancora il diffusa commento in sette tomi in foglio, che poi diede in luce." Storia, tom. vii. p. 404. Conf. Scipio Maffei, Traduttori Ital. p. 32. Fontanini, Della Eloq. Ital. p. 305.

[2] Lettre de M. Le Cardinal Spinola, Eveque de Luques—Avec les Considerations, &c. p. 23. Genev. 1680.

[3] Brucioli, Marmochini, and Teofilo. See before, p. 39—40.

[4] Gilles, Hist. des Eglis. Ref. ou Vaud. p. 21.

[5] Life of John Knox, p. 225. In the fifteenth century, the Hussites, indignant at the burning of Wickliffe's books, as contrary to the privileges of the university of Prague, having sent a deputy to the university of Bologna, to complain of this indignity, the latter had the boldness to condemn the deed —"On ne devait pas avoir brulé les livres de ce *Docteur*, de peur de s'attirer quelque ressentiment de la part de l'Angleterre." L'Enfant, Hist. de Concile de Pise, tom. p. 48.

territory of Sienna, was a principal instrument of promoting the Gospel at Bologna. He had entered in his youth into the order of Minorites; but instead of wasting his time, like the most of his brethren, in idleness or superstition, had devoted himself to the study of polite letters and theology. By the careful perusal of the Scriptures and certain books of the reformers, he attained to clear views of evangelical truth, which his talents and his reputation for learning and piety enabled him to recommend, both as a preacher and an academical professor.[1] After acquiring great celebrity as a teacher in the universities of Brescia, Milan, and Pavia, he came, about the year 1533, to Bologna. Certain propositions which he advanced in his lectures, relating to justification by faith, and other points then agitated, were opposed by Cornelio, a professor of metaphysics, who, being foiled in a public dispute which ensued between them, lodged a charge of heresy against his opponent, and procured his citation to Rome. Mollio defended himself with such ability and address, that the judges appointed by Paul III. to try the cause were forced to acquit him, in the way of declaring that the sentiments which he had maintained were true, although they were such as could not be publicly taught at that time without prejudice to the apostolical see. He was therefore sent back to Bologna, with an admonition to abstain for the future from explaining the Epistles of St Paul. But, continuing to teach the same doctrine as formerly, and with still greater applause from his hearers, Cardinal Campeggio procured an order from the pope to remove him from the university.[2]

The state of religious feeling at Bologna is depicted in a letter, as singular in its style as in its matter, which some inhabitants of that city addressed, in 1533, to John Planitz, ambassador from the Elector of Saxony to Charles V., who was then in Italy. Having mentioned the report that he was sent to entreat the emperor to use his influence with the pope to call a council for the reformation of the church, an object which had been long and earnestly expected by all good men, they proceed in the following manner: 'If this be true, as we trust it is, then we offer our thanks to you all—to you for visiting this Babylonian land—to Germany for demanding a council—and especially to your evangelical prince, who has undertaken the defence of the Gospel and of all the faithful, with such ardour, that not content with restoring the grace and liberty of Christ to his native Saxony and to Germany, he seeks to extend the same blessings to England, France, Spain, Italy, and the churches in every other country. We are quite aware, that it is a matter of small consequence to you whether a council is assembled or not, seeing you have already, as becomes strenuous and faithful Christians, thrown off the tyrannical yoke of antichrist, and asserted your right to the sacred privileges of the free kingdom of Jesus Christ; so that you everywhere read, write, and preach at your pleasure, with-

[1] Histoire des Martyrs, f. 264, edit. 1597, folio. Zanchii Epist. lib. ii. col. 278.

[2] Pantaleon, Rerum in Eccl. Gest. lib. ix. f. 263.

out any other restraint than the apostolic rule, that the spirits of the prophets be subject to the judgment of the prophets who mutually teach and hear. We are aware also, that it gives you no uneasiness to know that you are loaded in foreign countries with the heavy charge of heresy, but that, on the contrary, you esteem it matter of joy and eternal gloriation to be the first to suffer reproaches, imprisonment, and fire and sword, for the name of Jesus. It is therefore plain to us, that, in urging the convocation of such a synod, you do not look to the advantage of the Germans, but that, obeying the apostolical injunction, you seek the advantage and salvation of other nations. On this account, all Christians profess themselves under the deepest obligations to you, and especially we of Italy, who, in proportion to our proximity to the tyrannical court (alas! we cherish the tyrant in our bosom), are bound to give thanks for the divine blessing of your liberation. We beseech and obtest you, by the faith of Christ (though you are sufficiently disposed to this already, and need not our admonitions), to employ every means in your power with the religious emperor, and to leave no stone unturned to obtain this most desirable and necessary assembly, in which you can scarcely fail to succeed, as his gentle and gracious majesty knows that this is desired, demanded, expected, and loudly called for by the most pious, learned, and honourable men in the most illustrious cities of Italy, and even in Rome itself; many of whom, we have no doubt, will flock to you, as soon as they shall learn that this is the object of your embassy. In fine, we hope that this will be willingly granted, as a thing most reasonable in itself, and consonant to the constitutions of the apostles and holy fathers, that Christians shall have liberty to examine one another's confessions, since the just live not by the faith of others, but by their own, otherwise faith is not faith; nor can that persuasion which is not divinely produced in the heart be properly called persuasion, but rather a violent and forced impulse, which the simplest and most ignorant must perceive to be utterly unavailing to salvation. But if the malice of Satan still rages to such a degree that this boon cannot be immediately obtained, liberty will surely be granted in the mean time both to clergy and laity to purchase Bibles without incurring the charge of heresy, and to quote the sayings of Christ or Paul without being branded as Lutherans. For, alas! instances of this abominable practice are common; and if this is not a mark of the reign of antichrist, we know not what it is, when the law, and grace, and doctrine, and peace and liberty of Christ, are so openly opposed, trampled upon, and rejected."[1]

The number of persons addicted to Protestantism in Bologna continued to be great, many years after this period. In a letter written in the year 1541, Bucer congratulates them on their increasing knowledge and numbers;[2] and, in 1545, Baldassare Altieri writes to an acquaintance in Germany, that a nobleman in that city was ready to raise six

[1] Seckendorf, lib. iii. pp. 68, 69. [2] Buceri Scripta Anglican. p. 687.

thousand soldiers in favour of the evangelical party, if it was found necessary to make war against the pope.[1]

That the desire for ecclesiastical reform was as strongly and generally felt through Italy as is represented in the letter of the Bolognese Protestants, appears from a measure adopted by the court of Rome at this time. Averse to the holding of a general council, and yet unable to evade the importunities of those who demanded it, Pope Paul III., in 1537, appointed four cardinals and five prelates[2] to meet at Bologna, and charged them, after due deliberation, to lay before him their advice as to the best method of reforming the abuses of the church. The members of this commission, including some of the most respectable dignitaries of the church, met accordingly, and presented their joint advice to his holiness. Though they touched the sores of the ecclesiastic body with a gentle hand, they acknowledged that both head and members "laboured under a pestiferous malady, which, if not cured, would prove fatal; and, among the evils which called for a speedy remedy, they specified the admission of improper persons to the priesthood, the sale of benefices, the disposition of them by testaments, the granting of dispensations and exemptions, and the union of bishoprics, including "the incompatible offices of cardinal and bishop." Addressing the supreme pontiff, they say, "Some of your predecessors in the pontifical chair, having itching ears, have heaped to themselves teachers according to their own lusts, who, instead of instructing them what they ought to do, were expert in finding out reasons to justify what they wished to do, and encouraged them in their simoniacal practices, by maintaining their right to dispose, at their pleasure, of all ecclesiastical property."[3] No one acquainted with the politics of the court of Rome will suppose that it was serious in the proposal to reform these abuses. The Advice was approved of and printed by the order of Paul III.; but, instead of carrying it into execution, he glaringly transgressed its provisions in various instances.[4] Nor did the advisers themselves testify any forwardness to exemplify their own rules. The cardinals retained their bishoprics; Pole did not think it necessary to lay aside the purple when he became primate of all England; and Caraffa, when he afterwards ascended the papal throne, under the title of Paul IV., put the *Advice* which he had given to his predecessor into the list of prohibited books.[5]

[1] Seckend. p. 579.

[2] These were cardinals Contarene, Caraffa, Sadolet, and Pole; Fregoso, archbishop of Salerno, Aleander of Brindisi, and Gibert of Verona, Cortese, abbot of St George of Venice, and Badia, master of the Sacred Palace.

[3] Wolfii Lect. Memorab. tom. ii. p. 398—419; where the *Consilium* is inserted at length, with a preface by Vergerio. It was reprinted, along with the letter to Cardinal Quirini mentioned in the subsequent note, by Schelhorn, who added to it Sturmius' epistle, and the correspondence to which this gave rise between that learned man and Sadolet.

[4] During the last century, Cardinal Quirini took occasion, from this private council, to extol the exertions of the pope to reform ecclesiastical abuses, in his prefaces to his edition of Cardinal Pole's Letters, and also in his *Diatriba de Gestis Pauli III. Farnesii*, published at Brescia in 1745. To this two able replies were made: one by Joan. Rudolphus Kiesling, entitled, *Epistola de Gestis Pauli Tertii ad emendationem Ecclesiæ spectantibus*, Lipsiæ, 1747; and the other by Jo. Georg. Schelhorn, entitled, *De Consilio de emendanda Ecclesia, jussu Pauli Tertii, sed ab eodem neglecto*. Tiguri, 1748.

[5] In opposition to a statement by Schel-

The Protestants, however, did not overlook this document. A copy of the Advice being sent to Germany,[1] it was published in Latin, with a prefatory epistle by Sturmius, rector of the academy of Strasburg; and in German by Luther, accompanied with animadversions, in which, among other satirical remarks, he says, that the cardinals contented themselves with removing the small twigs, while they allowed the trunk of corruption to remain unmolested, and, like the Pharisees of old, strained at flies and swallowed camels. To set this before the eyes of his readers, he prefixed to the book a print, in which the pope is represented as seated on a high throne, surrounded by the cardinals, who hold in their hands long poles with foxes' tails fixed to them like brooms, with which they sweep the room. Pallavicini is displeased with this measure of the pope, who, "by ordering a reformation of manners, acknowledged the existence of corruptions, and countenanced the detracting speeches which heretics circulated among the vulgar."[2] The following was an article of the proposed reform: "Since boys are now accustomed to read at schools the Colloquies of Erasmus, in which are many things calculated to betray uninformed minds into impiety, the reading of that book or any other of the same kind shall be prohibited in seminaries of learning."[3] To this was affixed the name of Sadolet! Well might Melanchthon express surprise, not unmingled with scorn, at this conclusion, and at the whole of the ridiculous affair. "I have not yet answered Sadolet," says he, in a letter to a friend. "I would certainly have written him, if I had had leisure for it; but am of opinion, that the delay will not be without its utility, considering the way in which he is acting. My friends write me from Italy that he is offended at my silence, and that some persons have incensed him against me. He seems to have thought, that, by one letter sent into Germany, he would, as with the music of Orpheus, charm, not only me, who, I confess, am weak, but all my countrymen, and induce us to abandon the cause. The only friend of peace at Rome was Schonberg, cardinal of Capua, who thought that some concessions ought to be made. I formerly looked upon him as a person of great moderation, and am confirmed in this opinion by the letters which I have received from my friends since his death, which has produced a great change of counsels. There has just been published a ridiculous consultation of the cardinals about the correction of abuses, at which the Colloquies of Erasmus were

horn, Cardinal Quirini maintained that Paul IV. did not condemn the *Consilium*, but only the commentaries which Sturmius and others wrote on it. Schelhorn has refuted the arguments of the cardinal, and confirmed his original statement, in a tract, entitled, *De Consilio de Emendanda Ecclesia, auspiciis Pauli III. conscripto; ac a Paulo IV. damnato.* Tig. 1748. It is prohibited under the following title: "Consiglio d'alcuni Vescovi congregati in Bologna." Index Auct. et Lib. Prohib. sig. B 2. Romæ, 1559.

[1] Cardinal Quirini at first asserted that it was originally printed by the Protestants, but he afterwards found two copies of it printed at Rome in 1538, by the authority of the pope. Ut supra, p. 9.

[2] Storia Concil. Trent. lib. iii. sect. 57, § 3.

[3] On the margin of that part of the Advice whice relates to Erasmus, Luther wrote, *Wolte Gott er solte leben!*—"O that he had been alive!"—an exclamation expressive of regret at the recent death of an illustrious antagonist, mingled with delight at the thought of the merited castigation which Erasmus, if he had been in life, would have bestowed on the mitred censors of his favourite work. Seckend. lib. iii. p. 164.

forbidden to be used in schools; and to this consultation were called these heroes, *Aleander* and *Sadolet*."[1] What pigmies do mere men of letters appear in the eyes of a man, I say not of stern virtue, but of sterling principle!

Faenza and Imola are both situated in that part of Italy which was called the patrimony of St Peter, and acknowledged the popes as their temporal sovereigns. It has been already mentioned that the reformed doctrine was introduced into the former city.[2] That it gained admission into the latter appears from an anecdote related in a letter of Thomas Lieber, a German (better known, in the controversy respecting ecclesiastical discipline, by his Greek name of *Erastus*), who was then prosecuting his medical studies at the neighbouring university of Bologna. An Observantine monk, preaching one day at Imola, told the people that it behoved them to purchase heaven by the merit of their good works. A boy, who was present, exclaimed, "That's blasphemy! for the Bible tells us that Christ purchased heaven by his sufferings and death, and bestows it on us freely by his mercy." A dispute of considerable length ensued between the youth and the preacher. Provoked at the pertinent replies of his juvenile opponent, and at the favourable reception which the audience gave them, "Get you gone, you young rascal!" exclaimed the monk, "you are but just come from the cradle, and will you take it upon you to judge of sacred things, which the most learned cannot explain?"—"Did you never read these words, 'Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings God perfecteth praise?'" rejoined the youth; upon which the preacher quitted the pulpit in wrathful confusion, breathing out threatenings against the poor boy, who was instantly thrown into prison, "where he still lies," says the writer of the letter, which was dated on the 31st of December 1544.[3]

Venice, of all the states of Italy, afforded the greatest facilities for the propagation of the new opinions, and the safest asylum to those who suffered for their adherence to them. Well apprised of the ambition and encroaching spirit of the Roman court, the senate had uniformly resisted the attempts made to establish the inquisition, and was cautious in allowing the edicts of the Vatican to be promulgated or carried into effect, within the Venetian territories. Political sagacity counteracted the narrow views of a proud and jealous aristocracy, and taught them to relax the severity of their internal police. Venice had risen to power and opulence by commerce; and the concession of a more than ordinary freedom of thinking and speaking was necessary to encourage strangers to visit her ports and markets. The Venetian republic was then among popish what Holland afterwards became among

[1] Melanchth. Epist. coll. 752, 753. Sleidan's account of the sentiments and conduct of the cardinal of Capua is different from that of Melanchthon. Comment. tom. ii. p. 117.

[2] See above, p. 44.

[3] Schelhorni Amœnit. Hist. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 54.

protestant states. She was distinguished for the number of her printing presses ;[1] and while letters were cultivated elsewhere for themselves, or to gratify the vanity of their patrons, they were encouraged here, from the additional consideration of their forming an important and not unproductive branch of manufacture and merchandise. The books of the German and Swiss Protestants were consigned to merchants at Venice, from which they were circulated to the different parts of Italy ;[2] and it was in this city that versions of the Bible and other religious books in the vulgar tongue were chiefly printed.

We have already had occasion to notice, that the first writings of Luther were read in Venice soon after they were published. In a letter written in the year 1528, the reformer says to a friend, "You give me joy by what you write of the Venetians receiving the word of God. To Him be the thanks and glory."[3] In the course of the following year, he was in correspondence with James Ziegler, a learned man, who possessed great authority at Venice, and was favourable to the grand attempt to reform religion, though he never joined its standard.[4] Ziegler had sent from Venice to Wittemberg, his adopted brother, Theodore Veit,[5] who acted for some time as secretary or amanuensis to Luther, and afterwards became minister of Nurenberg. This is the person so often mentioned under the name of Theodorus Vitus in the letters of Melanchthon, and through whom that reformer chiefly received his intelligence respecting the Protestants in Italy.[6]

An occurrence which took place in 1530, shows that there were then numbers in Venice who felt a deep interest in the cause of the Reformation. While Cardinal Campeggio attended the imperial diet at Augsburg as papal legate, a report was widely spread that he had wrought so far on the yielding temper of Melanchthon, as to persuade him to submit to the judgment of the supreme pontiff. This excited great uneasiness in the breasts of the Venetians who favoured the Gospel, one of whom, Lucio Paolo Rosselli, addressed a letter to that reformer, conceived in a noble spirit. After expressing the high esteem which he felt for the character of Melanchthon, and the delight which he had received from his writings, he exhorts him, in respectful language, but with an honest freedom, to show himself a firm and intrepid defender

[1] See, besides the common typographic authorities, Le Brett, Dissertatio de Ecclesia Græca hodierna in Dalmatia, &c. p. 22, 93.

[2] "Bene vale ; et si quando deest scribendi argumentum, vel de communibus studiis, vel si quid librorum Germani mancipes nuper Venetias invexerint, perscribe." Cæl. Calcagninus Peregrino Morato; Epist. lib. xi. p. 158.

[3] Luther's Sämtliche Schriften, tom. xxi. p. 1092.

[4] Ibid, p. 1163. Ziegler was the intimate friend of Celio Calcagnini, who has celebrated his talents and virtues in the warmest manner. Calcagnini Opera, pp. 54—57, 67, 86. He was distinguished for his skill in mathematics, geography, and natural history, and published the principal works of the ancients on these subjects, with annotations. Schelhorn published his *Historia Clementis VII.* and prefixed to it a treatise *De Vita et Scriptis Jacobi Ziegleri*, which contains curious particulars concerning the learning and literati of that time. Amœnit. Hist. Eccles. et Liter. tom. ii. p. 210, &c.

[5] Buddeus, in his Supplement to Luther's Letters (p. 74), reads, "misit ad me *virum* (instead of *Vitum*), fratrem sibi adoptatum ;" a mistake which has been corrected by Walch. He is also called *Veit Dietrich*, in the correspondence of Luther and Melanchthon.

[6] Melanch. Epist. col. 598, 835, &c. Conf. Seckend. Index I., art. *Theodoricus.*

of that faith to which he had been the honoured instrument of winning so many. "In this cause," continues he, "you ought to regard neither emperor, nor pope, nor any other mortal, but the immortal God only. If there be any truth in what the papists circulate about you, the worst consequences must accrue to the Gospel, and to those who have been led to embrace it through your instrumentality and that of Luther. Be assured that all Italy waits with anxiety for the result of your Assembly at Augsburg. Whatever is determined by it, will be embraced by Christians in other countries through the authority of the emperor. It behoves you and others, who are there for the purpose of defending the Gospel, to be firm, and not to suffer yourselves to be either frightened from the standard of Christ by threats, or drawn from it by entreaties and promises. I implore and obtest you, as the head and leader of the whole evangelical army, to regard the salvation of every individual. Though you should be called to suffer death for the glory of Christ, fear not, I beseech you; it is better to die with honour than to live in disgrace. You shall secure a glorious triumph from Jesus Christ, if you defend his righteous cause; and in doing this, you may depend on the aid of the prayers and supplications of many who, day and night, entreat Almighty God to prosper the cause of the Gospel, and to preserve you and its other champions, through the blood of his Son. Farewell, and desert not the cause of Christ."[1] In the course of the same month, this zealous person wrote a second time to Melanchthon, enclosing a copy of the letter which the reformer was said to have addressed to the legate. If unhappily he had been induced to write in a strain so unworthy of his character, Rosselli exhorts him to evince the more courage and constancy for the future; but if it was a fabrication, as many of his friends asserted, then he should lose no time in exposing such a malicious calumny, and maintain henceforth a declared and open warfare with men who sought to accomplish their ends by the base arts of stratagem and falsehood.[2]

Among those who contributed most to propagate the reformed opinions at Venice, were Pietro Carnesecchi, Baldo Lupetino, and Baldassare Altieri. The first we shall afterwards have occasion to meet among the martyrs of Italy. The second, who also obtained the crown of martyrdom, was a native of Albona, of noble extraction, and held in high esteem for his learning and worth. He was provincial of the Franciscans within the Venetian territories, and, in that character, had the best opportunities of communicating religious instruction, and of protecting those who had received it.[3] It was by his advice that Matteo Flacio, a kinsman of his, altered his resolution of assuming the monastic garb, and retired into Germany, where he

[1] "Venetiis 8. 3 Kal. Augusti, anno 1530." Celestini Act. Comit. August. tom. ii. f. 274.

[2] Celestin. tom. iii. f. 18. Wolfii Lect. Memorab. tom. ii. p. 344—345; where Melanchthon's letter to Campeggio is also inserted. If really written by him, it was sufficiently humble.

[3] Ritteri Vita Flacii Illyrici, p. 8. apud Gerdes. Ital. Ref. pp. 58, 172—174.

became distinguished for his learned writings, and the active though intemperate part which he took in the internal disputes which agitated the Lutheran church.[1] Altieri, though a native of Aquila in Naples, had fixed his residence at Venice, where he acted for some time as the secretary of the English ambassador, and afterwards as agent for the Protestant princes of Germany. He was distinguished for his ardent devotion to the reformed religion, which his official situations enabled him to advance, by the epistolary correspondence which he carried on with foreign courts, the books which he brought into Italy, and the advice and assistance which he was always ready to afford to such of his countrymen as had embraced or were inquiring after the truth.[2]

The evangelical doctrine had made such progress in the city of Venice between the years 1530 and 1542, that its friends, who had hitherto met in private for mutual instruction and religious exercises, held deliberations on the propriety of organising themselves into regular congregations, and assembling in public.[3] Several members of the senate were favourable to it, and hopes were entertained at one time that the authority of that body would be interposed in its behalf. In the beginning of the year 1538, Michele Bracchioli[4] came from Italy to Wittemberg to confer on religion with Melanchthon, who was greatly delighted with his manners and the elegance of his taste.[5] Being called home unexpectedly, by information that his brother was in danger of proscription, he returned to Germany in the course of a year, charged with a message to Melanchthon, from the friends of reformation in Venice. This encouraged the reformer to address a letter to the senate, in which he expressed the high satisfaction which he felt at hearing that many honourable persons among them entertained a favourable opinion of the reform of ecclesiastical abuses which had been made in Germany. After a short statement of the cautious manner in which the reformers had proceeded, by taking care to repress popular tumults and avoid dangerous innovations, and after suggesting some considerations to show that various corruptions had been introduced into the church, Melanchthon adds: "Such slavery surely ought not to be established, as that we should be obliged, for peace's sake, to approve of

[1] He is usually called *Matthæus Flacius Illyricus*, and was the principal compiler of the Ecclesiastical History known by the title of *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses*, and of the *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*. An early and still valuable work on biblical interpretation, entitled, *Clavis Sacræ Scripturæ*, is the production of his pen. His account of his own life, under the title of *Historia Actionum et Certaminum*, which abounds in anecdotes of his time, is exceedingly rare.

[2] Laderchii Annal. Eccl. tom. xxii. f. 325. Seckendorf, lib. iii. p. 404, 578, 614. Schelhorn, Ergötzlichkeiten, tom. i. p. 423.

[3] Gerdes, Ital. Ref. p. 57.

[4] Schelhorn thinks it probable that the translator, mistaking the handwriting of Melanchthon, which was not very legible, had read *Bracchiolus* instead of *Brucchiolus*, and that the person referred to might be a brother of Brucioli, the translator of the Bible. Ergötzlichkeiten, tom. i. p. 420—422. There certainly is some mistake as to the name; for the person who is called *Bracchiolus* in one letter of Melanchthon, is called *Braccietus* in another.

[5] "Est enim et ingenii suavitate summa præditus, et in versu scribendo elegans et venustus, seque ad imitationem Catulli comparavit, quem feliciter exprimit." Epist. Melanchthonis ad Vitum, a. 1538. Collect. Joh. Sauberti, lib. iv. p. 46.

all the errors of those who govern the church ; and learned men especially ought to be protected in the liberty of expressing their opinions and of teaching. As your city is the only one in the world which enjoys a genuine aristocracy, preserved during many ages and always hostile to tyranny, it becomes it to protect good men in freedom of thinking, and to discourage that unjust cruelty which is exercised in other places. Wherefore, I cannot refrain from exhorting you to employ your care and authority for advancing the divine glory, a service which is most acceptable to God."[1] Had Venice been then treated by the court of Rome in the same manner in which it was treated by it at the commencement of the seventeenth century, it is highly probable that the republic would have declared in favour of the Reformation ; and, in that case, it might at this day have possessed its political independence, if not also regained its ancient glory.

The Gospel was introduced into the different territories belonging to the republic of Venice. At *Padua* it was embraced by many of the students and some of the professors in the university, which was celebrated at that period as a school of medicine.[2] At *Verona* and at *Brescia* there were converts to the reformed faith.[3] In the *Bargamasco*, the bishop, Vittore Soranzo, was favourable to evangelical doctrine, and exerted himself in reforming his clergy.[4] But the greatest number of Protestants was to be found in the *Vicentino* and *Trevisano*, situated in the neighbourhood of Venice. In the year 1535, the doge delivered up to the vicar-general of Vicenza a German, named Sigismund, to be punished for disseminating the Lutheran heresy in that diocese ; for which act of filial obedience his excellency was formally thanked by Paul III. in a pontifical brief.[5] This example of severity had not, however, the effect of arresting the progress of the reformed doctrine, which was patronised, or at least connived at and tolerated, by the local magistrates ; for, in a papal rescript addressed to the doge and senate ten years after, his holiness represents that he had repeatedly notified to them, by letters and nuncios, that heresy had sprung up and been embraced by not a few in their city of Vicenza, and that the governor and magistrates of that place, though instructed by them to co-operate

[1] Melanchthonis Epistolæ, coll. 150—154, edit. Londini. Schelhorn (Amœn. Liter. tom. i. p. 422) suspects that Melanchthon was not on terms of such intimacy with the senators of Venice as to address a letter to them, and is of opinion that it was addressed *Ad Venetorum quosdam Evangelii studiosos*, under which title it appears in the *Selectæ Declamationes* of the author, published in 1541, p. 804. But the letter contains internal evidence of its having been intended for the magistrates of that republic ; and Bock states, that he had seen, in the Royal Library of Königsberg, a copy of the original edition, printed at Nurenberg, and bearing this title, *Epistola Philippi Melanchthonis ad Senatum Venetum*. It was a presentation copy to Prince Albert the elder, who had written on the title-page, "Accepi d. 17. Julii, a. 1538, per Eliam Plesse, Wratislauiensem ;" which proves that the letter was written earlier than has been supposed. Hist. Antitrin. tom. ii. p. 398.

[2] Melanch. Epist. coll. 373, 443, 758. Preface, by Cælio Secundo Curio, to the Life of Francis Spira, by Matteo Gribaldi, first printed in 1550.

[3] Gerdes. Ital. Ref. pp. 274, 280, 338, 351.

[4] De Porta, Hist. Reformat. Ecclesiarum Rhæticarum, tom. ii. p. 253. Laderchius introduces Victor Saranzius, bishop of Bergamo, among those whom he calls Valdesians, Lutherans, Zuinglians, and Calvinists. Annales ad an. 1567.

[5] Raynaldi Annal. ad an. 1535.

with their bishop in extirpating it, had hitherto refused to grant that assistance which was absolutely necessary to accomplish this pious purpose: so that the heretics had been emboldened, and there was reason to fear that these pestilent tenets would take root and spread to adjoining cities, unless prompt measures were taken to apprehend and punish the guilty.[1]

A letter addressed to Luther, in the year 1542, by Altieri, "in the name of the brethren of the church of Venice, Vicenza, and Triviso," is valuable as evincing the excellent spirit of the writer, and throwing light on the state of the protestant interest in that quarter, and in Italy at large. They felt ashamed, he said, and were unable to account for the fact, that they had so long failed to acknowledge the deep obligations which they lay under to him as the individual by whom they had been brought to the knowledge of the way of salvation; whether it was that the suddenness of their emancipation had astounded their minds, or whether a certain rustic bashfulness and servile dread had deterred them from addressing so grave and holy a personage. But now necessity, and the urgency of their circumstances, had driven them to that course which ingratitude and culpable negligence had hitherto prevented them from taking. Antichrist had begun to rage against them. Some of their number had been obliged to leave the country, others were thrown into prison, and the rest were in a state of trepidation. As members of the same body, they looked for the sympathy and assistance of their brethren in Germany, at whose call they had come forth and espoused that cause for the sake of which they were now exposed to such imminent danger. What they begged of him was, to use his influence with the evangelical princes of Germany to write in their behalf, requesting the senate of Venice to abstain from that violence which the ministers of the pope urged it to employ against the poor flock of Christ, and to permit them to enjoy their own manner of worship, at least until the meeting of a general council, in the way of adopting measures to prevent all sedition and disturbance of the public peace. "If God grant," continues he, "that we obtain a truce of this kind, what accessions will be made to the kingdom of Christ in point of faith and charity! How many preachers will appear to announce Christ faithfully to the people! How many prophets, who now lurk in corners, exanimated with undue fears, will come forth to expound the Scriptures! The harvest is truly great, but there are no labourers. You know what a great increase your churches had, and what a wide door was opened for the Gospel, by the truce which, as we understand, you have enjoyed for three years. Exert yourselves to procure the same favour for us; cherish the common cause; do your endeavour, that by this means the consolation which is by Christ may be imparted to us, who daily suffer for Christ; for it is our fervent desire that the word of God may be

[1] Raynaldi Annal. ad an. 1545.

spread abroad ; but we have none to feed us, unless our want be supplied out of your abundance."[1]

The MILANESE, as early as the year 1524, contained adherents to the reformed doctrine.[2] Several causes contributed to its propagation in this interesting portion of Italy. The struggle which Milan, the capital of Lombardy, had anciently maintained for its ecclesiastical independence, continued to be remembered long after its submission to the see of Rome ; a circumstance which, joined to the natural advantages of the country, drew to it those who dissented from the doctrines or declined the communion of the general church. The Milanese bordered on Switzerland, in which the reformed doctrine established itself at an early period, and on Piedmont, where the Vaudois had for centuries fixed their residence. To these causes may be added the political state of the duchy, and the protracted contest for its sovereignty between Francis I. and Charles V., with its alternate occupation by the armies of the contending monarchs ; in consequence of which, the efforts of the reformers to spread their sentiments were for a time overlooked. In a brief addressed to the bishop of Modena, in the year 1536, Paul III. states that he was informed that there had been lately discovered, in the religious and illustrious state of Milan, conventicles, consisting of noble persons of both sexes, belonging to a sect holding and observing the tenets of one friar Batista de Crema, by which many heresies, condemned by the ancient church, were fostered. His holiness therefore commands the bishop, who was then at Milan, to make inquisition after these conventicles and heretics, and to see that condign punishment was inflicted on the guilty, so that the pravity sown by the devil might be extirpated before it had time to shoot up and strengthen.[3] Though the "impure tenets of ancient heretics" are imputed to these "innovators," according to the usual language of the Church of Rome, there can be little doubt that they held the common opinions of Luther and Zuingle.

This part of our history is closely connected with some interesting facts in the checkered life of a man who had great influence in promoting the cause of the Reformation in Italy. Celio Secundo Curione, or Curio, was born at Turin in 1503, and was the youngest of twenty-three children. When only nine years of age he was left an orphan, but being allied to several noble families in Piedmont, received a liberal education at the university of his native city. In his youth, he was induced to read the Bible with more than ordinary attention, in consequence of his father having bequeathed him a copy of that book beautifully written ; and when he reached his twentieth year, he had the writings of the reformers put into his hands, by means of Jeronimo Negri of Fossano, who, along with some others in the Augustinian

[1] Seckendorf, lib. iii. p. 401.
[2] Erasmi Epistolæ: Gerdes. Hist. Ref. tom. iv. p. 30.
[3] Raynaldi Annales, ad an. 1536.

monastery of Turin, had come to the knowledge of the truth. This inflamed him with a desire of visiting Germany, to which he set out, accompanied by Giacomo Cornello and Francesco Guarino, who afterwards became distinguished ministers of the reformed church. Having, on their journey, entered incautiously into dispute on the controverted heads of religion, they were informed against, seized by the spies of the cardinal bishop of Ivrée, and thrown into separate prisons. Curio was released through the intercession of his relations; and the cardinal, pleased with his talents, endeavoured to attach him to himself by the offer of pecuniary assistance in his studies, and by placing him in the neighbouring priory of St Benigno, with the administration of which he had been intrusted by the late pope, Leo X. In this situation Curio exerted himself in enlightening the monks and freeing their minds from the influence of superstition. He one day opened a box, placed on the altar of the chapel, and having abstracted the relics from it, substituted a copy of the Bible, with the following inscription, "This is the ark of the covenant, which contains the oracles of God, the true relics of the saints." When the relics were required on the next solemn festival, the trick was discovered, and suspicion having fallen on Curio, he fled, and made his escape to Milan. This happened about the year 1530. After visiting Rome and several cities in Italy, he returned to the Milanese, where he married a lady belonging to the illustrious family of the Isacii, and devoted himself to the teaching of polite letters, by which he gained great reputation in the city and vicinity of Milan. The ravages committed by the Spanish troops obliging him to quit the Milanese, he embraced an invitation from the Count of Montferrat, under whose protection he resided for some years in tranquillity at Casale.[1]

Being persuaded to visit his native country, with the view of recovering his patrimony, he found it seized by one of his sisters and her husband, who unnaturally preferred a charge of heresy against him, as the most effectual way of defeating his legal claims. Upon this he retired to a village in the territories of the Duke of Savoy, where he was employed in teaching the children of the neighbouring gentlemen. Having gone one day, in company with some of his patrons, to hear a Dominican monk from Turin, the preacher, in the course of his sermon, drew a frightful picture of the German reformers, and, in proof of its justness, gave false quotations from a work published by Luther. Curio went up to the friar after sermon, and, producing the book, which he happened to have in his possession, read the passages referred to in the presence of the most respectable part of the audience, who, indignant at the misrepresentations which had been impudently palmed on them, drove their ghostly instructor, with disgrace, from the town. Information was immediately given to the inquisitor, and Curio was appre-

[1] Stupani Oratio de Cælii Secundi Curionis Vita atque Obitu; in Schelhorni Amœn. Liter. tom. xiv. p. 328—336.

hended and carried a prisoner to his native city, when his meditated journey to Germany and his abstracting of the relics at St Benigno, were produced as aggravations of his crime and strong presumptions of heretical pravity. As his friends were known to possess great influence, the administrator of the bishopric of Turin went to Rome to secure his condemnation, leaving him under the charge of a brother of Cardinal Cibo, who, to prevent any attempt at rescue, removed him to an inner room of the prison, and ordered his feet to be made fast in the stocks. In this situation a person of less fortitude and ingenuity would have given himself up for lost; but Curio, having in his youth lived in the neighbourhood of the jail, devised a method of escape, which, through the favour of Providence, succeeded. His feet being swollen by confinement, he prevailed on his keeper to allow him to have his right foot loosed for a day or two. By means of his shoe, together with a reed and a quantity of rags which lay within his reach, he formed an artificial leg, which he fastened to his right knee, in such a manner as that he could move it with ease. Having obtained permission to have his other foot relieved, he inserted the artificial limb into the stocks. Both his feet being thus at liberty, he, during the following night, forced the door of his apartment, felt his way through the dark passages, dropt from a window, and having scaled the walls of his prison with difficulty, made his escape into Italy. As he had extracted the fictitious limb from the stocks, and taken it to pieces, before leaving the prison, his persecutors could not account for his escape, and circulated the report that he had effected it by magic; upon which he published an account of the whole affair, in the form of a dialogue, interspersed with humorous and satirical strictures upon some of the popish errors.[1] After remaining some months with his family at Sale, a remote village in the territory of Milan, he was drawn from his retirement by his former friends, and placed in the university of Pavia. As soon as this was known, orders were sent from Rome to apprehend him; but so great was the favour in which he was held by the principal inhabitants of the place, and by the students, many of whom had come from other seminaries to attend his lectures, that he was protected for nearly three years from the attempts of the inquisitors; a guard, composed of his scholars, accompanying him to and from his house every day, during a great part of that time. At last, the pope threatening the senate of the town with excommunication, he was forced to retire to Venice, from which he removed to Ferrara. The labours of Curio were blessed for opening the eyes of many to the errors and corruptions of the Roman church, during his journeys through Italy, and the residence which he made in several parts of it, especially in the Milanese.[2]

[1] It is entitled, "Cælii Secundi Curionis Pasquillus Ecstaticus, una cum aliis etiam aliquot sanctis pariter et lepidis Dialogis;" without date or place of printing. The book was reprinted at Geneva in 1667, which is the edition I have used. The Dialogue, so far as it relates to his escape from Turin, is inserted by Schelhorn in the second volume of his Amœn. Hist. Eccles. et Hist. 759—776.

[2] Stupani Oratio, *ut supra*, p. 342.

Naples and Sicily had for some time belonged to the crown of Spain, and were now governed by separate viceroys under the Emperor Charles V. In Calabria, which formed one of the departments of the kingdom of Naples, the Vaudois still existed; and the doctrine of Luther and the other reformers now spread extensively in the Neapolitan territory, and especially in its capital. It is supposed to have been first introduced by the German soldiers, who, after the sack of Rome, obliged Lautrec, the French general, to raise the siege of Naples, and continued to garrison that city for some time.[1] A rigorous edict, published by Charles V. in the year 1536, by which he charged Don Pedro de Toledo, his viceroy at Naples, with the punishment of all who were infected with heresy, or who inclined to it, was intended to extirpate the seeds which had been sown by these foreigners.[2]

The Germans were succeeded by a person who, according to the account of a contemporary popish historian, "caused a far greater slaughter of souls than all the thousands of heretical soldiery."[3] This was Juan Valdes, or as he is sometimes called, Valdesso, a Spanish gentleman, who had gone to Germany along with his sovereign, Charles V., by whom he was knighted and sent to Naples, where he acted as secretary to the viceroy, Don Pedro de Toledo. In tracing the progress which the Reformation made in Spain, we shall have an opportunity of showing how the religious opinions of Valdes were formed.[4] His character was admirably adapted to produce am impression favourable to the new opinions. Possessed of considerable learning and of superior address, fervent in his piety and gentle in his disposition, polite in manners and eloquent in conversation, he soon became a favourite with the principal nobility, and with all the enlightened men who, at a certain season of the year, resorted in great numbers to the Neapolitan metropolis. Valdes did not take on him the office of a preacher, and he is an example of the extensive good which may be done by one who confines himself to the sphere within which Providence has placed him. By his private instructions, he not only imbued the minds of many distinguished laymen with the knowledge of evangelical truth, but contributed materially to advance the illumination and to stimulate the zeal of others, whose station gave them an opportunity of preaching the Gospel to the people, or of instilling its doctrines into the minds of the ingenuous youth whose studies they superintended.[5] Among these were Ochino and Martyr, two persons of whom it is proper to give an account, as they produced a strong sensation in their native country, and distinguished themselves afterwards in the reformed churches on this side the Alps.

Bernardino Ochino, or, as he is sometimes called, Ocello, was born in

[1] Anton. Caraccioli, Collect. de Vita Pauli IV. p. 239.
[2] Giannone, Hist. Civ. de Naples, liv. xxxii. chap. 5.
[3] Caraccioli, Collect. *ut supra.*
[4] History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain, chap. iv. (1st ed.)
[5] Caraccioli, *ut supra.* Giannone, *ut supra.* Schelhorni Amœnit. Hist. Eccl. tom. ii. p. 49. Simleri Oratio de Vita Martyris, sig. b iij.

the year 1487, at Sienna, a city of Tuscany, of obscure parents. Feeling, from his earliest years, a deep sense of religion, he devoted himself, according to the notions of that age, to a monastic life, and joined the Franciscan Observantines, as the strictest of all the orders of the regular clergy. For the same reason he left them, and, in 1534, became a member of the Capuchin brotherhood, which had been recently established according to the most rigid rules of holy living, or rather voluntary humility and mortification.[1] During his monastic retirement, he acknowledges that he escaped those vices with which his life might have been tainted if he had mixed with the world; and from the studies of the cloister, barren and unprofitable as they were, reaped a portion of knowledge which was afterwards of some use to him;[2] but he failed completely in gaining, what was the great thing which induced him to choose that unnatural and irksome mode of life, peace of mind and assurance of salvation. But let us hear his own account of his feelings, and of the manner in which a change was first wrought on his sentiments concerning religion. "When I was a young man, I was under the dominion of the common error by which the minds of all who live under the yoke of the wicked Antichrist are enthralled; so that I believed that we were to be saved by our own works, fastings, prayers, abstinence, watchings, and other things of the same kind, by which we were to make satisfaction for our sins, and purchase heaven, through the concurring grace of God. Wherefore, being anxious to be saved, I deliberated with myself what manner of life I should follow, and believing that those modes of religion were holy which were approved by the Roman church, which I regarded as infallible, and judging that the life of the friars of St Francis, called *De Observantia*, was above all others severe, austere, and rigid, and, on that account, more perfect and conformable to the life of Christ, I entered their society. Although I did not find what I had expected, yet no better way presenting itself to my blinded judgment, I continued among them until the Capuchin friars made their appearance, when, being struck with the still greater austerity of their mode of living, I assumed their habit, in spite of the resistance made by my sensuality and carnal prudence. Being now persuaded that I had found what I was seeking, I said to Christ, 'Lord, if I am not saved now, I know nothing more that I can do.' In the course of my meditations I was often perplexed, and felt at a loss to reconcile the views on which I acted with what the Scriptures said about salvation being the gift of God through the redemption wrought by Christ; but the authority of the church silenced these scruples, and in proportion as concern for my soul became more intense, I applied myself with greater diligence and ardour to those bodily exercises and mortifications

[1] De Vita, Religione et Fatis Bernardini Ochini Senensis; published in Observ. Select. Liter. Halens. tom. iv. p. 409—414. The author of this Life of Ochino was Burch. Gottlieb Struvius. Some popish writers had incautiously stated that Ochino was the founder of the Capuchins, a heretical blot which their successors were eager to remove.

[2] Ochini Dialogi, tom. ii. p. 374. Basil. 1563.

which were prescribed by the doctrine of the church, and by the rules of the order to which I had submitted. Still, however, I remained a stranger to true peace of mind, which at last I found by searching the Scriptures, and such helps for understanding them as I had access to. I now came to be satisfied of the three following truths : first, That Christ, by his obedience and death, has made a plenary satisfaction, and merited heaven for the elect, which is the only righteousness and ground of salvation ; secondly, That religious vows of human invention are not only useless, but hurtful and wicked ; and, thirdly, That the Roman church, though calculated to fascinate the senses by her external pomp and splendour, is unscriptural and abominable in the sight of God."[1]

In Italy it was not the custom, as in Germany, for the secular clergy to preach : this task was performed exclusively by the monks and friars. The chapters of the different orders chose such of their number as possessed the best pulpit talents, and sent them to preach in the principal cities during the time of Lent, which was almost the only season of the year in which the people enjoyed religious instruction. Ochino attained to the highest distinction in this employment, to which he was chosen by his brethren at an early period. His original talents compensated for his want of erudition. He was a natural orator ; and the fervour of his piety and the sanctity of his life gave an unction and an odour to his discourses which ravished the hearts of his hearers. "In such reputation was he held," says the annalist of the Capuchins, after Ochino had brought on them the stigma of heresy, "that he was esteemed incomparably the best preacher of Italy ; his powers of elocution, accompanied with the most admirable action, giving him the complete command of his audience, and the more so that his life corresponded to his doctrine."[2] His external appearance, after he had passed middle age, contributed to heighten this effect. His snow-white head, and his beard of the same colour flowing down to his middle, added to a pale countenance, which led the spectators to suppose that he was in bad health, rendered his aspect at once venerable and deeply interesting.[3] He never rode on horseback or in a carriage, but performed all his journeys on foot ; a practice which he continued after he was advanced in years. When he paid a visit to the palaces of princes or bishops, he was always met and received with the honours due to one of superior rank, and accompanied, on his departure, with the same marks of distinction ; yet, wherever he lodged, he retained all the simplicity and austerity of the religious order to which he belonged.[4] As a preacher, he was admired and followed equally by the learned and illiterate, by the great and the vulgar. Charles V., who used to attend his

[1] Bernardini Ochini Responsio, qua rationem reddit discessus ex Italia. Venet. 1542. Ep. Dedic. : Observat. Select. Halenses, tom. iv. p. 412—414. Epistre aux Magnifiques Seigneurs de Siene—par Bernardin Ochin. Avec un autre Epistre â Mutio Justinopolitain, 1544. The Epistle to Mutio is a translation of the work first mentioned. M. Aug. Beyeri Memor. Libr. Rariorum, p. 259—261.

[2] Bzovius, apud Bock, Hist. Antitrin. tom. ii. p. 485.

[3] Graziani, Vita Card. Commendoni, lib. ii. cap. 9.

[4] Ibid.

sermons when in Italy, pronounced this high encomium on him—"That man would make the stones weep!"[1] Sadolet and Bembo, who were still better judges than his imperial majesty, assigned to Ochino the palm of popular eloquence.[2] At Perugia he prevailed on the inhabitants, by his discourses, to bury all their animosities and bring their law-suits to an amicable settlement: and in Naples he preached to so numerous an assembly, and with such persuasive eloquence, as to collect at one time, for a charitable purpose, the almost incredible sum of five thousand crowns.[3]

The fame of the devout and eloquent Capuchin was so great, that the most respectable inhabitants of Venice, in the year 1538, employed Cardinal Bembo to procure him to preach to them during the ensuing Lent. The cardinal wrote to Vittoria Colonna, Marchioness of Pescaro, begging her to intercede with Ochino, over whom she had great influence, to visit Venice, where he would find all the inhabitants inflamed with the most passionate desire to hear him.[4] He went accordingly, and the reception he met with is thus described by the elegant pen of Bembo, in a letter to the marchioness, dated from Venice, the 23d day of February 1539: "I send your highness the extracts of our very reverend Frate Bernardino, to whom I have listened, during the small part of this Lent which is over, with a pleasure which I cannot sufficiently express. Assuredly I never heard so edifying and holy a preacher, and do not wonder that your highness esteems him as you do. He discourses very differently from any other that has mounted the pulpit in my day, and in a more Christian manner; bringing forth truths of superior excellence and usefulness, and enforcing them with the most affectionate ardour. He pleases everybody above measure, and will carry the hearts of all with him when he leaves this place. From the whole city I send your highness immortal thanks for the favour you have done us: and I especially will ever feel obliged to you."[5] In another letter to the same lady, dated the 15th of March, he says: "I talk with your highness as I talked this morning with the reverend father, Frate Bernardino, to whom I have laid open my whole heart and soul, as I would have done to Jesus Christ, to whom I am persuaded he is acceptable and dear. Never have I had the pleasure to speak to a holier man than he. I should have been now at Padua, both on account of a business which has engaged me for a whole year, and also to shun the applications with which I am incessantly assailed in consequence of this blessed cardinalate;[6] but I was unwilling to deprive myself of the opportunity of hearing his most excellent, holy, and edifying sermons."[7]

[1] Schröckh, Christliche Kirchengeschichte seit der Reformation, tom. ii. p. 780.

[2] Sadoleti Epist. in Oper. Aonii Palearii, p. 558, edit. Halbauerl. Quirini Diatrib. præfix. Epp. Reg. Poli, tom. iii. p. 86.

[3] Annali de' Fratri Minori Capuccini composti dal P. Zaccaria Boverio da Saluzzo, e radotti en volgare dal P. F. Benedetto Sanbenedetti da Milano, tom. i. p. 411. Venet. 1643.

[4] Lettere di Pietro Bembo, vol. iv. p. 108: Opere, vol. viii. Milano, 1810.

[5] Ib., vol. iv. p. 109.

[6] Bembo had lately received a cardinal's hat from Rome.

[7] Lettere, *ut supra*, p. 111.

And on the 14th of April he writes: "Our Frate Bernardino, whom I desire henceforth to call mine as well as yours, is at present adored in this city. There is not a man or woman who does not extol him to the skies. Oh, what pleasure! Oh, what delight! Oh, what joy has he given! But I reserve his praises until I meet your highness, and, in the mean time, supplicate our Lord to order his life so as that it may endure longer to the honour of God and the profit of men, than it can endure according to the way in which he now treats himself."[1] The following letter addressed by the cardinal to the parson of the Church of the Apostles, is still more descriptive of the deep interest which was felt for Ochino at Venice: "I pray you to entreat and oblige the reverend father, Frate Bernardino, to eat flesh, not for the gratification and benefit of his body, about which he is indifferent, but for the comfort of our souls—that he may be able to preach the Gospel to the praise of our blessed Saviour. For he cannot continue his exercises, nor bear up under them, during the present Lent, unless he leave off the diet of the season, which, as experience proves, always brings on him a catarrh."[2]

These extracts will be considered as sufficient to establish the character of Ochino for piety and eloquence; but there is another reflection which they can scarcely fail to suggest. How deceitful are the warmest feelings excited by hearing the Gospel! and how do they vary with the external circumstances in which the truth is presented to the mind! Bembo was delighted with the sentiments which he heard, as well as the eloquence with which the preacher adorned them; and yet the future conduct of the cardinal leaves us at no loss in determining, that he would have felt and spoken very differently, had he been told that the doctrine to which he listened with such devout ravishment was essentially Protestant. Names exert great influence over mankind; but let not those who can laugh at this weakness flatter themselves that they have risen above all the prejudices by which the truth is excluded or expelled. The love of the world outweighs both names and things. Provided men could enjoy the Gospel within the pale of their own church, within the circle of that society in which they have been accustomed to move and shine, and without being required to forego the profits, honours, or pleasures of this life, "all the world" might be seen wondering after Christ, as it once "wondered after the beast."

In a general chapter of his order, held at Florence in the year 1538, Ochino was chosen general or chief director of the Capuchins; and three years after, in another chapter, held at Whitsuntide, 1541, in the city of Naples, he was, as an unexampled mark of respect, and in opposition to his own earnest request, unanimously re-elected to the same office.[3] Before Ochino was advanced to these honours, or had acquired

[1] Lettere, *ut supra*, p. 112.

[2] "Ali 12 di Marzo, 1539." This letter was first published from the archives of the Marquis Ugolino Barisone, by Chevalier Jacopo Morelli, in his late edition of Bembo's works. Tomo ix. p. 497.

[3] Boverio, Annali Capuccini ad ann. 1539, 1541. His official designation is expressed

such extensive popularity as a preacher, the change in his religious sentiments, already described, had taken place.[1] It produced a corresponding change on his strain of preaching, which, for some time, was felt rather than understood by his hearers. He appealed directly to the Scriptures in support of the doctrines which he delivered, and exhorted the people to rest their faith on the infallible authority of the word of God, and to build their hopes of salvation on the obedience and death of Christ alone. But a prudential regard to his own safety, and to the edification of his hearers, whose minds were not prepared for the discovery, prevented him for some time from exposing the errors and superstition by which Christianity had been corrupted. When he came to preach at Naples, the sagacious eye of Juan Valdes quickly detected the Protestant under the patched rocket and sharp-horned cowl of the Capuchin; and, having gained his friendship, he introduced him to the private meetings held by the converts to evangelical doctrine in that city.

Pietro Martire Vermigli[2] was born in the year 1500, of an honourable family in Florence, and received that liberal education which had been denied to Ochino. In his youth he was taught Latin by his mother; and having, when he arrived at the age of sixteen, entered, in opposition to the will of his parents, among the canons regular of St Augustine, he passed his noviciate in their convent at Fiezoli, which the liberality of the Medici had furnished with an excellent library. From this he was sent to the university of Padua, where he made great proficiency in philosophy and the Greek language. He afterwards visited the most celebrated academies of his native country. At Vercelli by the persuasion of his intimate friend Cusano, he interpreted Homer; and at Bologna he acquired the knowledge of Hebrew from a Jewish physician named Isaac. Being selected by the Augustinians as one of their public preachers, he distinguished himself by the solidity and eloquence of his discourses at Rome, Bologna, Fermo, Pisa, Venice, Mantua, Bergamo, and Montferrat. Having thus recommended himself to those of his order by his talents and labours, he was unanimously elected Abbot of Spoleto, and soon after Provost of the College of St Pietro *ad aram*, in the city of Naples, a situation of dignity and emolument. This was about the year 1530, and in the thirtieth year of his age. It was at

in the title of one of his first publications: "Dialogi Sacri del Rev. Padre Frate B. Ochino da Siena, Generale de i Frati Capuzzini. Venetio, 1542." De Bure, Partie Théologique, p. 432.

[1] Observ. Select. Hallens. tom. iv. p. 416. Caraccioli, Collect. p. 239. Giannone, liv. xxxvii. chap. v. Bock, Hist. Antitrin. tom. ii. p. 489—491. Caraccioli says, that Ochino's adoption of the Protestant tenets was discovered as early as the year 1536. This error has been corrected by Bock, who has himself fallen into a mistake in stating that Ochino was drawn over to the evangelical party by Valdes in the year 1541; whereas the latter died in 1540.

[2] His father's name was *Stefano Vermigli*, from whom he is ordinarily designed Petrus Martyr *Vermilius*, to distinguish him from Petrus Martyr *Mediolanensis*, a martyr after whom he was named, in consequence of a vow of his parents; and also to distinguish him from a learned countryman and contemporary of his own, Petrus Martyr *Anglerius* (of Anghiera), whose epistles are known to the learned as throwing great light on the history of the early part of the sixteenth century.

this time, and when he had the prospect of certain and rapid advancement in the Romish church, that a change took place in his religious sentiments, which gave a complete turn to his future life. From his youth, as he himself has told us, he had a decided preference for sacred studies; and having access to the Scriptures in the convent to which he belonged, applied himself to read them with great care, and not altogether without profit to himself and others.[1] At a subsequent period he fell in with the treatises of Zuingle on True and False Religion and on Providence, and with some of Bucer's commentaries on Scripture, which left impressions in his mind. These were now confirmed and deepened by the conversation of Valdes, Flaminio, and others, with whom he became acquainted at Naples.[2]

Martyr excelled as much in judgment and learning as Ochino did in popular eloquence. To their exertions in diffusing evangelical truth were added those of Mollio, formerly mentioned,[3] who now filled the station of lecturer to the monastery of St Lorenzo at Naples. While Ochino employed his persuasive eloquence in the pulpit, Martyr and Mollio read lectures, chiefly on Paul's Epistles, which were attended by the monks of different convents, by many of the nobility, and by individuals of the episcopal order. The three friends did not fail to meet with opposition from the strenuous adherents of the established religion, who were supported by the authority of the viceroy; but such was the prudence with which they conducted themselves, and the countenance which they received from persons of the first consideration in the city, that they were able to maintain their ground, and for a time to triumph over their adversaries. The favourite doctrine of Ochino was justification by faith in Christ, which, as appears from his printed sermons, he perfectly understood, and explained with much Scriptural simplicity. Purgatory, penances, and papal pardons, fell before the preaching of this doctrine, as Dagon of old before the ark of Jehovah. An Augustinian monk of Trevigio, as much perhaps with the view of recommending himself to his superiors as from any hopes of success, challenged Ochino and his colleagues to a dispute on these points; but he was worsted and put to silence by their superior talents and acquaintance with Scripture. The Church of Rome had long relied on the third chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians,[4] as one of the main pillars of purgatory; and from this passage the monks were accustomed to draw their most popular arguments in favour of that lucrative doctrine. Martyr did not directly attack the doctrine; but, in the course of his lectures on that epistle, he gave a quite different interpretation of the words, which he confirmed by arguments drawn from the text and context, and by appeals to the writings of the most learned and judicious among the fathers. This view of the passage occasioned great specula-

[1] Oratio quam Tiguri primum habuit: Martyris Loc. Commun. p. 744.

[2] Simleri Oratio de Vita et Obitu Petri Martyris Vermilii, præfix. ad Loc. Commun. Martyris, sig. b ij, b iij. Genev. 1624. This funeral oration was republished by Gerdes, in his *Scrinium Antiquarium*, tom. iii. par. ii.

[3] See before, p. 57.

[4] Ver. 13—15.

tion; and the monks, provoked by the favourable reception which it met with, and, dreading that the most fertile source of their gain would be dried up, moved heaven and earth against the daring innovator. By the influence of the viceroy, and their own representations, they obtained an order interdicting him from preaching and lecturing. Martyr enjoyed the favour of Gonzago, cardinal of Mantua and protector of his order; and he was well known to Cardinals Contarini, Pole, Bembo, and Fregoso, all men of learning, and some of them favourable to ecclesiastical reform. Relying on their patronage, he carried his cause by appeal to Rome, and succeeded in obtaining the removal of the interdict.[1]

By the blessing of God on the labours of these men, a reformed church was established in Naples, which included persons of the first rank in the kingdom, both male and female. Among these were Galeazzo Caraccioli, the eldest son of the Marquis of Vico; his noble relation, Gianfrancesco de Caserta, by whom he was first induced to attend the discourses of Martyr;[2] and Bernardino Bonifacio, Marquis of Oria, a nobleman equally distinguished by his learning and piety, who, after travelling through various countries, settled at last in Nurenberg.[3]

It would be improper to omit here the name of another Neapolitan nobleman who acquired a taste for the reformed doctrine in Italy, though he did not profess it until he had left his native country. This was Antonio Caraccioli, the son of the Prince of Melphi, and who was usually known by his father's title. Having gone to France, he was made abbot of St Victor in Paris, and afterwards bishop of Troyes, in Champagne. He had been long acquainted with the writings of the reformers, especially those of Calvin; and on his advancement to the bishopric, in 1551, began to inveigh with great boldness and eloquence against the abuses of the Church of Rome. Multitudes flocked to his sermons, attracted by curiosity to hear a bishop preach, or by love to the truth; but being summoned to answer for his conduct, he disappointed the hopes of many by making a public recantation in his own cathedral. In 1557, his zeal for the reformed faith was rekindled by an interview which he had with Calvin and Beza at Geneva, on his return from a visit to Italy.[4] After the conference between the Catholics and Protestants at Poissy, in 1560, at which he was present, he was accompanied to Troyes by his countryman, Peter Martyr, to whom he expressed his resolution, at all hazards, to avow and abide by the truth, of which he was now thoroughly convinced in his conscience. Accordingly, he met with the Protestants in that city, and having made a profession of his faith, and stated his scruples as to the validity of his episcopal orders, declared his willingness to serve them, provided they

[1] Simler, Vita Martyris, sig. b iij.

[2] Ibid., *ut supra*. Life of Galeas Caraccioli, p. 3—5.

[3] Vita Philippi Camerarii, per Shelhornium, p. 142. Micrelii Syntag. p. 313. Fontanini, p. 498. Some of his poems are included in *Delitiæ Poetarum Italorum*.

[4] Beze, Hist. des Eglis. Reform. de France, tom. i. pp. 83, 86. Martene et Durand, Collect. Vet. Script. et Monument. tom. i. col. 1615.

gave him a call to the pastoral office; upon which they unanimously made choice of him as their minister.[1] It is unnecessary to add, that this step led to his degradation by the popish clergy. Subsequently, the reformed bishop gave offence to his new friends, by deserting his church and attaching himself to the court, but he did not desist altogether from preaching, and persevered in the Protestant religion to his death.[2]

While the church at Naples was enjoying peace and daily increasing in numbers, it was deprived of Valdes, to whom it chiefly owed its plantation. He died in the year 1540, deeply lamented by many distinguished persons, who owned him as their spiritual father. "I wish we were again at Naples," says Bonfadio, in a letter to Carnesecchi. "But when I consider the matter in another point of view, to what purpose should we go there, now when Valdes is dead? His death truly is a great loss to us and to the world; for Valdes was one of the rarest men in Europe, as the writings left by him on the Epistles of St Paul and the Psalms of David abundantly demonstrate.[3] He was, beyond all doubt, a most accomplished man in all his words, actions, and counsels. Life scarcely supported his infirm and spare body; but his nobler part and pure intellect, as if it had been placed without the body, was wholly occupied with the contemplation of truth and divine things. I condole with Marco Antonio (Flaminio), for, above all others, he greatly loved and admired him."[4] The fervent piety of Valdes, and the unspotted purity of his life, are universally acknowledged. The charge of heterodoxy of sentiment, brought against him after his death, rests chiefly on the very questionable ground that some of those who were intimate with him ultimately inclined to the sect denominated Socinian; for it cannot be pleaded that their tenets are to be found in his writings, which, it must be allowed, contain some other opinions which are either untenable or unguardedly expressed.[5]

[1] Langueti Epist. ep. 63, 64. Martyris Epistolæ, in Loc. Commun. p. 582. Thuani Hist. ad an. 1561.

[2] Beze, vol. ii. p. 148, 246. Prosper Marchand, art. *Caraccioli*. Colomies says that he wrote a defence of the Count de Montgomery, who mortally wounded Henry II. Colomesiana, edit. De Maiseaux, tom. i. p. 585.

[3] These works must have been then in manuscript. His Commentary on the Romans was published in Spanish, at Venice, in 1556; and his Commentary on the Psalms at the same place, in the following year. His countryman and friend, Juan Perez, the translator of the New Testament into Spanish, prefixed an epistle dedicatory to each. Baumgarten, apud Gerdes. Ital. Ref. p. 344.

[4] Lettere volgari di diversi nobilissimi huomini, p. 33. Ald. 1543.

[5] Sandius (Bibl. Antitrin. p. 2) claims him as an anti-trinitarian; but that writer puts in the same claim to Wolfgang Fabricius Capito, and others, who are known to have entertained opposite sentiments. Schelhorni Amœnit. Liter. tom. xiv. p. 386. Amœnit. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 51—53. If Ochino ever embraced that creed (which some have denied), it was unquestionably long after he left Italy. Observ. Sel. Hal. tom. iv. obs. 20. tom. v. obs. 1, 2. Beza, while he expresses his dissatisfaction with some things in the *Divine Considerations* of Valdes, declares that he meant nothing disrespectful to the author, and does not insinuate, in the slightest degree, that he erred as to the doctrine of the Trinity. Epistolæ, p. 43, 276 Some remarks on the peculiar opinions of Valdes will be found elsewhere. Hist. of the Progr. and Suppress. of the Reform. in Spain, chap. iv. The following is the title of the *Considerations* in the Italian, which appears to have been the original edition, and published by Celio Secundo Curio,—"Le Cento e Dieci Considerationi de Signore Valdesso, nelle quale si ragiona cose più utile, più necessarie, et più perfette della Christian a Religione. In Basilea, 1550." 8vo. In the French translation of the *Considerationi* the author is called *Jan de Val d'Esso*.

The doctrines of the Gospel were most eagerly received in the capital, but they spread also through the kingdom of Naples, and even reached *Sicily*, which was at that period an appendage to the crown of Spain. Occupied in defending the coasts against the Turk, the viceroys who governed that island under Charles V. were not involved in the intrigues of Italian policy; and those who fled from persecution on the continent, found protection under their comparatively mild administration. Benedetti, surnamed Locarno from the place of his birth, a minister of great sanctity, having gained the favour of the viceroy, preached the truth under his patronage to crowded audiences in Palermo, and other parts of that island.[1] The seeds of his doctrine which afterwards sprung up, gave ample employment to the inquisitors; and, for many years, persons charged with the Lutheran heresy were produced in the public and private *autos de fe* celebrated in Sicily.[2]

Lucca, the capital of a small but flourishing republic, lying on the east coast of the Gulf of Genoa, had the honour to reckon among its inhabitants a greater number of converts to the reformed faith than perhaps any other city in Italy. This was chiefly owing to the labours of Martyr. Finding, after a trial of several years, that the climate of Naples was injurious to his health, he left it with the consent of his superiors, and was chosen visitor-general of the Augustinians in Italy. The rigid inspection which he exerted over them, and the reform which, with the concurrence of Cardinal Gonzago, he sought to introduce into their monasteries, created alarm among the monks, who contrived to rid themselves of their troublesome visitor, by getting him appointed Prior of St Fridiano at Lucca, an honourable situation, which invested him with episcopal powers. His adversaries hoped that he would be unacceptable in his new situation, as a Florentine, on account of an ancient grudge between the Lucchese and the inhabitants of Florence; but with such prudence did he conduct himself, that he was as much esteemed as if he had been a native of Lucca. One object which engaged the particular attention of Martyr was the education of the novices in the priory, whose minds he was anxious to imbue with the love of sacred literature. For this purpose he established a private college or seminary, to which he drew such teachers as he knew to be both learned men and lovers of divine truth.[3] Paolo Lacisio, a native of Verona, taught the Latin language; Celso Martinengho, of the noble family of the counts of that name, taught Greek; and Emanuel Tremellio, of Ferrara, who afterwards distinguished himself as an oriental scholar,

[1] Jo. de Muralto, Oratio de Persecutione Locarnensi, sec. iii. et Append. no. ii. iii.: Tempe Helvetica, tom. iv. pp. 142, 184, 186. Two viceroys of Naples, Don Pedro Cordova and the Marquis de Terranova, one of the grandees of Spain, were forced to do penance for interfering with the Inquisition. Llorente, ii. 82—88.

[2] Llorente, ii. 123, 129.

[3] Celio Secundo Curio resided for some time at Lucca, where he taught in the university, having been recommended to the senators by the Duchess of Ferrara. Stupani Oratio, pp. 343, 344.

gave instructions in Hebrew. Martyr himself applied the literary knowledge which the young men imbibed from these sources to the elucidation of the Scriptures, by reading lectures to them on the New Testament and the Psalter, which were attended by all the learned men and many of the patricians of Lucca. He also preached publicly to the people, confining himself to the Gospels during Advent and Lent, according to the usual custom of the monks, but taking his subjects from the Epistles during the rest of the year. By means of these labours a separate church was formed in that city, of which Martyr became pastor; and many, including persons of the first respectability in the place, gave the most decided proofs of genuine piety and ardent attachment to the reformed faith.[1]

While these things were going on, Pope Paul III. paid a visit to Lucca, accompanied by the emperor, who was at that time in Italy. It was feared that the enemies of Martyr would embrace that opportunity to inform against him, and that his life would be brought into danger; but he was not molested, probably because it was deemed impolitic and premature to attack a teacher whose reputation and authority were then so high among the inhabitants. About the same time, Martyr received a visit from Cardinal Contarini, as he passed through Lucca, on his return from Germany, where he had been in the character of papal legate. They had a confidential conversation on the state of the church, and on the sentiments of the German reformers.[2]

The PISANO received the knowledge of evangelical doctrine from Lucca, and was supplied, for some time, by preachers from that place; but, in the year 1543, the Protestants in the city of Pisa formed themselves into a church, and had the sacrament of the Lord's Supper celebrated among them.[3]

The SIENNESE contained many converts to the reformed doctrine. Ochino, in the course of his preaching tours, frequently visited Sienna, which was his native place. But the person to whom the inhabitants of this city were most indebted for their illumination was Aonio Paleario, a native of Veroli in Campagna di Roma, who was on a footing of intimacy with the most learned men in Italy. He was first a tutor in the house of Belanti; and, about the year 1534, was nominated public teacher of Greek and Latin by the senate of Sienna,[4] where he afterwards read lectures on philosophy and belles lettres. Having studied the Scriptures, and read the writings of the German reformers, his lectures on moral philosophy were distinguished from those of his colleagues by a liberal tone of thinking. This was not more gratifying to the students than it was offensive to those who adhered obstinately

[1] Simler, *ut supra*, sig. b iij. [2] Ibid., *ut supra*, sig. b. iiij. [3] Ibid.
[4] Galluzzi, Istoria del Granducato di Toscano, tom. ii. p. 203.

to the old ideas.[1] Cardinal Sadolet, in the name of his friends, set before him the danger of his giving way to novelties, and advised him, in consideration of the times, to confine himself to the safer task of clothing the peripatetic ideas in elegant language.[2] This prudential advice was not altogether congenial to the open mind of Paleario, and the devotion which he felt for truth. The freedom with which he censured vain pretenders to learning and religion irritated a class of men who scruple at no means to oppress and ruin an adversary, and who eagerly seized the opportunity to fasten on him the charge of heresy.[3] His private conduct was watched; and expressions which had dropped from him in the unsuspecting confidence of private conversation were circulated to his prejudice. He had laughed at a rich priest who was seen every morning kneeling at the shrine of a saint, but refused to pay his debts.[4] "Cotta asserts," says he, in one of his letters, "that, if I am allowed to live, there will not be a vestige of religion left in the city. Why? Because, being asked one day what was the first ground on which men should rest their salvation, I replied, Christ; being asked what was the second, I replied, Christ; and being asked what was the third, I still replied, Christ."[5] But Paleario gave the greatest offence by a book which he wrote on the Benefit of the Death of Christ,[6] of which he gives the following account in his defence of himself, pronounced before the senate of Sienna: "There are some persons so sour, so morose, so censorious, as to be displeased when we give the highest praise to the author and God of our salvation, Christ the King of all nations and people. When I wrote a treatise this very year, in the Tuscan language, to show what great benefits accrue to mankind from His death, this was made the ground of a criminal accusation against me! Is it possible to utter or conceive anything more shameful? I had said, that since He in whom the divinity resided, has poured out His life's blood so lovingly for our salvation, we ought not to doubt of the goodwill of heaven, but might promise ourselves the greatest tranquillity and peace. I had affirmed, agreeably to the most unquestionable monuments of antiquity, that those who turn with their souls to Christ crucified, commit themselves to Him by faith, acquiesce in the promises,

[1] Palearii Opera, p. 527. edit. Halbaueri, Jenæ, 1728.

[2] Ibid. pp. 536, 559.

[3] Ibid. pp. 88, 99, 523—531, 538—543.

[4] Ibid. p. 545.

[5] Palearii Opera, p. 519.

[6] This book was printed in 1543 in Italian, under the title *Il Beneficio di Christo*, and was afterwards translated into Spanish and French. Schelh. Amœnit. Eccl. tom. i. p. 155—159. Ergötzlichkeiten, vol. v. p. 27. An account of its contents is given in Riederer, Nachrichten zur kirchen-gelehrten, tom. iv. pp. 121, 235—241. Vergerio says of it, "Many are of opinion that there is scarcely a book of this age, or at least in the Italian language, so sweet, so pious, so simple, so well fitted to instruct the ignorant and weak, especially in the doctrine of justification. I will say more—Reginald Pole, the British cardinal, and the intimate friend of Morone, was esteemed the author of that book, or partly so; at least, it is known that he, with Flaminio, Priuli, and his other friends, defended and circulated it." Amœnit. Eccl. *ut supra*, p. 158. Laderchio asserts that Flaminio wrote an apology for the *Beneficio*. Annal. tom. 22. f. 326. That it was translated into English and read in Scotland, appears from the following notice,—"Item, foure Benefite of Christ, the piece 2 sh." Testament of Thomas Bassinden, printer in Edinburgh, who deceased 18 October 1577.

and cleave with assured confidence to Him who cannot deceive, are delivered from all evil, and enjoy a plenary pardon of their sins. These things appeared so grievous, so detestable, so execrable to the twelve—I cannot call them men, but—inhuman beasts, that they judged the author worthy of being committed to the flames. If I must undergo this punishment for the foresaid testimony (for I deem it a testimony rather than a libel), then, senators, nothing more happy can befall me. In such a time as this I do not think a Christian ought to die in his bed. I am not only willing to be accused, to be dragged to prison, to be scourged, to be hung up by the neck, to be sewed up in a sack, to be exposed to wild beasts—let me be roasted before a fire, provided only the truth be brought to light by such a death."[1] Addressing his accuser, he says : "You accuse me of being of the same sentiments with the Germans. Good God, what an illiberal charge ! Do you mean to bind up all the Germans in one bundle ? Are they all bad ? Though you should restrict your charge to their divines, still it is ridiculous. Are there not many excellent divines in Germany ? But your accusation, though full of trifling, has nevertheless a sting, which, as proceeding from you, is charged with poison. By Germans, you mean Ecolampade, Erasmus, Melanchthon, Luther, Pomeran, Bucer, and others who have incurred suspicion. But surely there is not a divine among us so stupid as not to perceive and confess, that the writings of these men contain many things worthy of the highest praise—many things gravely, accurately, and faithfully stated, repeated from the early fathers, who have left us the institutes of salvation, and also from the later commentaries of the Greeks and Latins, who, though not to be compared with those pillars, are still of use for interpretation. 'But do not you approve of all that the Germans have done ?' This, Otho, is like the rest of your questions ; yet I will answer it. I approve of some things ; of others I disapprove. To pass by many things, I praise the Germans, and consider them as entitled to public thanks, for their exertions in restoring the purity of the Latin language, which, till of late, was oppressed by barbarism and poverty of speech. Formerly sacred studies lay neglected in the cells of idlers, who retired from the world to enjoy their repose (and yet, amidst their snoring, they contrived to hear what we said in cities and villages) ; now these studies are, in a great measure, revived in Germany. Chaldaic, Greek, and Latin libraries, are erected ; books are beautifully printed ; and honourable stipends are assigned to divines. What can be more illustrious than these things ? what more glorious ? what more deserving of perpetual praise ? Afterwards arose civil discords, intestine wars, commotions, seditions, and other evils, which. for the sake of charity and brotherly love among Christians, I deplore. Who does not praise the former ? who is not displeased with the latter ?"[2]

The eloquent defence of Paleario, in which boldness and candour

[1] Palearii Opera, pp. 101, 102. [2] Ibid. p. 92—95.

were tempered by prudence and address, triumphed over the violence and intrigues of his adversaries. He was, however, obliged soon after to quit Sienna; but though he changed the place of his residence, he did not escape from the odium which he had incurred; and we shall afterwards find him enduring that martyrdom which he early anticipated, and for which it appears to have been his object all along to prepare his thoughts. Some idea may be formed of the extent to which the reformed opinions had spread in Sienna, from the number of individuals belonging to it, who, at a subsequent period, submitted to a voluntary exile on their account, among whom were Lactantio Ragnoni, Mino Celso,[1] and the Soccini, who became celebrated by giving their name to a new sect.

Mantua, which, in the sixteenth century, gave birth to several persons of distinguished talents, did not shut out the light of the Reformation. In the capital, and throughout the duchy, there were many who sighed under the tyranny which oppressed the human mind, and made a generous effort to break asunder its chains. To this they were not a little encouraged by their countryman, Gianbattista Folengo, a liberal and pious Benedictine, who was anxious to heal the schism which afflicted the church, by introducing an extensive reform among both secular and regular clergy.[2] Cardinal Gonzago, bishop of Mantua, evinced the same disposition, and extended his protection to those who swerved from the established faith, as far as was consistent with the station which he held in the church. On this ground he appears to have given offence at Rome; and on the 7th of February 1545, Paul III. addressed a brief to him, with the view of stimulating his slumbering zeal. His holiness states, that he had heard of certain illiterate clergymen and artisans, in the city of Mantua, having, to the ruin of their own souls and the great scandal of others, rashly dared to dispute and even to doubt of matters belonging to the catholic doctrine, the articles of belief, and the rites of the holy Roman Church; he therefore exhorts the bishop to persevere in the pious vigilance which he had begun to show, and by himself or his deputies to proceed against all suspected of heresy, including the clergy, secular and regular, of every order, in the city of Mantua, and throughout the whole diocese; to inquire if they have read or possess any heretical books, or if they have taught any opinion condemned by the church; to take the deposition of witnesses, seize the persons of the accused or suspected, examine them by the torture, and, having brought the processes as far as the definitive sentence, to transmit the whole in an authentic shape to Rome for judgment.[3] The reigning duke for some time screened his subjects from the effects of this persecuting edict, and incurred, as

[1] Giannone, Hist. de Naples, iv. 149. Schelhorn, Diss. de Mino Celso, pp. 18, 61.
[2] Thuani Hist. ad an. 1559.
[3] Raynaldi Annales, ad an. 1545.

we shall afterwards see, the indignation of the pope by this humane interference.

Locarno is a city of Italy, and the capital of a province or bailiwick of that name, situate on the lake Maggiore, in the southern confines of the Alps. It was one of four provinces which Maximilian Sforza, Duke of Milan, in the year 1513, gave to the Swiss cantons as a remuneration for the military aids which they had furnished him; and was governed by a prefect, whom the cantons sent by turns every two years. Though the territory was small, its inhabitants were possessed of considerable wealth, derived from the riches of the country in their neighbourhood, and from their being carriers in the trade which was maintained between Italy and Switzerland. So early as the year 1526, the reformed opinions were introduced into it by Baldassare Fontana, whom we have already had occasion to mention.[1] The number of converts was for for some time small. "There are but three of us here," says that zealous and devoted servant of Christ, in a letter to Zuingle, "who have enlisted and confederated in the cause of propagating the truth. But Midian was not vanquished by the multitudes of brave men who flocked to the standard of Gideon, but by a few selected for that purpose by God. Who knows but he may kindle a great fire out of this inconsiderable smoke? It is our duty to sow and plant: the Lord must give the increase."[2] Twenty years elapsed before the fruit of the prayers and labours of these good men sprung up; and it is not improbable that, before this happened, they had all gone to receive their reward in a better world. In the year 1546, Benedetto Locarno returned to his native place, after he had been employed in preaching the Gospel in various parts of Italy, and in the island of Sicily. His exertions to enlighten the minds of his townsmen were zealously seconded by Giovanni Beccaria, commonly called the apostle of Locarno, a man of excellent character and good talents, who, by reading the Scriptures without the aid of a teacher or any human writings, had discovered the principal errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome. To these were soon added four individuals of great respectability, and animated by the true spirit of confessors—Varnerio Castiglione, who spared neither time nor labour in promoting the truth; Ludovico Runcho, a citizen; Taddeo de Dunis, a physician, who, as well as Runcho, was a young man of genius and undaunted resolution; and Martino de Muralto, a doctor of laws, and a person of noble birth, who had great influence in the bailiwick. In the course of four years the Protestants of Locarno had increased to a numerous church, which was regularly organised, and had the sacraments administered in it by a pastor whom they called from the church of Chiavenna.[3] The daily accessions which

[1] See before, p. 31.
[2] Jo. de Muralto, Oratio de Persecutione Locarnensium: in Tempe Helvetica, iv. 141.
[3] Muralto, Oratio, *ut supra*, p. 142—144; Conf. p. 150.

it received to its numbers excited the envy and chagrin of the clergy, who were warmly supported by the prefect appointed, in the year 1549, by the popish canton of Unterwald. A priest belonging to the neighbouring bailiwick of Lugano, who was employed to declaim from the pulpit against the Locarnese Protestants, loaded them with calumnies of all kinds, and challenged their preacher to a public dispute on the articles controverted between the two churches. He was completely silenced on the day of trial; and, to revenge his defeat, the prefect ordered Beccaria into prison. This step excited such indignation in the city, that the prisoner was immediately enlarged, and the enemies of the Protestants were obliged to wait for a more favourable opportunity of attack.[1]

Istria, a peninsular district on the Gulf of Venice, belonged to the Venetian republic. It is mentioned separately, and in this place, because it was the last spot which the light of the Reformation visited in its progress through Italy, and because it gave birth to two distinguished Protestants, both of whom were bishops of the Roman Catholic Church, and one of them a papal legate. Pierpaolo Vergerio was a native of Capo d'Istria, and sprung from a family which had shared in the literary reputation of the fifteenth century. We have already had occasion to notice him as a young man of promising talents and excellent character, who felt a desire to visit Wittemberg for the purpose of finishing his studies.[2] Having devoted himself to the study of law, he obtained the degree of doctor from the university of Padua, where he acted for some time as a professor, and as vicar to the Podesta, and afterwards distinguished himself as an advocate at Venice.[3] Such was his fame for eloquence and address, that Pope Clement VII. sent him into Germany as legate to Ferdinand, king of the Romans, at whose court he remained for some years, advancing the interests of the court of Rome, and opposing the progress of Lutheranism.[4] On the death of Clement, his successor Paul III. recalled Vergerio, but, after receiving an account of his embassy, sent him back to Germany, where he treated with the German princes, and had more than one interview with Luther, respecting the proposed general council. On his return to Italy in 1536, he was advanced to the episcopal dignity, being made first bishop of Modrusium in Croatia, a see in the patronage of Ferdinand, and afterwards of Capo d'Istria, his native place. Having gone into France, he appeared, in 1541, at the conference of Worms, in the name of his Christian Majesty, but, as was believed, with secret instructions from the pope.[5] It is certain that he drew up at this time an

[1] Muralto, Oratio, *ut supra*, p. 144—148; Conf. p. 150.
[2] See before, p. 28.
[3] Tiraboschi, Storia, vii. 375, 376.
[4] Sleidan (lib. vii. tom. i. p. 395) represents Vergerio as sent to Ferdinand in 1530; Tiraboschi says it was in 1532. Tom. vii. p. 377.
[5] This is asserted by Father Paul (lib. i.) and Sleidan (lib. xiii. tom. ii. 204), but contradicted by Pallavicini (lib. iv. cap. 12), and Tiraboschi. *Ut sup.* p. 380. Courayer supports the former opinion, in his notes on Father Paul's History.

oration on the unity of the church, in opposition to the idea of a national council, which was desired by the Protestants.

His mind appears, however, to have received a bias in favour of the Reformation during his residence in Germany. Protestant writers assert, that the pope intended to confer a cardinal's hat on him at his return, but was diverted from this by the suspicions raised against his soundness in the faith. This is denied by Pallavicini and Tiraboschi; but they allow that his holiness was informed that Vergerio had cultivated undue familiarity with the German heretics, and spoken favourably of them; and that, on this account, means were used to oblige him to return to Italy, and to convince him that he had incurred the displeasure of his superiors. This is confirmed by the letters of Cardinal Bembo. In a letter to his nephew, who appears to have held a high official situation in the Istrian government, the cardinal signifies that the bishop of Capo d'Istria had urged him "to intercede for some of his relations, who had been unjustly thrown into prison." This was on the 24th of September 1541; and, on the 1st of February following, Bembo expresses his satisfaction that his request had not been granted, adding, "I hear some things of that bishop which, if true, are very bad—that he not only has portraits of Lutherans in his house, but also that, in the causes which come before him, he is eager to favour, in every way, the one party, whether right or wrong, and to bear down the other."[1]

It was no easy matter for a person in Vergerio's circumstances to relinquish the honourable situation which he held, and to sacrifice the flattering prospects of advancement which he had long cherished. Besides, his convictions of the truth were still imperfect and unsteady. When he first retired from the bustle of public life to his diocese, he set about finishing a work which he had begun, "against the apostates of Germany," by the publication of which he expected to remove the suspicions which he had incurred; but, in the course of writing, and of examining the books of the reformers, his mind was so struck with the force of the objections which it behoved him to answer, that he threw away the pen, and abandoned the work in despair. He now sought relief by unbosoming himself to his brother, Gianbattista, bishop of Pola, in the same district. The latter was thrown into great distress by this communication; but, upon conference with his brother, and hearing the reasons of his change of views, especially on the head of justification, he became himself a convert to the Protestant doctrine. The two brothers now concerted a plan for enlightening their dioceses, by conveying instruction to the people on the leading articles of the Gospel, and withdrawing their minds from those ceremonial services and bodily exercises in which they were disposed to place the whole of religion. This they were able to effect in a good degree by means of their own personal labours, and the assistance of some persons who had previously received the knowledge of the truth; so that, before the

[1] Bembo, Opere, tom. ix. pp. 288, 294.

year 1546, a great part of the inhabitants of that district had embraced the reformed faith and made considerable advances in the knowledge of Christian doctrine.[1]

Ancona deserves to be mentioned here, if it were for no other reason than its having given birth to Matteo Gentilis, and his two accomplished sons, Alberic and Scipio. The father left his native country for the sake of the reformed doctrine, and settled in Carniola, where he followed his profession as a physician. The two sons became eminent civilians. Alberic, the eldest, came to England, and was made professor of laws at Oxford.[2] His brother held the same situation at Altorf, and, in addition to his legal knowledge, was distinguished for his poetical talents and skill in biblical criticism.[3]

Besides the places which have been specified, adherents to the reformed opinions were to be found at this time in Genoa, in Verona, in Cittadella, in Cremona, in Brescia, in Civita di Friuli, in various parts of the Roman territories, and in Rome itself.[4]

[1] Sleidan. lib. xxi. tom. iii. p. 150—152. Ughelli Italia Sacra, tom. v. pp. 341, 391.

[2] Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 90, edit. Bliss. Albericus Gentilis, doctor of the civil law of the university of Perugia, was incorporated at Oxford, March 6, 1580. Fasti Oxon. 217.

[3] Scipionis Gentilis in Epist. ad Philem. Comment. Norim. 1574. The charge of Photinianism brought against him by Crenius has been wiped off by Zeltner. Hist. Crypto-Sociniani Altorfini, tom. i. pp. 71, 357.

[4] Gerdesii Specimen Italiæ Reformatæ. Martyris Epistolæ. Zanchii Epistolæ. Melanchthonis Epistolæ.

CHAPTER IV.

MISCELLANEOUS FACTS RESPECTING THE STATE OF THE REFORMED OPINIONS IN ITALY.

THERE are a number of facts which could not well be interwoven with the preceding narrative, but which are of too great importance in themselves, and as throwing light on the progress of the Reformation in Italy, to be omitted in this history. I shall therefore collect them in this chapter, under the following heads: The Disputes which unhappily arose among the Italian Protestants; the Illustrious Females who embraced the new opinions; and the Learned Men who favoured the views of the reformers, though they declined embarking in their cause.

I. It is well known that a controversy arose at an early period between the two principal reformers respecting the presence of Christ in the sacrament of the Supper; Luther insisting that the words of institution ought to be understood in a literal sense, while Zuingle interpreted them figuratively. At a conference held at Marburg in the year 1529, and procured chiefly by the influence of Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, the two parties, after ascertaining that their sentiments harmonised on all other points, agreed to bear with each other, and to cultivate mutual peace and goodwill, notwithstanding their different views of this single article. But the controversy broke out afresh, chiefly through the ill offices of some forward and injudicious friends of Luther; and being inflamed by publications on both sides, laid the foundation of a lasting division between the churches of Switzerland and Upper Germany. After the death of Zuingle, his opinions were vigorously defended by Ecolampade, Bullinger, and Calvin.

The Protestants of Italy had been equally indebted to the two reformers for the knowledge which they had obtained of the truth. If the circumstance of the works of Zuingle having been chiefly composed in Latin gave an advantage to his opinions, by contributing to their more extensive circulation, this was counterbalanced by the celebrity of Luther's name, and the number of his countrymen who frequented Italy and carried his opinions along with them. It would appear, however, that the Italian Protestants were generally favourable to the views of the Swiss reformer. This may be concluded from their writings, and from the fact that by far the greater part of those who

were obliged to leave their native country sought an asylum in the Protestant cantons of Switzerland.[1]

That this dispute was warmly agitated among the Protestants of Modena, Bologna, and other parts of Italy in 1541, we learn from three letters addressed to them in the course of that year by Bucer. This reformer had all along been a strenuous friend to peace and concord between the contending parties. It seems to have been his sincere belief that there was no real difference of sentiment between them; and although he evidently inclined to the explications given by the Swiss divines, yet, in his efforts for pacification, he alternately employed the phrases of both sides; a method which threw an obscurity over his writings, and is not the best calculated for promoting conciliation between men of enlightened understanding. However, the advice which he imparted on the present occasion was in the main sound, and does great honour to his heart. In a letter "to certain friends of the truth in Italy,"[2] he says: "I hear, my good brethren, that Satan, who has afflicted us long, and with great defection in religion, has begun to disturb you also; for it is said that a dispute has arisen among you respecting the eucharist. This grieves me exceedingly. For what else can you expect from this controversy than what we have experienced, to the great damage of our churches? Dear brethren, let us rather seek to embrace Christ in the eucharist, that so we may live in him and he in us. The bread and the wine are symbols, not things of such great mystery. This all confess: but God forbid that, on the other hand, any should imagine that empty symbols are exhibited in the supper of the Lord; for the bread which we break is the participation of the Lord's body, and not bread only. Avoid strifes of words: support the weak. While our confidence is placed in Christ, all is well; all men cannot at once see the same things. Studiously cultivate concord: the God upon whom we call is not the God of division. Thus live, and advance, and overcome every evil."[3] In another letter to the same persons,[4] after giving his views of the subject, this amiable man adds: "This is my opinion on the whole matter in dispute. If I have not explained myself with sufficient perspicuity, the reason is, that from constitution, and owing to the defects of my education, I am apt to be obscure and perplexed, and also that I write in haste, and without the helps necessary for discussing such a subject; which, indeed, appears too evidently in all my writings. I desire to avoid giving offence, whenever it is lawful; yet, were I able, I would wish to explain as clearly as possible those things which it concerns the church to know. I exhort you, beloved brethren, to avoid in these questions, with all possible

[1] Vergerio had more connection with the Germans than most of his countrymen; and yet we find Paulus Eberus, a professor of Wittemberg, writing of him as follows, in a letter dated June 21, 1556: "Jam cœnabimus cum Petro Paulo Vergerio, qui fuit Justinopolitanus episcopus, et nunc vocatus a duce Alberto proficiscetur in Borussiam. Eum audio non dissimulanter probare sententiam Calvini." Scrinium Antiquarium, tom. iv. p. 713.

[2] "Augusti 17, 1541."

[3] Buceri Scripta Anglicana, p. 686.

[4] "Anno 1541, 23 Decemb."

care, a spirit of curiosity and contention. Let those who are strong in knowledge bear with the weak; and let the weak pay due deference to the strong. We ought to know nothing but Christ and him crucified. All our exertions ought to be directed to this, that he may be formed more fully in us, and portrayed in a more lively manner in the whole of our conduct. You ascribe too much to me! I know my own weakness. Express your love by praying to God for me, rather than by praising me."[1] In a letter to the Protestants at Bologna and Modena, he says: "The too sharp contention which has taken place among us in Germany respecting this sacrament was a work of the flesh. We thought that Luther fixed Christ glorified to earthly signs by his too strong language; he and his friends, on the contrary, thought that we acknowledged and gave nothing in the supper but bread and wine. At length, however, the Lord has brought us to a happy agreement, both in words and as to the matter; which is to this purpose, that both parties should speak honourably of these mysteries, so that the one should not appear to ascribe to Christ what is unworthy of him, nor the other to celebrate the Lord's Supper without the Lord. I beseech you, keep this agreement along with us; and if, in any instance, it has been injured, restore it, imitating our conduct so far as it is according to Christ, and not wherein it is according to the flesh. This should be the only dispute and contest among saints."[2]

But the controversy was carried on with the greatest heat within the Venetian territories, where the Protestants had all along kept up a close correspondence with the divines of Wittemberg, and where there were individuals not disposed to yield implicit submission to the authority of any name, however high and venerated. We learn this fact from the letter which the excellent Baldassare Altieri addressed, in the name of his brethren, to Luther, and from which I have already made a quotation.[3] The following extract contains some additional particulars as to the state of the reformed cause in that quarter of Italy, at the period when it was written:[4] "There is another affair which daily threatens our churches with impending ruin. That question concerning the Lord's Supper, which arose first in Germany, and subsequently has been introduced among us, alas, what disturbances has it excited! what dissensions has it produced! what offences to the weak, what losses to the church of God, has it caused! what impediments has it thrown in the way of the propagation of the glory of Christ! For if in Germany, where there are so many churches rightly constituted, and so many holy men, fervent in spirit and eminent for every kind of learning, its poison has prevailed so far as to form two parties through mutual altercation (for although it behoved such things necessarily to happen, yet are they to be guarded against as dire, dreadful, and abominable before God), how much more is the prevalence and daily increase of this

[1] Buceri Scripta Anglicana, p. 690.
[2] Ibid p. 389.
[3] See before, p. 67.
[4] "Kal. Dec. 6, 1542."

plague to be dreaded with us? With us, where there are no public assemblies, but where every one is a church to himself, acting according to his own will and pleasure; the weak exalting themselves above the strong beyond the measure of their faith, and the strong not receiving the weak and bearing with them in the spirit of meekness and gentleness, mindful that they are themselves encompassed with the same infirmity and sin, instead of which they proudly neglect and despise them. All would be teachers, instead of disciples, although they know nothing, and are not led by the Spirit of God. There are many teachers who do not understand what they say or whereof they affirm; many evangelists who would do better to learn than to teach others; many apostles who are not truly sent. All things here are conducted in a disorderly and indecorous manner." Altieri goes on to state that Bucer had written them that the two parties in Germany had come to a happy agreement, of which Melanchthon was about to publish a defence; and had exhorted the friends of truth in Italy to lay aside their contentions, and with one mouth to glorify Him who is the God of peace and not of confusion. This intelligence, Altieri says, had filled them with joy, and on a sudden all was harmony and peace among them. But of late again, at the instigation of the great adversary of the truth, certain foolish and unreasonable men had embroiled matters, and raised new disputes and animosities. He therefore begs Luther to write to them; for, though they were not ignorant of his opinion on the disputed question (to which they meant to adhere, as most consonant to the words of Christ and Paul), and although they relied on and rejoiced at the information of Bucer, yet they were anxious to be certified of the mode of conciliation from Luther himself, to whose opinion they paid a higher deference than to that of any other person, and to receive from him the above-mentioned defence, or any other books lately published relating to that subject or to the general cause. The letter contains the warmest professions of regard for the reformer, and of solicitude for the success of the reformation in Germany: "For," says the writer, "whatever befalls you, whether prosperous or adverse, we consider as befalling ourselves, both because we have the same spirit of faith, and also because on the issue of your affairs depends our establishment or overthrow. Be mindful of us, most indulgent Luther, not only before God in your fervent prayers, that we may be filled with the knowledge of Him through the Spirit of Christ, but also by the frequency of your learned, pleasant, and fruitful writings and letters; that so those whom you have begotten by the word of truth may the sooner grow up to the stature of a perfect man in Christ. We labour here under a great and painful scarcity of the word of God, not so much owing to the cruelty and severity of the adherents of antichrist, as to the almost incredible wickedness and avarice of the booksellers, who, after bringing your writings here, conceal them with the view of raising the price to an exorbitant rate, to

the great loss of the whole church. The brethren, who are numerous here, salute you with the kiss of peace."[1]

Luther had it in his power to do much at this time for the advancement of the evangelical cause in Italy. The flames of persecution were just ready to burst upon its friends, while they were unhappily become a prey to intestine dissensions. It appears that the greater part of the Protestants in the Venetian States were favourable to the opinion of the German reformer as to the eucharist; but it is also evident that they, or at least the leading men among them, were inclined to moderation, and willing to live in harmony with such of their brethren as thought in a different manner for themselves on the controverted article, and to wait till God, who had wonderfully brought them to the knowledge of many great truths of which they had been profoundly ignorant, should "reveal this also to them." Feeling the highest veneration for the character of Luther, they were disposed to pay a deference almost implicit to his advice, and a single word from him would either allay or inflame the dissension which had arisen. Unhappily he adopted that method which naturally produced the last of these effects. In his answer to the letter from the Venetian Protestants, he not only dissipated the pleasing delusion which they were under as to a reconciliation having been effected, but inveighed, in the most bitter terms, against the sacramentarians and fanatics, as he abusively denominated the Swiss divines; and asserted that "the popish tenet of transubstantiation was more tolerable than that of Zuingle."[2] Nor was he a whit more moderate in another letter written by him in the course of the following year, in which he stimulated the Italians to write against the opinions of Zuingle and Ecolampade, whom he did not scruple to stigmatise as "poisonous teachers" and "false prophets," who "did not dispute under the influence of error, but opposed the truth knowingly, at the instigation of Satan."[3] In addition to this, he caused some of his controversial writings against the Zuinglians to be translated and sent into Italy.

Alas! what is man? What are great men, those who would be thought, or are represented by their fond admirers, to be gods? Lighter than vanity—a lie. Willingly would I have passed over this portion of history, and spared the memory of a man who has deserved so much of the world, and whose character, notwithstanding all the faults which attach to it, will never cease to be contemplated with admiration and gratitude. But the truth must be told. The violence with which Luther acted in the dispute that arose between him and his brethren respecting the sacrament is too well known; but never did the character of the reformer sink so much into that of the leader of a party, as it did on the present occasion. Some excuse may be found for the manner in

[1] Seckendorf, lib. iii. p. 402.

[2] Hospiniani Hist. Sacrament. part ii. p. 184. The letter is published in Hummellii Neue Bibliotheck von seltenen Büchern, tom. i. p. 239—246. Nürnb. 1775.

[3] Luther's Sämtliche Schriften, tom. xvii. p. 2632, edit. Walch.

which he treated those who opposed his favourite dogma in Germany, and even in Switzerland; but one is utterly at a loss to conceive the shadow of an apology for his conduct in reference to the Italians. Surely he ought to have considered that the whole cause of evangelical religion was at stake among them; that they were few in number and rude in knowledge; that there were many things which they were not yet able to bear; that they were as sheep in the midst of wolves; and that the only tendency of his advice was to set them by the ears, to divide, and scatter, and drive them into the mouths of the wild beasts which stood ready to devour them. This was foreseen by the amiable and pacific Melanchthon, who had always written in a very different strain to his correspondents in Italy, and who deplored this rash step of his colleague; although the mildness and timidity of his disposition prevented him on this, as on some other occasions, from adopting those decisive measures which might have counteracted in a great degree its baneful effects.[1]

But another controversy had arisen among the Italian Protestants, bearing on points of vital importance to Christianity, and calculated, if it had become general, to inflict a deeper injury on the interests of religion than the dispute to which I have just adverted. This related primarily to the doctrine of the trinity, and by consequence to the person and atonement of Christ; and it extended to most of the articles which are peculiar and distinguishing in the Christian faith.

It has been supposed by some writers that persons attached to the opinions of Arius had remained concealed in Italy down to the sixteenth century, and that the fame of the reformation begun in Germany drew them from their lurking places.[2] Some have even asserted that the mind of the well-known Michael Servetus was first tainted by intercourse with Italian heretics.[3] But there is no good evidence for either of these opinions. It is much more probable that the Spaniard acquired his peculiar views, so far as they were not the offspring of his own invention, in Germany, subsequently to the visit which he paid to Italy at a very early period of his life. Before his name had been heard of, and within a few years after the commencement of the Reformation, certain confused notions, sometimes approaching to the ancient tenets of Arius and Pelagius, and at other times assuming a form which bore a nearer resemblance to those afterwards called Socinian, were afloat in Germany, and vented by some of those who went by the common name of Anabaptists. Among these were Hetzer and Denck, who published translations of parts of Scripture before Luther.[4] In the conference held at Marburg in 1529, between the Saxon and Swiss reformers, it was

[1] In a letter to Vitus Theodorus, written in 1543, Melanchthon complains, "Quod horridius scripserit Lutherus ad Italos." Hospin. *ut supra*.

[2] Bock, Hist. Antitrinit. tom. ii. p. 414.

[3] L'Abbé d'Artigny, Nouveaux Mémoires, tom. ii. pp. 58, 59.

[4] Zuinglii et Œcolampadii Epistolæ, f. 82, 197. Bock, ii. 134—136. Ruchat, Hist. de la Reform. de la Suisse, ii. 509. Hetzer and Denck retracted their sentiments.

stated by Melanchthon, as matter of complaint, or at least of suspicion, that the latter had among them persons who entertained erroneous opinions concerning the trinity. Zuingle cleared himself and his brethren from this imputation, without denying, however, that there might be individuals lurking among them who cherished such tenets.[1] It is not improbable that, on his return, means were taken to discover these concealed heretics, and that, being expelled from Switzerland, some of them travelled into Italy. We know that the reformed church at Naples was, in its infancy, disturbed by Arians and Anabaptists;[2] but this appears to have happened at a later period, and the persons referred to might be disciples of Servetus. He began to publish against the trinity in the year 1531, and there is ground to believe that his books were soon after conveyed to Italy.[3] Though he had not formed his peculiar opinions when he was in that country, yet he contracted, during the visit which he paid to it, an intimate acquaintance with several persons with whom he maintained an epistolary correspondence to a late period of his life; and it is known that he was as zealous in propagating his notions by private letters as by the press.[4] Upon the whole, it is highly probable that the antitrinitarian opinions were introduced into Italy by means of the writings of Servetus.

When the minds of men have been suddenly emancipated from implicit subjection to human authority, and disentangled from the errors into which it had betrayed them, they are in great danger of overleaping the boundaries prescribed to them by that authority which is divine, and of plunging rashly into inquiries, which reason, as well as revelation, pronounce to be impracticable and pernicious. The genius of the Italians led them to indulge in subtle and curious speculations, and this disposition was fostered by the study of the eclectic and sceptical philosophy, to which many of them had of late years been addicted.[5] Crude and indigested as the new theories respecting the trinity and collateral topics were, they fell in with this predisposition; and not a few Protestants found themselves entangled, before they were aware, in the mazes of an intricate and deceitful theology, into which they had entered for the sake of intellectual exercise and amusement. These speculations appear to have commenced at Sienna, whose inhabitants were proverbial among their countrymen for levity and inconstancy of mind;[6] and from it they were transferred to the Venetian territories, where the friends of the reformation were numerous, but not organised

[1] Zuinglii et Œcol. Epist. f. 24. Ruchat, *ut supra*, pp. 461, 483.

[2] Life of Galeacius Caracciolus, Marquesse of Vico, p. 13. Lond. 1635.

[3] Sandii Nucleus Hist. Eccl. append. p. 90. Boxhornii Hist. Univ. p. 70.

[4] Calvini Opera, tom. viii. p. 517.

[5] Illgen, Vita Lælii Socini, p. 7. Lips. 1814. Melanchthon speaks repeatedly of the "platonic and sceptical theories" with which he found the minds of his Italian correspondents and acquaintance enamoured. Epist. coll. 852, 941. And Calvin, speaking of that vain curiosity and insatiable desire of novelty which leads many into pernicious errors, says: "In Italis, propter rarum acumen, magis eminet." Opera, tom. viii. p. 510.

[6] ——————Was ever race
Light as Sienna's? Sure not France herself
Can show a tribe so frivolous and vain!
DANTE, *Inf.* c. xxix.

into congregations, nor placed under the superintendence of regular teachers.[1]

The letter addressed by Melanchthon to the senate of Venice in the year 1538, and from which a quotation has already been made, shows that the antitrinitarian tenets had then gained admission into that state.[2] "I know," says he, "that very different judgments have always prevailed in the world respecting religion, and that the devil has been intent from the beginning on sowing impious doctrines, and inciting men of curious and depraved minds to corrupt and overthrow the truth. Aware of the dangers arising from this quarter to the church, we have been careful to keep within proper bounds; and while we reject certain errors more recently introduced, do not depart from the apostolical writings, from the Nicene and Athanasian creeds, nor even from the ancient consent of the Catholic Church. I understand there has lately been introduced among you a book of Servetus, who has revived the error of Samosatenus, condemned by the primitive church, and who seeks to overthrow the doctrine of the two natures in Christ by denying that 'the Word' is to be understood of a person, when John says, 'In the beginning was the Word.' Although my opinion on that controversy is already in print, and I have condemned the tenet of Servetus by name in my Common Places, yet I think it proper at present to admonish and obtest you to use your utmost exertions to persuade persons to avoid, reject, and execrate that impious opinion." Having advanced some considerations in support of the orthodox doctrine on that head, he adds: "I have written these things more largely than the bounds of a letter admit, but too briefly for the importance of the subject. My object was merely to let you know my opinion, not to enter at length into the controversy; but, if any one desires it, I shall be ready to discuss the question more copiously."[3] The representations of Melanchthon, though they might check, failed in arresting the progress of these opinions. In a letter to Camerarius, written in 1544, he says: "I send you a letter of Vitus, and another written from Venice, which contains disgraceful narratives; but we are admonished, by these distressing examples, to preserve discipline and good order with the greater care and unanimity."[4] And, in another letter to the same correspondent, dated on the 31st of May 1545, he writes: "I yesterday returned an answer to the theological question of the Italians, transmitted by Vitus last winter. Italian theology abounds with platonic theories; and it

[1] Altieri's letter, as quoted above, pp. 91, 92. Bock (Hist. Antitrin. ii. 405) refers to the academy at Venice, and its form and constitution, which allowed great liberty in starting doubts, and canvassing opposite opinions, as confirming the accounts of the rise of Socinianism in that state. But that learned writer does not appear to have been aware that academies of this description, and founded on the same principles, were in that age common throughout Italy.

[2] Bock, in giving an account of this letter, has expressed himself in such a way as may lead his readers to think that Melanchthon had signified his having heard that above forty persons in the city and territories of Venice, distinguished by their rank and talents, had embraced Servetianism. Hist. Antitrin. ii. 407. Nothing of that kind appears in the copy of the letter which is now before me.

[3] Melanch. Epist. coll. 150—154.

[4] Ibid. coll. 835.

will be no easy matter to bring them back from that vainglorious science of which they are so fond, to truth and simplicity of explanation."[1]

Socinian writers have fixed the origin of their sect at this period. According to their account, upwards of forty individuals of great talents and learning were in the habit of meeting in private conferences, or "Colleges," as they have called them, within the territories of Venice, and chiefly at Vicenza, to deliberate on the plan of forming a purer faith, by discarding a number of opinions held by Protestants as well as Papists; but these meetings being discovered by the treachery of an individual, were dispersed in the year 1546; some of the members having been thrown into prison, and others forced to flee into foreign countries. Among the latter they mention Lælius Socinus, Camillus Siculus, Franciscus Niger, Ochino, Alciati, Gentilis, and Blandrata. These writers have gone so far as to present us with a creed or system of doctrine agreed upon by the collegiates of Vicenza, as the result of their joint inquiries and discussion.[2]

Historians distinguished for their research and discrimination, as well as their impartiality, have rejected this narrative, which, it must be confessed, rests on very doubtful and suspicious authority.[3] It was first published a century after the time to which it refers, and by foreigners and persons far removed from the sources of information. No trace of the Vicentine "Colleges" has been found, after the most accurate research, in the contemporary history of Italy, or in the letters and other writings of learned men, Popish, Protestant, or Socinian, which have since been brought to light. No allusion is made to the subject by Faustus Socinus in any part of his works, or by the Polish knight who wrote his life.[4] The ambitious designation of Colleges, applied to the alleged meetings, is suspicious; while the mistakes respecting the per-

[1] Melanch. Epist. col. 852.

[2] Lubieniecii Hist. Reform. Polonicæ, pp. 38, 39. Sandii Bibl. Antitrin. p. 18; et Wissowatii Narratio adnex. pp. 209, 210.

[3] Mosheim (Eccles. Hist. cent. xvi. sect. iii. part ii. chap. iv. § 3) and Fueslin (Beytrage zur Erlauterung der Kirchen-reform; Geschichten des Schweizerlandes, tom. iii. p. 327) do not consider the narrative as entitled to credit. Bock (Hist. Antitrin. tom. ii. p. 404—416) and Illgen (Vita Lælii Socini, p. 8—14) admit its general truth, while they acknowledge its incorrectness as to particular facts. A modern writer has pronounced Mosheim's reasons "extremely weak," and "extremely frivolous," and maintains the opposite opinion, on the grounds which Bock has laid down in his History of the Antitrinitarians. Rees's Historical Introduction to the Racovian Catechism, p. 20—24. Bock was an industrious and trustworthy collector, but very inferior in critical acumen to Mosheim; and he has brought forward no fact in support of his opinion which was not known to his predecessor.

[4] Lubieniccius professes to have taken the account "ex Lælii Socini vitæ Curriculo, et Budzinii comment. MSS." But he does not quote the words of these documents, which were never given to the world. Mr Rees says: "Andrew Wissowatius may himself be regarded in the light of an original authority." *Ut supra*, p. 22. But how a writer who was born in 1608 could be an original authority for what happened in 1546, it is difficult to comprehend; nor does Wissowatz pretend to have taken his statement from any original documents of his grandfather, Faustus Socinus, which, if they had existed, would undoubtedly have been communicated to Samuel Pryzcovius, when he undertook to write the life of the founder of the sect.—The work of Pryzcovius was translated into English, and published under the following title: "The Life of that incomparable man, *Faustus Socinus Senensis*, described by a Polonian Knight. London, printed for Richard Moone, at the Seven Stars, 1653." The epistle to the reader is subscribed "J. B.;" *i. e.* John Biddle.

sons who are said to have composed them, give to the whole narrative the air of, at best, a story made up of indistinct and ill-understood traditionary reports. Ochino, Camillo, and Negri, had left Italy before these assemblies are represented as having existed, and the writings which the first of these continued for many years after that period to publish, coincided exactly with the sentiments of the first reformers. Lælius Socinus belonged to Sienna; there is no evidence of his having resided at Venice; and, although we should suppose that he visited that place occasionally, it is not probable that a young man of twenty-one could possess that authority in these assemblies which is ascribed to him by the narrative we are examining. Besides, the part assigned to him is at variance with the whole of his conduct after he left his native country. Though it is evident that his mind was tinctured with the tenets afterwards called Socinian, yet so far was he from courting the honours and dangers of a heresiarch, that he uniformly propounded his opinions in the shape of doubts or difficulties, which he was anxious to have removed; and he continued till his death, notwithstanding the suspicions of heterodoxy which he had incurred, to keep up a friendly intercourse, not only with his countrymen Martyr and Zanchi, but with Melanchthon, Bullinger, and even Calvin. The assemblies suppressed within the Venetian territories in the year 1546, were those of the Protestants in general; and it was as belonging to these, and not as forming a distinct sect, that the friends of Servetus were at that time exposed to suffering. Such are the reasons which incline me to reject the narrative of the Socinian historians.

But while there is no good ground for thinking that the favourers of the antitrinitarian tenets in Italy had formed themselves into societies, or digested a regular system of belief, it is undeniable that a number of the Italian Protestants were, at the time referred to, infected with these errors; and it is highly probable that they were accustomed to confirm one another in the belief of them when they occasionally met, and perhaps to introduce them as topics of discussion into the common meetings of the Protestants, and by starting objections, to shake the convictions of such as adhered to the commonly received doctrines. This was exactly the line of conduct pursued by them after they left their native country, especially in the Grisons, where the expatriated Italians first took refuge. Soon after their arrival, disputes arose in the Grison churches respecting the trinity, the merit of Christ's death, the perfection of the saints in this life, the necessity and use of the sacraments, infant baptism, the resurrection of the body, and similar articles, in which the chief opponents of the common doctrine, both privily and openly, were natives of Italy, several of whom afterwards propagated their peculiar opinions in Transylvania and Poland.[1] Subsequently to the year 1546, adherents to antitrinitarianism were still to be found in

[1] De Porta, Hist. Ref. Eccles. Rhæticarum, tom. i. p. 63. Buck, Hist. Antitrin. tom. ii. pp. 410, 411. Schelhornii Dissert. de Mino Celso Senensi, pp. 34—36, 44—47.

Italy. Such of them as had fled maintained a correspondence with their friends at home, and made converts to their opinions by means of their letters.[1] About the year 1553, the learned visionary William Postel published at Venice an apology for Servetus, in which he mentions that this heresiarch had many favourers among the Italians;[2] and in the year 1555, Pope Paul IV. issued a bull against those who denied the doctrine of the trinity, the proper divinity of Christ, and redemption by his blood.[3] I close this part of the subject with the words of a judicious Italian, who left his native country for the Gospel, and laboured with great zeal, and not without success, in opposing the spread of this heresy. "It is not difficult to divine," says he, "whence this evil sprung, and by whom it has been fostered. Spain produced the hen; Italy hatched the eggs; and we in the Grisons now hear the chicks pip."[4]

II. Another class of facts which I have thought deserving of a place in this chapter, relates to illustrious females who favoured the new opinions, although their names are not associated with any public transaction in the progress which the Reformation made through Italy. The literary historians of Italy have dwelt with enthusiasm and pride on such of their countrywomen as distinguished themselves by patronising or cultivating literature and the fine arts. Their proficiency in sacred letters, and in the practice of piety, is certainly not less to their honour. It has been mentioned by a modern historian that any piety which existed in Italy, at the close of the fifteenth century, was to be found among the female part of the population.[5] A writer who flourished in the middle of the following century, and whose religion was of a more enlightened kind than that which usually prevails in the cloister, gives the following account of what he had observed: "In our age we behold the admirable spectacle of women (whose sex is more addicted to vanity than learning) having their minds deeply imbued with the knowledge of heavenly doctrine. In Campania, where I now write, the most learned preacher may become more learned and holy by a single conversation with some women. In my native country of Mantua, too, I found the same thing, and were it not that it would lead me into a digression, I could dilate with pleasure on the many proofs which I received, to my no small edification, of an unction of spirit and fervour of devotion in the sisterhood, such as I have rarely met with in the most learned men of my profession."[6] The female friends of the truth in Italy whose names have come down to us, were chiefly of the higher ranks, and such as had not taken the veil.

The first place is due here to Isabella Manricha of Bresegna, who

[1] Illgen, Vita Lælii Socini, p. 58.

[2] Bock, *ut supra*, p. 539—542.

[3] Bullarium Romanum, ab Angel. Mar. Cherubino, tom. i. p. 590.

[4] Zanchius, apud Bock, *ut sup.* p. 415. I have not observed these words in the writings of Zanchi.

[5] Sismondi, Hist. des Rép. d'Italie, tom. vii. p. 238.

[6] Folengius in Psalmos; apud Gerdesii Ital. Ref. p. 261.

embraced the reformed doctrine at Naples under Valdes, and exerted herself zealously in promoting it. Having given proofs of invincible fortitude, by resisting the solicitations and threats of her friends, this lady, finding that she required either to sacrifice her religion or her native country, retired into Germany, from which she repaired to Zurich, and finally settled at Chiavenna in the Grisons, where she led a life of poverty and retirement, with as much cheerfulness as if she had never known what it was to enjoy affluence and honours.[1]

One of the greatest female ornaments of the reformed church in Italy was Lavinia della Rovere, daughter-in-law to the celebrated Camillo Orsini, "than whom I know not a more learned, or, what is still higher praise, a more pious woman in Italy," says Olympia Morata. The epistolary correspondence carried on between these two female friends is highly honourable to both. We learn from it the interesting fact, that Lavinia, while she resided at the court of Rome, not only kept her conscience unspotted by idolatry, but employed the influence of her father-in-law, which was great, with the pope and catholic princes, in behalf of the Protestants who fell into the hands of the inquisition. From various hints dropped in the course of the correspondence, it is evident that she felt her situation extremely delicate and painful, apparently from the importunities of her husband, and the ruder attempts of her other relations, to induce her to conform to the established religion; but these served only to call forth her patience and magnanimity.[2] It requires both reflection and sensibility to form a proper estimate of the trials which a distinguished female must endure when placed in the circumstances of Lavinia della Rovere. A cup of cold water, or even a kind message, sent to a prisoner in the cells of the inquisition, a word spoken in behalf of the truth, or a modest refusal to be present at a superstitious festival, afford, in such cases, a stronger and more unequivocal proof of a devoted soul, than the most flaming professions, or a fortune expended for religious purposes, by one who lives in a free country, and is surrounded by persons who are friendly to the Gospel.

By the same letters we are authorised to record, among the friends of the reformed doctrine, two females of the Orsini family, Madonna Maddelena, and Madonna Cherebina;[3] as also Madonna Elena Rangone of Bentivoglio,[4] who appears to have belonged to the noble family of that name in Modena, which had long been distinguished, both on the male and female side, for the cultivation and patronage of literature.[5]

[1] Simleri Oratio, *ut supra*, sig. b iij. Bock, ii. 524. To this Lady Celio Secundo Curio dedicated the first edition of the works of Olympia Fulvia Morata. Noltenius, Vita Olympiæ, pp. 8, 119, edit. Hesse. Ochino's work, *De Corporis Christi Præsentia in Cœna Sacramento*, is also dedicated "Illustri et plæ fœminæ Isabellæ Manrichæ Bresegnæ."

[2] Opera Olympiæ F. Moratæ, pp. 89—92, 105, 107, 121, 123.

[3] Ibid. pp. 92, 212—222.

[4] Ibid. p. 102.

[5] The letters of Girolamo Muzio, the great opponent of heresy in his time, throw light on what is mentioned in the text. In a letter to Lucrezia, the wife of Count Claudio

Julia Gonzago, Duchess of Trajetto, and Countess of Fondi, in the kingdom of Naples, is ranked among "illustrious women suspected of heretical pravity."[1] She was the sister of Luigi II. Conte di Sabioneta, a nobleman celebrated for his knowledge of letters, as well as for his valour, and who was surnamed Rodomonte, from his having killed a Moorish champion in battle. Julia Gonzago is commemorated, by Ortensio Landi, among the learned ladies of Italy; and her name often occurs in writings of that age.[2] After the death of her husband, Vespasiano Colonna, she remained a widow, and exhibited a pattern of the correctest virtue and piety. She was esteemed one of the most beautiful women in Italy; and Brantôme relates, that Solyman, the Turkish emperor, having given orders to Hariadan Barbarossa, the commander of his fleet, to seize her person, a party of Turks landed during the night, and took possession of the town of Fondi; but the duchess, though at the risk of her life, eluded their search, and made her escape.[3] She was a disciple of Valdes,[4] and continued, after his death, to entertain and protect the preachers of the new doctrine; on which account she incurred the displeasure of the pope to such a degree, that the fact of having corresponded with her by letters was made a ground of criminal charge on trials for heresy.[5]

I place Vittoria Colonna last, because the claims of the Protestants to the honour of her name have been strongly contested. She was the daughter of Fabrizio Colonna, Grand Constable of Naples, and of Anna de Montefeltro, daughter of Federigo, Duke of Urbino; and having been deprived of her husband, the celebrated commander Fernando Davalos, Marquis of Pescara, in the flower of youth, she dedicated her life to sacred studies, and retirement from the gay world, without however entangling herself with the vow. The warmest tribute of praise was paid to the talents and virtues of this lady by the first writers of her age.[6] "In Tuscan song," says one of them, "she was inferior only to Petrarch; and in her elegiac poems on the death of her husband, she has beautifully expressed her contempt of the world, and the ardent breathings of her soul after the blessedness of heaven."[7] The marchioness associated with the reformers at Naples, and was regarded as one of their most distinguished disciples.[8] When Ochino, for whom she

Rangone, he expresses his apprehensions lest that lady should suffer herself to be ensnared by the new heresy, and points to an enemy whom she had in her house. In another letter he expresses the joy which he felt at hearing that his fears were unnecessary. Both letters were written in 1547. Muzio, Lettere; apud Tiraboschi, tom. vii. p. 100. The families of Rangone and Bentivoglio were allied by frequent intermarriages. Ibid. pp. 90, 93, 96.

[1] Thuani Hist. lib. xxxix. cap. 2.

[2] Tiraboschi, Storia, tom. vii. p. 1195. Ab. Bettinelli, Delle Lettere ed Arte Montovane, p. 89.

[3] Vies des Dames Illustres, p. 282.

[4] The Commentaries of Valdes on the Psalms, and on the Epistle to the Romans, were dedicated to this lady.

[5] Laderchii Annales, tom. xxii. p. 325. Thuanus, *ut supra*.

[6] Schelhorn has collected a number of these testimonies in his Amœnit. Hist. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 132—134. See also Tiraboschi, Storia, tom. vii. p. 1179—1181.

[7] Toscanus, in Peplo Italiæ.

[8] Giannone, l. xxxii. c. 5. Thuani Hist. ad an. 1566. The testimony of these writers is confirmed by a letter concerning her, written in 1538, by Casper Cruciger, to Theodorus Vitus, and published in Hum-

felt the deepest veneration,[1] deserted the Church of Rome, great apprehensions were entertained that she would follow his example; and Cardinal Pole, who watched over her faith with the utmost jealousy, exacted from her a promise that she would not read any letters which might be addressed to her by the fascinating ex-capuchin, or, at least, would not answer them without consulting him or Cardinal Cervini. This appears from a letter to Cervini, afterwards Pope Marcellus II., in which Vittoria says, that, from her knowledge of "Monsegnor d'Inghelterra," she was convinced she could not err in following his advice, and had therefore obeyed his directions, by transmitting a packet sent her from Bologna by "Fra Belardin." Her highness adds, in a postscript (which may be considered as a proof that her new advisers had succeeded in alienating her mind from Ochino, and confirming her attachment to the Church of Rome), "I am grieved to see, that the more he thinks to excuse himself, he condemns himself the more, and the more he believes he will save others from shipwreck, the more he exposes himself to the deluge, being out of the ark which saves and gives security."[2]

III. The last class of miscellaneous facts which I have to state, as throwing light on the progress of the Reformation in Italy, relates to those learned men who never left the communion of the Church of Rome, but were favourable, in a greater or less degree, to the views and sentiments of the reformers. These may be subdivided into three classes. The first consisted of persons who were convinced of the great corruptions which reigned not only in the court of Rome, but generally among all orders in the catholic church; and who, though they did not agree with the reformers in doctrinal articles, yet cherished the hope that their opposition, and the schism which it threatened, would force the clergy to correct abuses which could no longer be either concealed or defended. The second class comprehended those who were of the same sentiments with the reformers as to the leading doctrines of the Gospel which had been brought into dispute, but who wished to retain the principal forms of the established worship, purified from the grosser superstitions, and to maintain the hierarchy, and even the papacy, after its tyranny had been checked, as a necessary or at least useful means of preserving the unity of the catholic church. The third class consisted of those who were entirely of the sentiments of the reformers, but were restrained from declaring themselves, and taking that side which their consciences approved, by lukewarmness, dread of

melii Neue Bibliotheek von seltenen Büchern, Band ii. p. 126. To an Italian version of Beza's Confession of Faith, printed (probably at Geneva) in 1560, the translator, Francesco Cattani, prefixed "Sonetto della Illustriss. Marchesana di Pescaro xxxiiii. nel suo libro stampato, col quale sfida i Papisti al combattere, mostranda la lor mala causa."

[1] See before, p. 74, &c.

[2] This letter was first published by Tiraboschi (Storia, tom. vii. p. 118) from the archives of the noble family of Cervini at Sienna, as a confirmation of the statement of Cardinal Quirini, in his Diatrib. ad vol. iii. Epist. Card. Poli, p. 58, &c.

persecution, love of peace, or despair of success, in a country where the motives and the means to support the established religion were so many and so powerful. It is not meant that the persons included under these classes were formed into parties; but by keeping this distinction in our eye, we shall be the better able to form a correct judgment of the views and conduct of certain individuals, who have been claimed as friends both by Papists and Protestants.

The instances which I shall produce belong chiefly to the second of these classes. That there were many persons in Italy eminent for their talents and station, whose creed differed widely from that which received the sanction of the Council of Trent, is established on the best evidence, though it has been denied by the later historians and apologists of the Church of Rome. It is proved by the fact that their names and writings were suppressed, or stigmatised as heretical or as suspected, by the authorised censors of the press. And it was acknowledged by writers who had the best opportunities of information, and were under no temptation to misrepresent the fact. "Those who at that time were disposed to exert themselves seriously for the reformation of the church," says the enlightened and impartial De Thou, "had frequent conferences about faith, works, grace, free-will, election, and glorification; and many of them, entertaining opinions on these subjects different from what were publicly taught, availed themselves of the authority of St Augustine to support their sentiments."[1]

Pier-Angelo Manzolli was principal physician to Hercules II., Duke of Ferrara. Under the anagrammatical name of Marcellus Palingenius, he published an elegant Latin poem, in which he describes human life in allusion to the twelve signs of the zodiac.[2] This poem abounds with complaints of the corrupt manners of the clergy; nor are there wanting in it passages which prove the alienation of the author's mind from the Church of Rome, and his satisfaction at the growing success of the new opinions.[3] It was put into the index of prohibited books, and the bones of the author, after his death, were taken out of their grave, and burnt to ashes as those of an impious heretic.[4]

The claims of the Protestants to rank Marc-Antonio Flaminio among their converts, have been keenly contested. It is undeniable that, at one period of his life at least, he cultivated the friendship of the lead-

[1] Thuani Historia ad ann. 1551.

[2] It is generally allowed, that the author of the *Zodiacus Vitæ* concealed himself under a fictitious name. Flaminio, Fulvio Peregrino Morata, and several other learned men, have been supposed to be the real author; but the most probable opinion is that which is stated in the text, and which was first suggested by Facciolati. Heumanni Pœcile, tom. i. p. 259—266; ii. p. 175. Whether Facciolati replied to the queries which Heumann proposed to him, with the view of obtaining fuller information respecting his countryman, I do not know. Conf. Nolten, Vita Olympiæ Moratæ, p. 82, edit. Hesse.

[3] The following passage may serve as a specimen:—

Atque rogant quidnam Romana ageretur in urbe.
Cuncti luxuriæ, atque gulæ, furtisque dolisque,
Certatim incumbunt, nosterque est sexus uterque
Respondit: sed nunc summus parat arma sacerdos,
Clemens, Martinum cupiens abolere Lutherum,
Atque ideo Hispanas retinet nutritque cohortes.
Non disceptando, aut subtilibus argumentis
Vincere, sed ferro mavult sua jura tueri.
Pontifices nunc bella juvant, sunt cætera nugæ.
Nec præcepta patrum, nec Christi dogmata curant:
Jactant se dominos rerum, et sibi cuncta licere.
Zodiacus Vitæ—Capricornus.

[4] Lil. Greg. Gyraldus, de Poetis sui ævi, dial. ii. Opera, p. 569.

ing persons in his native country who were favourable to the new opinions—that he was an admirer of Valdes, encouraged Martyr and Ochino, and induced several individuals of rank to attend their sermons and embrace their doctrine.[1] So early as the year 1536, he had, with his natural sincerity and love of truth, professed his doubts as to certain articles of the received faith, and been called to an account for the freedom of his language and his familiarity with the writings of heretics. In a letter quoted by Tiraboschi, Cortese requests Contarini to obtain for him the pope's permission to read certain books of the heretics: "for," says he, "I would not have that happen to me which befell Marc-Antonio in the holy week, especially if M. di Chieti (Cardinal Caraffa) should know of it."[2] Nor is this all. His writings prove, beyond all reasonable doubt, that he entertained sentiments, on the principal points of controversy, which coincided with the Protestant creed, and were at variance with the decisions of the Council of Trent. It would be easy to establish this fact by a multiplicity of extracts; but the following may suffice. "Human nature," says he, "was so depraved by the fall of Adam, that its corruption is propagated to all his posterity, in consequence of which we contract, in our very conception, a stain and an incredible proneness to sin, which urges us to all kinds of wickedness and vice, unless our minds are purified and invigorated by the grace of the Holy Spirit. Without this renovation, we will always remain impure and defiled, although to men, who cannot look into the inward dispositions of others, we may appear to be pure and upright."[3] —"In these words (Ps. xxxii. 1) the psalmist pronounces blessed, not those who are perfect and free from the spot of sin (for no man is so in this life), but those whose sins God has pardoned in his mercy; and he pardons those who confess their sins, and sincerely believe that the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ is an expiation for all transgressions and faults."[4]—"God, for the sake of Christ his Son, adopted them as his sons from all eternity: those whom he adopted before they were born he calls to godliness; and having called them, he confers on them first righteousness and then everlasting life."[5]—"The creature, considered in itself, and in the corruption of its nature, is an impure mass; and whatever is worthy of praise in it is the work of the Spirit of Christ, who purifies and regenerates his elect by a living faith, and makes them creatures by so much the nobler and more perfect that they are disposed to count themselves as nothing, and as having nothing in themselves but all in Christ."[6]—"Christian faith consists in our believing the whole word of God, and particularly the Gospel. The Gospel is

[1] Moncurtius, in Vita Flaminii, præfix. ejus Carmin. p. 28. Diss. de Religione M. Flaminii, in Schelhornii Amœn. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 3—179. Epistolæ Flaminii, edit. a Joach. Camerario: Schelhornii Amœnit. Liter. tom. x. p. 1161.

[2] Barnard's Mem. of Marc-Antonio Flaminio, prefixed to Imitation of his Select Poems, pp. 15, 16.

[3] Flaminii in Librum Psalmorum brevis Explanatio, f. 198, 199. Parisiis, 1551.

[4] Ibid. f. 143, b.

[5] Ibid. f. 288, a.

[6] Flaminii Epist. ad quandam principem fœminam: Schelhornii Amœn. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 103.

nothing else than the message of good news announced to the whole world by the apostles, telling us that the only begotten Son of God, having become incarnate, hath satisfied the justice of his Father for all our sins. Whosoever gives credit to these good tidings of good, he believes the Gospel; and having faith in the Gospel, which is the gift of God, he walks out of the kingdom of this world into that of God, by enjoying the fruit of a general pardon: from a carnal he becomes a spiritual creature; from a child of wrath a child of grace; from a son of Adam a son of God; he is governed by the Holy Spirit; he feels a sweet peace of conscience; he studies to mortify the affections and lusts of the flesh, acknowledging that he is dead with his head Jesus Christ; and he studies to vivify the spirit, and lead a heavenly life, acknowledging that he is risen with the same Jesus Christ. A lively faith in the soul of a Christian man produces all these and other admirable effects.[1]" But the clear views of the Gospel entertained by Flaminio are nowhere more decidedly made known than in a letter to a friend, in which he pronounces a most discriminating judgment on the writings of Thomas a Kempis, and furnishes an important caution against the spirit of slavish fear which they have a tendency to foster in the breasts of devotional persons.[2] Such were the sentiments of one who lived in the heart of Italy during the heat of the controversy between the Papists and Protestants—the sentiments of a poet, whose writings discover "the simplicity and tenderness of Catullus without his licentiousness," and "melt the heart of the reader with sweetness." If there be any truth in the maxim laid down by a most catholic historian of the Council of Trent,[3] "that the doctrine of justification is a test by which catholics may be distinguished from heretics, and the root from which all other doctrines, true or false, germinate," then Flaminio was unquestionably a Protestant.

On the other hand, there is a letter from him, in which he strenuously defends, in opposition to his friend Carnesecchi, the doctrine of the real presence and commemorative oblation of Christ in the eucharist, and expresses himself with considerable acrimony in speaking of the reformers.[4] To reconcile these apparently contradictory statements, we must attend to the different periods in the life of Flaminio. During the flower of his age he was entirely engrossed with secular literature, as his juvenile poems evince. In middle life he applied his mind to sacred letters, made the Scriptures his chief study, and derived his

[1] Flaminii Epist. ad quandam principem fœminam: Schelhornii Amœn. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 115. This last extract is taken from a letter to Theodora, or Theodorina, Sauli, a lady belonging to a noble family in Genoa, whose name Gerdes has added to his list of female Protestants, merely upon the authority of this letter. Ital. Reform. p. 158.

[2] See this letter in the Appendix.

[3] Pallavicini.

[4] This letter, dated from Trent, January 1, 1543, and Carnesecchi's reply to it, were inserted in a collection of Italian letters, published by Ludovico Dolci in 1555, and republished in Latin by Schelhorn, in his Amœnitates Ecclesiasticæ, tom. ii. p. 146—179. Some writers have denied the genuineness of the letter of Flaminio, while others suppose that Carnesecchi's reply induced him to retract his opinion. Hesse, Not. ad Nolten. Vit. Olympiæ Moratæ, p. 73. A desire to add a celebrated name to the Protestant roll appears to have led to the adoption of these hypotheses.

highest pleasure from meditating on divine things. It was at this time that he composed his paraphrases on the Psalms in prose and verse, and lived in the society of Valdes, Martyr, the Duchess of Ferrara, and other persons addicted to the reformed opinions. The third period of his life extends from the time that the court of Rome adopted decisive measures for suppressing the reformed opinions in Italy, to the year 1550, in which he died. His letter on the eucharist was written immediately after some of his most intimate acquaintances had been forced to fly from their native country to avoid imprisonment or a fiery death. The mild and yielding disposition of Flaminio was more fitted for contemplation and retirement than for controversy and suffering. Like many others, he might not have made up his mind to separate formally from the Church of Rome; and the fate of those who had ventured on that step would not help forward his resolution. His friends in the sacred college were anxious to retain him; and the article of the real presence, from which many Protestants could not extricate themselves, was perhaps the means best fitted for entangling the devout mind of Flaminio, and reconciling him to remain in the communion of a church whose public creed was at variance with some of the sentiments which were dearest to his heart. But two years after the time now referred to, he refused the honourable employment of secretary to the Council of Trent; "because," says Pallavicini, "he favoured the new opinions, and would not employ his pen for an assembly by which he knew these opinions would be condemned."[1] The cardinal indeed adds, that Flaminio had the happiness to be brought subsequently to acknowledge his errors through his acquaintance with Pole, and died a good Catholic. But there is no evidence that he ever retracted his former sentiments; and in none of his writings, earlier or later, do we read anything of purgatory, prayers for the dead or to saints, pilgrimages, penances, or any of those voluntary services which were so much insisted on by all the devoted adherents to Rome; but everywhere we find the warmest piety and purest morality, founded on Scriptural principles, and enforced by the most evangelical motives. We know that the court of Rome, after it was awakened to its danger, was eager to engage the pens of the learned in its defence against the reformers.[2] If the advisers to whom Flaminio committed himself during the last years of his life could have prevailed on him to write anything of this kind, it would have been triumphantly proclaimed; but it was a sufficient victory for them to be able to retain such a man in their chains, and to publish the solitary

[1] Istor. Conc. Trent. ad an. 1545.

[2] It is well known what solicitations were used with Erasmus before he drew his pen against Luther. Christopher Longolius, in a letter to Stefano and Flaminio Sauli, mentions, with an air of no small vanity, that he had been solicited from Germany to write in defence of Luther, and from Italy to write against him; that both parties had furnished him with memorials; that he thought himself qualified for either task; and that he had already, by way of essay (like a wise and prudent procurator), drawn up a pleading for and against the accused heretic. Longolii Epist. lib. ii. p. 139. The cautious orator chose the safer side, and sent forth a Ciceronian Philippic against Luther.

letter on the eucharist, which was written seven years before his death, as if it had been his dying testimony, and as a proof that he was not alienated from the Catholic faith. Even this was the opinion only of a few of his private friends, for the verdict of the Vatican was very different. The report that it was intended to disinter his body, after his death, might be groundless ;[1] but it is certain that his writings were inserted in the prohibitory index, though care was taken afterwards to wipe off this disgrace, by expunging from that record the name of a man who had lived on terms of intimacy with the chief dignitaries of the church, and whose genius and piety must always reflect credit on the society to which he belonged.[2]

The preceding account of the sentiments of Flaminio materially agrees with that of a contemporary author who appears to have possessed good means of information. The following quotation is long, but it deserves a place here, as serving to throw light on the state of religious opinion in Italy, and on the character of an Englishman, who makes but too conspicuous a figure in the history of his native country. Referring to the letter to Carnesecchi, of which he had stated the substance, that writer goes on to say : "This at least we gain from the letter of Flaminio, that, while he professes to differ from us on those heads which I have pointed out, he makes no such professions as to transubstantiation, and the oblation for the living and dead, which we reject ; he agrees with us in giving the cup to the laity ; and I am persuaded that, had he lived longer, he would have made further progress, and come over to us completely. But Cardinal Pole kept him under restraint, and prevented him from freely avowing his sentiments, as he did many others. It is dreadful to think what injury Satan did to the resuscitated Gospel by the instrumentality of this crafty Englishman, who acknowledged, or at least professed to acknowledge, that we are justified by faith in Christ alone, and laboured, along with those who resided in his house, among whom was Flaminio, to instil this doctrine into the minds of many. Not to name others, it is well known that John Morell, late minister of the foreign church in Frankfort-on-the-Maine, a man of great piety and learning, imbibed this doctrine in that school, and was drawn by Pole into the society of those who had a relish for the Gospel, and were said to agree with us. The cardinal laboured, by all the influence of his character and reputation, to persuade others to rest satisfied with a secret belief of the truth, and not think themselves answerable for the errors and abuses of the church,[3] alleging that we should tolerate, and even give our consent to these, in the expectation that God, at the fit time, would afford a favourable opportunity for having them removed. It is unnecessary to say, that this is a doctrine

[1] Manlii Collect. p. 116. Georg. Fabricii Poem. Sacr., P. i. p. 264.

[2] The article in the Index of Rome for 1559 runs thus : "Marci Antonii Flaminii Paraphrases et Comment. in Psal. Item literæ et carmina omnia." Sig. D 8.

[3] L'huomo si havesse a contentare di quella secreta cognitione, senza tener poi conto se la chiesa havea degli abusi et degli errori."

very agreeable to those who would have Christ without the cross. If Luther and other faithful servants of God, by whose means the truth has been clearly brought to light in our days, had chosen in this manner to conceal and wink at errors and abuses, how could they have been extirpated? How could the pure voice of the Gospel ever have been heard in that case, when we see with what difficulty it has prevailed to a very limited extent, through great contention and profusion of blood, in opposition to the predominating power and cruelties of antichrist? Pole, however, did not hesitate to assert, that he could advance the pure doctrine by concealment, dissimulation, and evasion. And not only so, but when some individuals more ardent than the rest, threatened to break through these restraints, his agents were always ready to urge the propriety of waiting for the fit season, and discovering their sentiments gradually; in consequence of which some persons were so credulous as to believe that, at a future period, the cardinal and his confidential friends would openly profess the truth before the pope and the whole city of Rome, and by the general attention which this must excite, would singularly advance the glory of God. After waiting for this until they were wearied out, how did the matter issue? I cannot relate it without tears. O wretched cardinal! O miserable dupes of his promises! The purity of religion had been restored in England: the doctrines of justification by faith, the assurance of salvation, true repentance, scriptural absolution, the right use of the sacraments, and the sole headship of Christ over the church, were taught in that kingdom. Pole went there; and what was the consequence? He absolved the whole kingdom, including the nobles, and the king and queen, on their knees, from the crimes which they had committed against the Church of Rome. And what were these? The teaching of those very doctrines which he himself had favoured, and the triumph of which he had promised to secure by the arts of moderation and prudent delay. Nor did he rest, until, in his desire to gratify the pope and cardinals, he had restored all the abuses, superstitions, and abominations which had been removed, and had sent a printed account of his deeds through every country in Europe."[1]

Gasparo Contarini was one of the distinguished persons whom Paul III., aware of the necessity of conciliating public favour, had judiciously advanced to the purple. It is impossible to read the treatise on justification,[2] drawn up by him when he acted as legate at the diet and conference held at Ratisbon in 1541, together with the letters which passed between him and Pole at that time, without being convinced that both these prelates agreed with the reformers on this article, and differed widely from Sadolet and others, whose sentiments were afterwards

[1] Giudicio sopra le lettere di tredeci huomini illustri publicate da Dionigi Atanagi, Venet. 1554: Schelhornii Amœnit. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 11—15; Conf. tom. i. p. 144—155. Colomesii Italia Orientalis, p. iii. Sleidani Com. lib. x. tom. ii. p. 54; lib. xxi. tom. iii. p. 190, edit. Am Ende. To these may be added the testimony of Aonio Paleario. Opera, pp. 561, 562.

[2] This was republished, from Contarini's works, by Cardinal Quirini, in his collection of Pole's Letters, vol. iii. p. cic.

sanctioned by the Council of Trent. Pole tells him that "he knew long ago what his sentiments on that subject were;" that he rejoiced at the treatise which Contarini had composed, "because it laid not only a foundation for agreement with the Protestants, but such a foundation as illustrated the glory of Christ—the foundation of all Christian doctrine, which was not well understood by many;" that he and all who were with him at Viterbo joined in giving thanks to God, "who had begun to reveal this sacred, salutary, and necessary doctrine;" and that its friends ought not to be moved by the censures which it met with at Rome, where it was "charged with novelty," although "it lies at the foundation of all the doctrines held by the ancient church."[1] That Cardinal Morone was of the same sentiments appears, not only from the articles of charge brought against him, but from his known agreement in sentiment with Pole and Contarini.[2] To these members of the sacred college, we have to add Federigo Fregoso, a prelate equally distinguished by his birth, learning, and virtues.[3] He gave great scandal, by declining to appear at the court of the Vatican, after the pope had honoured him with the purple.[4] Disgusted with the manners of that court, he had divested himself of the archbishopric of Salerno, and retired to the diocese of Gubbio, of which he was administrator; and perceiving that the people conceived the whole of religion to lie in pronouncing, at stated hours and with the prescribed gesticulations, the Paternoster, Ave Maria, and hymns in honour of the saints, he, with the view of initiating them into a more rational and scriptural devotion, composed in Italian a treatise on the method of prayer, which had the honour of being prohibited at Rome.[5] The same honour was reserved for the elegant commentaries of the learned and pious abbot, Giambatista Folengo, which abound with sentiments similar to those which have been quoted from the writings of Flaminio, accompanied with severe strictures on the superstitious practices which the priests and friars recommended to the people.[6]

[1] See Pole's letters to Contarini, of the 17th May and 16th July 1541, and 1st May 1542. Epistolæ Reginal. Poli, vol. iii. pp. 25, 27—30, 53. Quirini, besides what is contained in his Dissertations prefixed to Pole's letters, attempted to defend Contarini's orthodoxy, in a separate tract, entitled, *Epistola ad Gregorium Rothfischerum, Brixiæ*, 1752; to which Jo. Rud. Kieslingius replied, in his *Epistola ad Eminent. Princ. Angelum Mariam Quirinum, de Religione Lutherana amabili, Lips.* 1753.

[2] Wolfii Lect. Memor. tom. ii. p. 655. When the articles were afterwards published, with scholia, by Vergerio, the inquisitors did not insert the book in their index, lest it should call the attention of the public to the fact that a cardinal had been accused of holding such opinions. Vergerii Oper. tom. i. p. 262. Schelhornii Amœnit. Liter. tom. xii. p. 546, &c.

[3] He was the nephew of Guidubaldo, Duke of Urbino, and the brother of Ottaviano Fregoso, doge of Genoa, a name celebrated in the annals of that republic. Tiraboschi, vii. 1076. "Egli è tutto buono, e tutto santo, e tutto nelle sacre lettere, e Latine, e Greche, e Ebraiche," says Bembo. Opere, vii. 267.

[4] Bembo, Lettere, tom. i. p. 139.

[5] An account of this book is given by Riederer, in the third volume of his Nachrichten. Conf. Wolfii Lect. Memorab. tom. ii. p. 698; and Index Auct. Prohibit. Romæ, 1559. There is a curious letter, written in 1531, by Bembo to Fregoso, about a treatise in manuscript, which the latter had sent to him, on the subject of free-will and predestination. Bembo promises not to allow it to go into improper hands, but refuses to burn it, as Fregoso had urged him to do. Bembo, Opere, tom. v. pp. 165, 166.

[6] See the extracts from his Commentary on the Psalms, in Gerdes. Ital. Ref. p. 257—261. Comp. Ginguené, Hist. Liter. d'Italie, tom. vii. p. 58. Teissier, Eloges, tom. i. p. 170. Tiraboschi, Storia, vii. 400.

Angelo Buonarici, general of the canons regular at Venice, is another example of the extent to which the leading opinions of the reformed had spread in Italy. In his exposition of the apostolical epistles, he has stated the doctrine of justification by faith with as much clearness and accuracy as either Luther or Calvin. "This passage of Scripture," says he, "teaches us, that if we are true Christians, we must acknowledge that we are saved and justified, without the previous works of the law, by means of faith alone. Not that we are to conclude that those who believe in Christ are not bound and obliged to study the practice of holy, devout, and good works; but no one must think or believe that he can attain to the benefit of justification by good works, for this is indeed obtained by faith, and good works in the justified do not precede but follow their justification." Similar sentiments pervade this work, which appeared with the privilege of the inquisitors of Venice; a circumstance which might have excited our astonishment, had we not known that still greater oversights have been committed by these jealous and intolerant, but ignorant and injudicious censors of the press.[1] Still more remarkable were the sentiments of Giovanni Grimani, a Venetian of noble birth, and Patriarch of Aquileia. A Dominican monk of Udina, in Friuli, had given offence by teaching, in a sermon, that the elect cannot incur damnation, but will be recovered from the sins into which they may fall; and that salvation and damnation depend upon predestination, and not on our free-will. The patriarch undertook the defence of this doctrine, first in a letter to the general of the Dominicans, and afterwards in a treatise which he wrote expressly on the subject. This was subsequent to the decrees of the Council of Trent, which determined the doctrine of the church on these points. Grimani was not at first troubled for his opinions, but having, at a subsequent period, irritated his clergy by attempting to reform their manners, he was delated to the inquisitors; and at the very time that Pope Pius IV., at the request of the senate of Venice, was about to advance him to the purple, he was accused of holding Lutheran and Calvinistic errors on seven different articles. The republic of Venice procured an order from the pope to take the cause out of the hands of the inquisitors and commit it to the judgment of the fathers, who, in the year 1563, were still assembled at Trent, and who, after an examination which lasted twenty-four days, came at last to the determination that the writings of the patriarch were not heretical, though they ought not to have been made public, on account of certain difficult points which were treated in them, and not explained with sufficient accuracy. So great was the influence of the senate of Venice with the pope and council![2]

[1] Gerdesii Ital. Ref. p. 198—200.

[2] Raynaldi Annal. ad ann. 1549, 1563. Pallavicini, apud Gerdes. Ital. Ref. p. 91—93. I have not adduced the examples of Foscarari, Bishop of Modena, and San Felicio, Bishop of Cava, with several others who have been ranked among the favourers of the reformed opinions by Schelhorn (Amœn. Eccles. tom. i. p. 151); because I am not aware that he had any other ground for doing this than the moderation of these distinguished prelates, and the fact of their having been thrown into the prisons of the Inquisition by that violent pontiff Paul IV.

Of the mode of thinking, or rather feeling, among a numerous class of enlightened Italians, we have an example in Celio Calcagnini, "one of the most learned men of that age."[1] His friend Peregrino Morata had sent him a book in defence of the reformed doctrine, and requested his opinion of it. The reply of Calcagnini was cautious, but sufficiently intelligible: "I have read," says he, "the book relating to the controversies so much agitated at present;[2] I have thought on its contents, and weighed them in the balance of reason. I find in it nothing which may not be approved and defended, but some things which, as mysteries, it is safer to suppress and conceal than to bring before the common people. Though suitable to the primitive and infant state of the church, yet now, when the decrees of the fathers and long usage have sanctioned other modes, what necessity is there for reviving antiquated practices which have for ages fallen into desuetude, especially as neither piety nor the salvation of the soul is concerned with them? Let us then, I pray you, allow these things to rest. Not that I disapprove of their being embraced by scholars and lovers of antiquity; but I would not have them communicated to the vulgar and those who are fond of innovations, lest they give occasion to strife and sedition. There are illiterate and unqualified persons who, having after long ignorance read or heard certain new opinions respecting baptism, the marriage of the clergy, ordination, the distinction of days and of food, and public penitence, instantly conceive that these things are to be stiffly maintained and observed; wherefore, in my opinion, the discussion of these points ought to be confined to the initiated, lest the seamless coat of our Lord should be rent and torn. It was this consideration, I suppose, which moved those good men who lately laid before Pope Paul a plan of reforming Christianity, to advise that the Colloquies of Erasmus should be banished from our republic, as Plato formerly banished the poems of Homer from his." Having made some observations of a similar kind on the doctrine of predestination, taught by the author of the book, he concludes thus: "Saint Paul says, 'Hast thou faith? have it to thyself before God.' Since it is dangerous to treat such things before the multitude and in public discourses, I deem it safest to 'speak with the many and think with the few.'"[3] In this manner did the learned apostolical protonotary satisfy his conscience; and very probably he was not aware, or did not reflect, how much weight self-interest threw into one of the scales of "the balance of reason." The temporising maxim in which he at last takes refuge was borrowed from his former friend Erasmus; and it is curious to find it here employed to justify the sentence pronounced against one of the most useful works of that elegant and accomplished scholar. It will always be a favourite maxim with those who are determined, like Erasmus, to escape suffering, or who, as

[1] Tiraboschi, Storia, vii. 163.
[2] Tiraboschi thinks that Morata was himself the author of the book, vii. 1199.
[3] Cælii Calcagnini Opera, p. 195.

he expressed it, "feel that they have not received the grace of martyrdom;" a mode of speaking, by the way, which shows that those who are most shy to own the doctrine of predestination and grace are not the most averse to avail themselves of it, in its least defensible sense, as an apology for their own weakness. Let us not, however, imagine that this plea was confined to one age or one description of persons. An attentive observation of the conduct of mankind will, I am afraid, lead to the humiliating conclusion, that the greater part, including those who lay claim to superior intelligence and superior piety, are but too apt, whenever a sacrifice must be made or a hardship endured, to swerve from the straight path of duty which their unbiassed judgment had discerned, and to act on the principle, which, though glossed over with the specious names of expediency, prudence, and regard to peace, amounts to this, when expressed in plain language, "Let us do evil, that good may come."

The preceding narrative sufficiently shows that the reformed opinions, if they did not take deep root, were at least widely spread in Italy. The number of those who, from one motive or another, desired a reformation, and who would have been ready to fall in with any attempt to introduce it which promised to be successful, was so great as to warrant the conclusion that, if any prince of considerable power had placed himself at their head, or if the court of Rome had been guilty of such aggressions on the political rights of its neighbours as it committed at a future period, Italy would have followed the example of Germany, and Protestant cities and states would have risen on the south as well as the north of the Alps.[1] The prospect of this filled the friends of the papacy with apprehension and alarm. In a letter to the nephew of Pope Paul III., Sadolet complains that the ears of his holiness were so preoccupied with the false representations of flatterers, as not to perceive that there was "an almost universal defection of the minds of men from the church, and an inclination to execrate ecclesiastical authority."[2] And Cardinal Caraffa signified to the same pope, "that the whole of Italy was infected with the Lutheran heresy, which had been extensively embraced both by statesmen and ecclesiastics."[3] "There was scarcely a city of Italy," says a late writer belonging to that country, "into which error had not attempted to insinuate itself, and everywhere almost it had its partisans and followers. The name of reform, the reproach of ignorance which, not without some reason, was attached to the theologians of that day, and the imposing apparatus of erudition with which the new opinions were invested, might easily deceive honest people as well as the learned; and, accordingly, many suffered themselves to be seduced, especially before the meeting of the Council of Trent, who afterwards discovered their error, and returned to a good way of thinking."[4]

[1] Bayle, Dict. art. Acontius; addition in English translation.
[2] Raynaldi Annal. ad ann. 1539.
[3] Spondani Annal. ad ann. 1542.
[4] Tiraboschi, Bibl. Modenese, tom. i. p. 20.

No wonder, in these circumstances, that the ardent friends of the Reformation should at this period have cherished the sanguine hope that Italy would throw off the papal yoke. "See," says one, "how the Gospel advances, even in Italy, where it is so much borne down, and exults in the near prospect of bursting forth, like the sun from a cloud, in spite of all opposition."[1] "Whole libraries," writes Melanchthon to George, Prince of Anhalt, "have been carried from the late fair into Italy, though the pope has published fresh edicts against us. But the truth cannot be wholly oppressed: our captain, the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, will vanquish and trample on the dragon, the enemy of God, and will liberate and govern us."[2] This issue of the religious movement in his native country was hailed with still more rapturous feelings by Celio Secundo Curio, in a dialogue composed by him at the period now referred to, and intended to prove that the kingdom of God and his elect is more extensive than that of the devil and the reprobate. He introduces his interlocutor, Mainardi, as saying: "If the Lord shall continue, as he has begun, to grant prosperous success to the Gospel, the delectable embassy of reconciliation and grace, we shall behold the whole world thronging, more than it has ever done at any former period, to this asylum and fortified city, to Jesus Christ its Prince, and to its three towers, Faith, Hope, and Charity; so that, with our own eyes, we may yet see the kingdom of God of much larger extent than that which the enemy of mankind has acquired, not by his own power, but by the providence of God."—"O blessed day! O that I might live to see the ravishing prospect realised!" exclaims Curio. "You shall live, Celio, be not afraid; you shall live to see it. The joyful sound of the Gospel has within our own day reached the Scythians, Thracians, Indians, and Africans. Christ, the King of kings, has taken possession of Rhætia and Helvetia: Germany is under His protection: He has reigned, and will again reign, in England: He sways his sceptre over Denmark and the Cymbrian nations: Prussia is His: Poland and the whole of Sarmatia are on the point of yielding to Him: He is pressing forward to Pannonia: Muscovy is in His eye: He beckons France to Him: Italy, our native country, is travailing in birth: and Spain will speedily follow. Even the Jews, as you perceive, have abated their former aversion to Christianity. Since they saw that we acknowledge one God, the creator of heaven and earth, and Jesus Christ whom He sent; that we worship neither images, nor symbols, nor pictures; that we no longer adore mystical bread, or a wafer, as God; that they are not despised by us as they formerly were; that we acknowledge we received Christ from them; and that there is access for them to enter into that kingdom from which they have been secluded, as we once

[1] Gabrieli Valliculi, De liberali Dei Gratia, et servo hominis Arbitrio. Norimb. 1536; apud Bock, Hist. Antitrin. tom. ii. p. 396.

[2] Epistolæ, col. 303. This letter has no date; but from comparing its contents with Sleidan, Comment. tom. ii. p. 187, it appears to have been written in 1540.

were,—their minds have undergone a great change, and now at last they are provoked to emulation."[1]

The striking contrast between this pleasing picture and the event which soon after took place, admonishes us not to allow our minds to be dazzled by flattering appearances, or to build theories of faith on prospects which fancy may have sketched on the deceitful horizon of public opinion; and we should recollect, that though persecution is one means, it is not the only one, by which the march of Christianity has been, and may yet again be, checked and arrested.

[1] Cœlius Secundus Curio, De Amplitudine Regni Dei; in Schelhornii Amœn. Liter. tom. xii. p. 594, 595.

CHAPTER V.

SUPPRESSION OF THE REFORMATION IN ITALY.

It was in the year 1542 that the court of Rome first became seriously alarmed at the progress of the new opinions in Italy. Engrossed by foreign politics, and believing that they could at any time put down an evil which was within their reach, the pope and his counsellors had either disregarded the representations which were made to them on this head, as exaggerated, or contented themselves with issuing prohibitory bulls and addressing to the bishops of the suspected places monitory letters, which were defeated by the lukewarmness of the local magistrates, or the caution of the obnoxious individuals. But in the course of the year referred to, the clergy, and particularly the friars, poured in their complaints from all parts of the country, regarding the danger to which the Catholic faith was exposed from the boldness of the reformers and the increase of conventicles. At the head of these was Pietro Caraffa, commonly called the Theatine cardinal,[1] a prelate who made high pretensions to sanctity, but distinguished himself by his ambition and violence, when he afterwards mounted the pontifical throne under the name of Paul IV. He laid before the sacred college the discoveries he had made as to the extent to which heresy had spread in Naples and various parts of Italy, and convinced them of the necessity of adopting the speediest and most vigorous measures for its extermination.[2] It was resolved to proceed, in the first place, against such of the

[1] Caraffa founded a religious order called the *Theatine*, from Civita di *Chieti*, a city in Naples, of which he was bishop. In his youth he was a patron of letters; and Erasmus mentioned him in very flattering terms, in the dedication of his edition of the works of Jerome, published at Basle in 1516. "Nam ad trium linguarum haud vulgarem peritiam, ad summam cum omnium disciplinarum, tum præcipue theologicæ rei cognitionem, tantum homo juvenis (Rev. in Christo pater Joan. Pet. Caraffa, episcopus Theatinus), adjunxit integritatis et sanctimoniæ, tantum modestiæ, tantum mira gravitate conditæ comitatis, ut et sedi Romanæ magno sit ornamento, et Britannis omnibus absolutum quoddam exemplar exhibeat [the bishop of Chieti was then in England as ambassador from Leo X. to Henry VIII.], unde omnes omnium virtutum formam sibi petere possint." The bishop discharged this obligation, when he was afterwards advanced to the pontifical chair, by prohibiting the *Jerome*, and all the other works of Erasmus. It may not be improper to give the words of the discharge in full, as a lesson to all literary flatterers. Of others, whose whole works were interdicted, the names are merely given, but he is introduced at full length with all the honours: "Desiderius Erasmus Roterdamus cum universis commentariis, annotationibus, scholiis, dialogis, epistolis, censuris, versionibus, libris et scriptis suis, etiam si nil penitus contra religionem vel de religione contineant." Index Auct. et Lib. Proh. sig. b. 3. Romæ, 1559.

[2] Caracciolus, de Vita Pauli IV. p. 240.

ecclesiastics as were understood to favour the new opinions. Among these Ochino and Martyr were the most distinguished; but as they were in possession of great popularity, and had not yet made open defection from the catholic faith, spies were placed about their persons, while a secret investigation was made into their past conduct, with the view of procuring direct evidence of their heretical opinions.

Such a deep impression had the sermons delivered by Ochino made on the minds of the citizens of Venice, that they joined in an application to the pope to grant them an opportunity of hearing him a second time. His holiness accordingly directed the Cardinal of Carpi, who was protector of the order of Capuchins, to send him to Venice during Lent in the year 1542; but, at the same time, gave instructions to the apostolical nuncio to watch his conduct. The whole city ran in crowds to hear their favourite preacher. It does not appear that he used greater freedom in his discourses on the present occasion than he had used on the former; but a formal complaint was soon made against him, of having advanced doctrines at variance with the Catholic faith, particularly on the head of justification.[1] On his appearance before the nuncio, however, he was able to defend himself so powerfully against his accusers, that no plausible pretext could be found for proceeding against him. Perceiving that he was surrounded by spies, he for some time exerted a greater circumspection over his words in the pulpit; but having heard that Julio Terentiano, a convert of Valdes, with whom he had been intimate at Naples, was thrown into prison, he could no longer restrain himself. In the course of a sermon, at which the senators and principal persons of the city were present, he introduced that subject, and broke out in these words: "What remains for us to do, my lords? And to what purpose do we fatigue and exhaust ourselves, if those men, O noble Venice, queen of the Adriatic—if those men, who preach to you the truth, are to be thrown into prisons, thrust into cells, and loaded with chains and fetters? What place will be left to us? what field will remain open to the truth? O that we had but liberty to preach the truth! How many blind, who now grope their way in the dark, would be restored to light!" On hearing of this bold appeal, the nuncio instantly interdicted him from preaching, and reported the matter to the pope. But the Venetians were so importunate in his behalf, that the interdict was removed within three days, and he again appeared in the pulpit.[2] Lent being ended, he went to Verona, where he assembled those of his order who were engaged in studies preparatory to the work of preaching, and commenced reading to them a course of lectures on the Epistles of Paul; but he had not proceeded far in this work, when he received a citation from Rome to answer certain charges founded on his lectures, and on the informations of the nuncio

[1] Palearii Opera, p. 294. The same thing is stated by Ochino himself in his Apology to the Magistrates of Sienna, republished at the end of the second volume of his *Prediche*.

[2] Boverio, Annali de Capuccini, i. 426.

at Venice.[1] Having set out on his journey to the capital, he had an interview at Bologna with Cardinal Contarini, then lying on his death-bed, who assured him that he agreed with the Protestants on the article of justification, though he was opposed to them on the other points of controversy.[2] In the month of August, Ochino went to Florence, where he received information that his death was resolved on at Rome, upon which he retired hastily to Ferrara, and being assisted in his flight by the Duchess Renée, escaped the hands of the armed men who had been despatched to apprehend him, and reached Geneva in safety.[3]

The defection and flight of Ochino struck his countrymen with amazement, proportioned to the admiration in which they had held him.[4] Claudio Tolomeo, esteemed one of the best epistolary writers of his age, says, in a letter which he addressed to him, that the tidings of his defection from the Catholic to the Lutheran camp, had completely stunned him, and appeared for some time utterly false and incredible.[5] The lamentations of the Theatine cardinal were still more tragical, and may be quoted as a specimen of that mystical and sublimated devotion, which, at this period, was combined with a spirit of ambition and bigotry, in a certain class of the defenders of the papacy. "What has befallen thee, Bernardino? What evil spirit has seized thee, like the reprobate king of Israel of old? My father, my father! the chariot and the charioteer of Israel! whom, a little ago, we with admiration beheld ascending to heaven in the spirit and power of Elias, must we now bewail thy descent to hell with the chariots and horsemen of Pharaoh? All Italy flocked to thee; they hung upon thy breast: thou hast betrayed the land; thou hast slain the inhabitants. O doting old man, who has bewitched thee to feign to thyself another Christ than thou wert taught by the Catholic church? Ah! Bernardino, how great wert thou in the eyes of all men! Oh, how beautiful and fair! Thy coarse but sacred cap excelled the cardinal's hat and the pope's mitre; thy nakedness the most gorgeous apparel; thy bed of wattles the

[1] Boverio, Annali de Capuccini, tom. i. p. 427.

[2] Ochino, Prediche, tom. i. num. 10. This fact has been strongly denied by Boverio (*ut supra*), and by Card. Quirini. Diatrib. ad vol. iii. Epist. Poli, cap. ix. Beccatello says he was present at the interview, and that the cardinal, who was very weak, merely requested a share in Ochino's prayers. Ibid. p. 137.

[3] Ochino has himself given an account of his departure from Italy and the reasons of it, in his answer to Muzio, which is reprinted at the end of the second volume of his *Prediche*. Lubieniecius and Sandius represent him as having gone to Rome, and, in the presence of the pope, reproved from the pulpit the tyranny, pride, and vices of the pontifical court. The latter adds that, in a sermon, he brought forward a number of arguments against the doctrine of the trinity, deferring the answer to them till another time, under the pretence that the hour had elapsed; but, as soon as he left the pulpit, he mounted a horse which was ready for him, and, quitting Rome and Italy, eluded the inquisitors. This is a ridiculous story, evidently made up from the manner in which Ochino brought forward the anti-trinitarian sentiments a little before his death.

[4] In a letter to Melanchthon, dated from Geneva on the 14th of Feb. 1543, Calvin says: "Habemus hic Berduardinum Senensem, magnum et præclarum virum, qui suo discessu non parum Italiam commovit. Is, ut vobis suo nomine salutem ascriberem, petiit." Sylloge Epist. Burman. tom. ii. p. 230.

[5] Tolomeo, Lettere, p. 237. Venez. 1565. Schelhorn, Ergötzlichkeiten, tom. iii. p. 1006.

softest and most delicious couch; thy deep poverty the riches of the world. Thou wert the herald of the highest, the trumpet sounding far and wide; thou wert full of wisdom and adorned with knowledge; the Lord placed thee in the garden of Eden, in His holy mount, as a light above the candlestick, as the sun of the people, as a pillar in His temple, as a watchman in His vineyard, as a shepherd to feed His flock. Still your eloquent discourses sound in our ears; still we see your unshod feet. Where now are all your magnificent words concerning contempt of the world? Where your invectives against covetousness? Thou that didst teach that a man should not steal, dost thou steal?"[1] In this inflated style, which Cardinal Quirini calls "elegant and vehement," did Caraffa proceed until he had exhausted all the metaphors in the *Flowers of the Saints*.

Ochino was not silent on his part. Besides an apologetical letter to the magistrates of his native city of Sienna, and another to Tolomeo, he published a large collection of his sermons, and various polemical treatises against the Church of Rome, which, being written in the Italian language and in a popular style, produced a great effect upon his countrymen, notwithstanding the antidotes administered by writers hired to refute and defame him.[2] His flight was the signal for the apprehension of some of his most intimate friends, and a rigorous investigation into the sentiments of the religious order to which he belonged; some of whom made their escape, and others saved their lives by recanting their opinions. The pope was so incensed by the apostasy of Ochino, and the number of capuchins who were found implicated in his heresy, that he proposed at one time to suppress the order.[3]

Martyr, in the mean time, was in equal danger at Lucca. The monks of his order, irritated by the reformation of manners which, as general visitor, he had sought to introduce among them, were forward to accuse him, and acted as spies on his conduct. For a whole year he was exposed to their secret machinations and open detraction, against which he could not have maintained himself, if he had not enjoyed the protection of the Lucchese.[4] With the view of trying the disposition of the citizens, his enemies obtained an order from Rome to apprehend Terentiano, one of his friends, who was confessor to the Augustinian convent, as a person suspected of heresy. Some noblemen, who admired the confessor's piety and were convinced of his innocence, forced the doors of his prison and set him at liberty; but having fallen and

[1] Bock, Hist. Antitrin. tom. ii. p. 495. Quirini Diatr. ad vol. iii. Epist. Poli, p. 86.

[2] A list of Ochino's works is to be found in Haym, Biblioteca, ii. 616, &c.; in Observat. Halens. v. 65, &c.; and in Bock, ii. 515, &c. His principal antagonists were Girolamo Muzio, the author of *Le Mentite Ochiniane*, and Ambrogio Catarino, who wrote *Remedio a la pestilente dottrina di Bernardo Ochino*.

[3] Bock, tom. ii. p. 496.

[4] See before, p. 81. In the course of the inquiries which he had instituted, several individuals had been deprived of their offices on account of gross delinquencies, and the rector-general of the order, with some others, were condemned to perpetual confinement in the islands of Tremiti. Simler, Oratio de Martyre, sig. b iij.

broken a limb in his flight, he was again taken and conveyed to Rome in triumph. Encouraged by this success, they lodged a formal accusation against Martyr before the papal court; messengers were sent through the different convents to exhort the monks not to neglect the opportunity of recovering "their ancient liberty," by inflicting punishment on their adversary; and a general congregation of the order being convened at Genoa, he was cited instantly to attend. Aware of the prejudice which had been excited against him, and warned by his friends that snares were laid for his life, he resolved, after deliberation, to avoid the danger, by withdrawing himself from the rage and craft of his enemies. After allotting a part of his library to the convent, he committed the remainder to Cristoforo Trenta, a patrician of Lucca, with the view of its being sent after him to Germany; and having set the affairs of the institution in order, and committed the charge of it to his vicar, he left the city secretly, accompanied by Paolo Lacisio, Theodosio Trebellio, and Julio Terentiano, who had been released from prison. At Pisa he wrote letters to Cardinal Pole, and to the brethren of the monastery at Lucca, which he committed to trusty persons, with instructions not to deliver them until a month after his departure. In these he laid open the grievous errors and abuses which attached to the popish religion in general, and the monastic life in particular, to which his conscience would no longer allow him to give countenance; and, as additional grounds for his withdrawing, referred to the odium which he had incurred, and the plots formed against his life. At the same time, he sent back the ring which he had been accustomed to wear as the badge of his office, that it might not be said that he had appropriated the smallest part of the property of the convent to his private use. Having met with Ochino at Florence, and settled with him their respective routes, he set out, and, travelling cautiously and with expedition by Bologna, Ferrara, and Verona, reached Zurich in safety, along with his three companions.[1] They had not been long there when they received an invitation from Bucer to repair to Strasburg, where they obtained situations as professors in the academy. From that place Martyr wrote to the reformed church of Lucca, of which he had been pastor, stating the reasons which had induced him to quit his native country, and encouraging them to persevere in their adherence to the Gospel which they had embraced.[2]

It was no sooner known that Martyr had fled, than a visitation of the monastery over which he had presided was ordered, with the view of ascertaining the extent to which it was tainted with his heretical opinions. A great many of the monks were thrown into prison; and, before a year elapsed, eighteen of them had deserted Italy and retired

[1] Simler, Oratio de Martyre, sig. b iiij.

[2] Martyris Epist. universis Ecclesiæ Lucensis fidelibus, 8 Calend. Jan. 1543; in Loc. Commun. p. 750—752. He, about the same time, published an Exposition of the Apostles' Creed in Italian, "to render to all an account of his faith." Simler, Orat. de Martyre, sig. cj.

to Switzerland.[1] The Protestant church which had been formed in the city, though discouraged by the loss of its founder, and exposed to the threats of its adversaries, was not dispersed or broken up. Under the protection of some of the principal persons of the state, it continued to hold its meetings in private, enjoyed the instruction of regular pastors, and increased in knowledge, and even in numbers. In a letter addressed to them, more than twelve years after he left Lucca, and on the occasion of a disastrous change in their situation, Martyr says : " Such progress have you made for many years in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, that it was unnecessary for me to excite you by my letters ; and all that remained for me to do, was to make honourable mention of you everywhere, and to give thanks to our heavenly Father for the spiritual blessings with which He had crowned you. To this I had an additional motive, from reflecting that my hand was honoured to lay the foundations of this good work, in weakness I confess, but still, by the grace of Christ, to your no small profit. My joy was increased by learning that, after my labours among you were over, God provided you with other and abler teachers, by whose prudent care and salutary instructions the work begun in you was advanced."[2]

One of the teachers to whom Martyr refers was Celio Secundo Curio, who had obtained a situation in the university. The senate protected him for some time in spite of the outcries of the clergy ;[3] but the pope having, in the year 1543, addressed letters to the magistrates complaining of this, and requiring them to send him to Rome to answer charges which had been brought against him from various quarters, they gave him private intimation to consult his safety. Upon this he retired to Ferrara, whence, by the advice of the Duchess Renée, who furnished him with letters of recommendation to the magistrates of Zurich and Berne, he quitted Italy, and took up his residence at Lausanne. In the course of the same year he returned for his wife and children, whom he had left behind him ; on which occasion he made one of those narrow escapes which, though well authenticated, throw an air of romance over the narrative of his life. The familiars of the Inquisition, who were scattered over the country, had tracked the route of Curio from the time he entered Italy. Not venturing to appear in Lucca, he stopped at the neighbouring town of Pessa, until his family should join him. While he was sitting at dinner in the inn, a captain of the papal band, called in Italy barisello, suddenly made his appearance, and entering the room, commanded him, in the pope's name, to yield himself as a prisoner. Curio, despairing of escape, rose to deliver himself

[1] Martyris Epist. *ut supra*. Lettere de M. le Cardinal Spinola, Eveque de Luques—Avec les Considerations, p. 24. It appears from the remarks which the refugees make upon the cardinal's letter, that Jerome Zanchi was one of the learned men whom Martyr drew to Lucca.

[2] Martyris Epistola ad fratres Lucenses, anno 1556; in Loc. Commun. p. 771.

[3] In a letter, dated " Lucæ, 1542, quarto Idus Junii," Curio says : " I meant to have added more, but a message has been just sent me, that I am in danger of my life, by the information of certain adversaries of the truth, who plot, and think, and dream of nothing else but abolishing the memory of Christ from the earth." Cœlii Secundi Curionis Araneus, p. 161. Bas. 1544.

up, retaining unconsciously in his hand the knife with which he had been carving his food. The barisello seeing an athletic figure approaching him with a large knife, was seized with a sudden panic, and retreated to a corner of the room; upon which Curio, who possessed great presence of mind, walked deliberately out of the room, passed, without interruption, through the midst of the armed men who were stationed at the door, took his horse from the stable, and made good his flight.[1]

The Inquisition, from the first establishment of that court in the twelfth century, had been introduced into Italy, and was placed under the management of the conventual friars of the order of St Francis. Its arbitrary and vexatious proceedings could not, however, be long borne by the free states of which that country was then composed; and, about the middle of the fourteenth century, measures were generally adopted to restrain its exorbitant power, in spite of the opposition made by Clement VI. and the censures which he fulminated. The right of the bishops to take part with the inquisitors in the examination of heretics was recognised; they were restricted to the simple cognizance of the charge of heresy, and deprived of the power of imprisonment, confiscation, fine, and corporal punishment, which was declared to belong solely to the secular arm.[2] Such a mode of procedure was found to be ineffectual for suppressing free inquiry, and maintaining the authority of the church, after the new opinions began to spread in Italy. The bishops were, in some instances, lukewarm; they were accessible to the claims of humanity or of friendship; their forms of process were slow and open; and the accused person often escaped before the necessary order for his arrest could be obtained from the civil power. On these accounts, the erection of a court, similar to the modern inquisition of Spain, had been for some years eagerly pressed by the more zealous Romanists, with Cardinal Caraffa at their head, as the only means of preserving Italy from being overrun with heresy. Accordingly, Pope Paul III. founded at Rome the Congregation of the Holy Office, by a bull dated the first of April 1543, which granted the title and rights of inquisitors-general of the faith to six cardinals, and gave them authority, on both sides of the Alps, to try all causes of heresy; with the power of apprehending and incarcerating suspected persons and their abettors, of whatsoever estate, rank, or order; of nominating officers under them, and appointing inferior tribunals in all places, with the same or with limited powers.[3]

This court instantly commenced its operations within the Ecclesiastical States; and it was the great object of the popes, during the remainder of this century, to extend its power over Italy. The greatest resistance was made to it in Venice. After long negotiation, the inquisitors were authorised to try causes of heresy within that state, on

[1] Stupani Oratio de C. S. Curione, *ut supra*, pp. 344, 345.

[2] Galluzzi, Istor. del Granducato di Toscano, tom. i. pp. 142, 143.

[3] Limborch's History of the Inquisition, vol. i. p. 151; Chandler's translation. Llorente, Histoire de l'Inquisition, tom. ii. p. 78.

the condition that a certain number of magistrates and lawyers should always be present at the examination of witnesses, to protect the citizens from prosecutions undertaken on frivolous grounds or from mercenary views, and that the definitive sentence should not, at least in the case of laics, be pronounced before it was submitted to the senate.[1] The popes found less opposition in the other states and cities of Italy. In Tuscany it was arranged, that three commissioners, elected by the congregation at Rome, along with the local inquisitor, should judge in all causes of religion, and intimate their sentence to the duke, who was bound to carry it into execution.[2] One would have thought that such provisions would have satisfied the Holy Office; but, in addition, it was continually soliciting the local authorities to send such as were accused, especially if they were either ecclesiastical persons or strangers, to be tried by the inquisition at Rome; and even the senate of Venice, jealous as it was of any interference with its authority, yielded in some instances to requests of this kind.[3]

No court ever knew so well as that of Rome how to combine policy with violence, to temporise without relinquishing its claims, and dexterously to avail itself of particular events which crossed its wishes, for the purpose of advancing its general designs. The Neapolitans had twice successfully resisted the establishment of the inquisition in their country, at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In 1546, the Emperor Charles V., with the view of extirpating the Lutheran heresy, renewed the attempt, and gave orders to set up that tribunal in Naples, after the same form in which it had long been established in Spain. This measure created the greatest discontent; and one day as the officers of the inquisition were conducting some persons to prison, the inhabitants, having released the prisoners, rose in arms, and broke out into open tumult. The revolt was suppressed by military force, but it was judged prudent to abandon the design. Nothing could be conceived more agreeable to the court of Rome than this formidable tribunal; yet they took the part of the people against the government of Naples, and encouraged them in their opposition, by telling them that they had reason for their fears, because the Spanish inquisition was extremely severe, and refused to profit by the example of that of Rome, of which none had had reason to complain during the three years in which it had existed.[4] They pursued the same line of policy when Philip II., at a subsequent period, endeavoured to establish his favourite tribunal in the duchy of Milan. The reigning pontiff, Pius IV., was at first favourable to that scheme, from which he anticipated effectual aid to his measures for keeping down the reformed opinions; but finding that the Milanese were determined to resist the innovation, and had engaged the greater part of the Italian bishops on their side, his holiness told the deputies

[1] Busdragi Epistola: Scrinium Antiquar. tom. i. pp. 321, 326, 327. Thuani Hist. ad ann. 1548.

[2] Galluzzi, i. 143.

[3] Bezæ Icones, sig. Hh. ij. Hist. des Martyrs, f. 444, 446. Genève, 1597.

[4] Limborch, vol. i. p. 143. Llorente, tom. i. p. 332; ii. 118, 121.

who came to beg his intercession in their favour, that "he knew the extreme rigour of the Spanish inquisitors," and would take care that the inquisition should be maintained in Milan as formerly in dependence on the court of Rome, "whose decrees respecting the mode of process were very mild, and reserved to the accused the most entire liberty of defending themselves."[1] This language was glaringly hypocritical, and quite irreconcilable with the conduct of the reigning pontiff, as well as that of his predecessors, who had all supported the Spanish inquisition, and given their formal sanction to the most cruel and unjust of its modes of procedure. But it served the purpose of preserving the authority of the Holy See, and of reconciling the minds of the Italians to the court which had been lately erected at Rome. The Roman inquisition was founded on the same principles as that of Spain, nor did the forms of process in the two courts differ in any essential or material point; and yet the horror which the inhabitants of Italy had conceived at the idea of the latter induced them to submit to the former: so easy is it, by a little management and humouring of their prejudices, to deprive the people of their liberties.

The peaceable establishment of the inquisition in Italy was decisive of the unfortunate issue of the movements in favour of religious reform in that country. This iniquitous and bloody tribunal could never obtain a footing either in France or in Germany. The attempt to introduce it into the Netherlands was resisted by the adherents of the old as well as the disciples of the new religion; and it kindled a civil war, which, after a sanguinary and protracted struggle, issued in rending seven flourishing provinces from the Spanish crown, and establishing civil and religious liberty. The ease with which it was introduced into Italy, showed that, whatever illumination there was among the Italians, and how desirous soever they might be to share in those blessings which other nations had secured to themselves, they were destitute of that public spirit and energy of principle which were requisite to shake off the degrading yoke by which they were oppressed. Popish historians do more homage to truth than credit to their cause, when they say that the erection of the inquisition was the salvation of the Catholic church in Italy.[2] No sooner was this engine of tyranny and torture erected, than those who had rendered themselves obnoxious to it by the previous avowal of their sentiments, fled in great numbers from a country in which they could no longer look for protection from injustice and cruelty. The prisons of the inquisition were everywhere filled with those who remained behind, and who, according to the policy of that court, were retained for years in dark and silent durance, with the view of inspiring their friends with dread, and of subduing their own minds to a recantation of their sentiments. With the exception of a few places, the public profession which had been made of the Protestant religion was suppressed. Its friends, however, were still numerous;

[1] Limborch and Llorente, *ut supra*. [2] Pallavicini, Istor. Concil. Trent, lib. xiv. c. 9.

many of them were animated by the most ardent attachment to the cause; they continued to encourage and edify one another in their private meetings; and it required all the activity and violence of the inquisitors, during twenty years, to discover and exterminate them.

The proceedings of the inquisition excited indignation and terror in the breasts of others besides those who were the immediate objects of its vengeance; and these feelings, acting on the disturbed state of the public mind, gave rise to a conspiracy, which, if it had been organised with greater secrecy and foresight, might have given a favourable turn to the affairs of the Protestants in Italy. Great discontent had been caused by the overthrow of republican government in different cities; and numerous exiles from Florence, Pisa, and Sienna, had taken refuge in Lucca, where they confirmed one another in resentment against the pope and emperor, as the authors of their wrongs, and in the hopes of being able, on some emergency, and in concert with their friends at home, to recover their ancient liberties. Francesco Burlamacchi, gonfaloniere or captain of the forces of Lucca, a man of ardent and enterprising mind, conceived the bold design of uniting the political and religious malcontents in an attempt to revolutionise the country. By means of the troops, of which he had the command, added to the exiles in the city, he proposed to surprise Pisa, to call on the inhabitants to assert their independence, and, having reinforced his army, to rear the standard of liberty, and, with the assistance of Pietro Strozzi and France, to effect a change in the government and religion of the Italian states.[1] The time chosen for executing this project was not unpropitious, and held out a flattering prospect of success to persons of a sanguine mind. After employing in vain every method of policy, for many years, to dissolve the Smalcaldic league, Charles V. determined, in 1546, to suppress it by force, and for this purpose drew the flower of his army to Germany, from various parts of his dominions, including Naples and Milan. The pope and the Grand Duke of Tuscany had sent reinforcements to the emperor,[2] while other states had contributed money to carry on this war of religion; so that Italy was, in a great degree, stripped of that military defence by which it had been kept in a state of subjection to the dominant authorities. It is not improbable that some correspondence had taken place between the projector of the insurrection and the Protestant princes of Germany, as they had solicited the Duke of Tuscany to make a diversion in their favour by attacking the states of the pope, with whom he was at variance. That secret negotiations were carried on with the court of France through Strozzi, there can be little doubt. But Francis I. was approaching the end of his active reign; age and ill success had rendered him cautious and inert; and the same reasons which led him to permit the German princes to be crushed by his rival, would prevent him from lending

[1] Galluzzi, Istoria del Granducato di Toscano, tom. i. p. 79.

[2] Sleidan, Comment. tom. ii. pp. 515, 516, edit. Am Ende.

open or efficient aid to the undertaking of an obscure individual in Italy. The affair, however, did not come to a trial of arms : the conspiracy was revealed at the same time to the senate of Lucca and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and Burlamacchi was instantly seized and sent a prisoner to Milan.[1] Though the Protestants do not appear to have taken an active part in this plot, its discovery could not fail to operate to their prejudice, by awakening the jealousy of the civil authorities, and stimulating the vigilance of the inquisition.

It was natural for the Protestants, when overtaken by the storm, to retreat to the court of Ferrara, where they had found shelter at an early period ; but the pope had taken the precaution of gaining over the duke, and securing his co-operation in his measures against the reformers. The effects of this change were first felt at Modena. In consequence of the unfavourable reports made of the sentiments of the members of the academy,[2] consultations had been repeatedly held at Rome ; and Paul III. would have proceeded to the highest censure of the church against them, had not some of their personal friends in the conclave interposed, and averted his displeasure. In the month of June 1542, it was proposed to cite some of the most influential persons among them to Rome or Bologna ; but Cardinal Sadolet requested permission, in the first place, to try the effect of a friendly letter upon them. Accordingly, he wrote in the most conciliatory spirit to Lodovico Castelvetro, informing him of what had passed in the consistory, and begging that he and his colleagues would give assurances of their attachment to the Catholic faith, and desist from every practice which gave rise to suspicions against them. Castelvetro and his companions answered this letter to the satisfaction of the cardinal, who insisted, however, that they should write to the pope himself, protesting that they were faithful sons of the Roman church.[3] This they appear to have declined ; upon which a resolution was taken to draw up certain articles of faith, to be subscribed by all the members of the academy. The report of this produced a great sensation in Modena. Portus, the Greek lecturer, and two of his companions, left the place on different pretexts, and the rest complained loudly of the manner in which they were treated. If the proposed measure were carried into effect, they said, there was an end to all freedom of inquiry : they might sell their books and renounce the study of the sacred Scriptures, for no ingenious person would consent to think or write under such fetters. So great was the ferment, that Morone, tender of the peace of his see and the honour of the academy, repented of the consent he had given to a mea-

[1] Galluzzi, *ut supra*, p. 80. This author does not assert that Burlamacchi had adopted the reformed opinions. Several distinguished individuals of that name, however, are to be found among the Lucchese, who afterwards took refuge in Geneva. A descendant of that family, Fabrice, called by Bayle the Photius of his age, was minister of the Italian church there ; and another, Jean-Jaques, was professor of law, and author of a celebrated treatise on that science. Fragmens Extraits des Registres de Genève, pp. 131, 436. Senebier, Hist. Litt. de Genève, ii. 27. iii. 87.

[2] See before, p. 54.

[3] Sadoleti Epist. Famil. vol. iii. pp. 317, 319. The answers by Grillenzoni, Portus, Castelvetro, and Alessandro Milano, are inserted in Bibl. Modenese, tom. iii. p. 433—441.

sure which, it would seem, had not originated with him; and he is said to have written to the pope, praying him to suspend the subscription of the formulary, as the academicians had already given sufficient pledges of their catholicism, and declined to subscribe, because it would lead the world to believe that they had been justly suspected of heresy. But the court of Rome was resolute in carrying the measure into execution. Much light is thrown on these transactions by a document, preserved in the ducal archives at Ferrara, which contains the secret instructions given by the governor of Modena to his chancellor, whom he sent, on the 2d of August 1542, to advise with Hercules on this perplexing affair. It states that the academicians showed themselves averse to subscription, and urged, that though they were ready to affix their names to some of the articles of the formulary, yet these were matters which should be referred to the determination of a council; that the bishop had proceeded in this affair with all possible dexterity, and acted in concert with the governor, whom he had reminded that, through the harshness of Cardinal Cajetan, the papal legate to the Lutherans, a small spark had burst into a conflagration, which continued still to rage, and that he was afraid lest God, for the sins of the world, should permit so many men of genius, spirit, and subtlety, to be driven to despair, and thereby another such flame should be kindled in Italy; that the pope, thinking that Morone proceeded with too great gentleness, had committed the affair to six cardinals in Rome, one of whom had already come to Modena to inquire after heretics; and that the bishop, offended at this step, had signified that he would interfere no more in the business, but was prevailed upon, by the entreaties of the governor, to lend his aid in accommodating the parties, and to receive the subscriptions.[1]

In the beginning of September, Cardinals Sadolet and Cortese met with the bishop at Modena, as commissioners from the pope to see the formulary subscribed. It had been drawn up with great moderation by Contarini, at the request of Morone, and the objections made to it related chiefly to the sacraments. The members of the academy, when called, refused to subscribe until the conservators of the city had set the example. Three of these were with difficulty induced to affix their names; and to encourage them still further, the cardinals agreed to add their own signatures. But still the academicians continued to demur, and the negotiation would have broken off, had it not been for the exertions of Morone. He had already held interviews with them individually, particularly with Berettari, to whose scruples on the subject of the mass and collateral topics he had listened with much forbearance and candour.[2] He now assembled them, and spoke with such earnest-

[1] Bibl. Modenese, tom. i. p. 15—17.

[2] Beccatelli, Vita del Card. Contarini, sect. 33. Muratori, Vita del Castelvetro; Opere Crit. p. 18. Bibl. Modenese, tom. i. p. 234, 235. Letter from Morone to Contarini, 3d July 1542. Poli Epist. vol. iii. p. 285. In this letter Morone says: "Ben priego V. S. Reverendiss. non lascia che questi mie lettere vadino in mano d'altre, che delli suvi fedeli secretari."

ness and affection, that they yielded to his request; and their brethren who had withdrawn having returned upon a friendly invitation, the formulary was subscribed by the whole body, together with the official men in the city, to the great joy of the commissioners.[1]

It was not to be expected that an arrangement so eagerly pressed on the one side, and so reluctantly acceded to on the other, would be productive of real or lasting concord. The members of the academy retained their former sentiments, and took every opportunity of mortifying the clergy, whom they looked upon as the prime instigators of the late proceedings against their body. On the first Sunday of Advent, 1543, there was no sermon in Modena; because, as one who lived in the city at that time expresses it in his journal, "every preacher, how excellent soever, was criticised by certain literati, and none would come to contest with them on their own ground." In the following year, the bishop sent a minor-conventual friar, named Bartolommeo della Pergala, of whose preaching the journalist just quoted gives the following account in his style of homely humour: "All the members of the academy went to hear him, to the number of more than twenty-five, including the bookseller Antonio, who first introduced the prohibited books in the vulgar language, which were afterwards burnt at Rome as heretical. The said friar did not preach the Gospel,[2] nor did he make mention of any saint, male or female, nor of any doctor of the church, nor of lent, or fasting. This was to the taste of the academicians. Many believed that they would go to paradise in their stocking soles;[3] for, said they, Christ has paid for us." Disappointed in his expectations from the preacher, the bishop caused Pergala to be apprehended and delivered over to the inquisition, which condemned forty-six propositions in his doctrine, and ordered him to retract them publicly in the church in which he had preached. The retractation was made for form's sake; and it was no sooner over, than an address was presented to him, signed by the most respectable citizens, and bearing an honourable testimony to his character and talents. In the course of the same year, Pontremolo, another monk of the same order, who preached at Modena, was condemned for teaching heretical doctrines.[4]

In the year 1545, a prosecution was commenced against the academicians, which had for its immediate object Filippo Valentino, a young man of great precocity of intellect and versatility of genius.[5] Pellegrino

[1] Bibl. Modenese, tom. i. p. 17—19. Muratori, pp. 19, 20. The formulary, with the subscriptions, is printed in the first volume of the works of Cardinal Cortese. When it was first submitted to the revisal of Cortese, he suggested a number of alterations, with the view of making the test stricter, on the heads of justification, free-will, and the eucharist; but Morone, who knew they would defeat the object, took care that they should not be adopted. Bibl. Moden. tom. vi. p. 1—3. It is to the termination of this affair that Cardinal Pole refers, when, in a letter to Contarini, he says, ‚that the Marchioness of Pescaro gives thanks to God: "Per il gran dono di charita, il qual risplende più in quella santo negozio di Modena." Poli Epist. vol. iii. p. 58.

[2] The meaning is, that the preacher took his text from the Epistles, and not from the Gospels.

[3] "Molti credono andare in Paradiso in calze solate."

[4] Bibl. Modenese, tom. i. pp. 18, 19.

[5] Castelvetro says, that at seven years of age Valentino composed letters in a style

Erri, or Heri, a member of the academy, having received an affront from some of his colleagues, went to Rome, and gave information to the Holy Office that the literati of his native city were generally disaffected to the Catholic church, and that some of them were industrious in disseminating their heretical sentiments in private.[1] In consequence of this the pope addressed a brief to the Duke of Ferrara, stating that he had received information that the Lutheran heresy was daily gaining ground in Modena, and that the author and prime cause of this was that son of wickedness, Filippo Valentino; on which account his holiness, knowing how grieving this must be to a person of the duke's piety, requires him to cause the said Filippo to be immediately seized, his books and papers to be examined, and his person detained at the instance of the pope; so that the ringleader being quelled, his accomplices might be reduced to obedience, and a stop put to the alarming evil.[2] Erri returned to Modena in the character of apostolical commissary; and, attended by an armed force which he procured from the civil power, came one night to the house of Filippo to apprehend him. The latter having received warning of the design, had made his escape; but his books and papers were seized by the inquisition, which proved the occasion of great trouble to many of his fellow-citizens, and especially to those who had lived on terms of the greatest intimacy with him. On the following morning a ducal edict was published. It forbade any to have heretical or suspected books, or to dispute in public or private on any point of religion, under the penalty, for the first offence, of a hundred crowns of gold, or of being subjected to the strappado, if unable to pay that sum; for the second offence, two thousand crowns, or banishment from the State; and for the third offence, confiscation of goods, or death. The proclamation of this severe edict spread dismay through the city, and dispersed the academy, of which we hear no more afterwards.[3]

There were still many persons attached to the reformed opinions in Modena, and, within a short time, an arrangement was made, through the good offices of the duke, which permitted Valentino to return to his native city. During the pontificates of Julius III. and Marcellus II. matters continued quiet; but no sooner had Paul IV. mounted the

worthy of Cicero, and sonnets and canzoni which would have done honour to a poet of mature age. He could repeat *verbatim* sermons or lectures which he had heard only once, and had the principal poets in Latin and Italian by heart. Muratori, *ut supra*, pp. 21, 22.

[1] That Erri was a scholar, and acquainted with Hebrew, appears from the following work: "I Salmi di David, tradotti con bellissimo e dotissimo stile dalla lingua Ebrea, nella Latina e volgare, dal S. Pellegrino Heri Modenese." The dedication by the author to Conte Fulvio Rangone, is dated "Di Modena il 1 de Gennaio 1568;" but the work was published at Venice in 1573, with a preface by Giordan Ziletti. Riederer, who has given extracts, both from the translation and notes, says: "I am certain that any person, who examines this book narrowly, will find in it many traces of a concealed Protestant, who continued in external communion with the Roman church, and did not choose to expose himself to the inquisition." Nachrichten, tom. iv. p. 28. This confirms the account given in the text, of Erri's motives in informing against his colleagues.

[2] Raynaldi Annal. ad ann. 1545. The letter is inserted by Tiraboschi, in his Biblioteca Modenese, tom. v. pp. 312, 313.

[3] Bibl. Modenese, tom. i. p. 19. Muratori, Vita del Castelvetro, p. 21—23.

papal throne, than violent measures were adopted. By orders from Rome, a secret inquiry was instituted into the sentiments of some of the principal citizens, without the knowledge either of the governor or of Foscarari, who was now Bishop of Modena, both of whom were offended at a step which they regarded as at once unnecessary and an ungracious interference with their authority.[1] On being made acquainted with the fact, the duke, through his minister at Rome, endeavoured to put a stop to the proceedings, and to prevent the fire, which it had cost so much pains to suppress, from being again kindled; but he was forced to yield to the solicitations of the pope, and granted permission to execute a summons publicly at Modena, on the 6th of July 1556, by which Castelvetro, Filippo Valentino, his cousin Bonifacio, Provost of the Cathedral Church, and Gadaldino the printer and bookseller, were cited to appear before the inquisition at Rome.

The city was greatly agitated by this citation; and the conservators, having met on the 17th of the same month, addressed a strong remonstrance to the duke. "It was," they said, "a thing altogether unusual and strange that laics should be cited to Rome, and that citizens should be subjected to so great inconvenience and expense. The charge of heresy was calculated to bring infamy upon a city which, as they were assured by their officials, was in a state of the greatest quietness; the only tendency of reviving suspicions which had been buried, and prosecuting upon vague rumours, was to add scandal to scandal. The persons cited were highly respectable, and universally esteemed as virtuous men, who did not deserve to be disgraced in such a manner. There was reason to think that the prosecution had originated in spleen and prejudice on the part of men, of whom his excellency knew there were not a few in that country, who, under the cloak of zeal for the faith, sought to gratify their personal revenge. It was impossible to foresee an end to the affair, after so many expedients had already been tried, without pacifying the authorities at Rome. The cardinals had put the whole city to the test of subscription; his excellency had interposed his authority; the local inquisitors had used their office without any impediment; and their diocesan, a man of great sanctity, was vigilant in such matters: what could they discover at Rome which nobody could discover at Modena?" The conservators afterwards sent one of their number to urge the duke to interpose in behalf of their fellow-citizens, and the governor wrote in support of their application. Thus urged, the duke again applied to the pope, requesting that the trial should be suspended, or, if this could not be granted, that it should take place at Modena. Both of these requests were refused. With the view of softening the rigour of the pontiff, Hercules informed him, by another communication, that he had caused the bookseller Gadaldino to be imprisoned;

[1] Letter from Clemente Tiene to Duke Hercules II., 26th Oct. 1555. Bibl. Modenese, tom. i. pp. 446, 447.

and though he doubted if he could be conveyed to Bologna on account of the decrepitude of age, yet he should be sent if his holiness required it. But, soon after, the vice-legate of Bologna made his appearance at the court of Ferrara, and demanded, in the name of his master, that the three Modenese gentlemen and the bookseller, accused of heresy, should be sent to Rome. The duke consented to send the provost Valentino, who, being a priest, was under greater obligations than the rest to obey the pope; having first obtained the vice-legate's promise that the process should be so conducted as not to affect the prisoner in his person or honour. This promise was, however, disregarded. After being detained a whole year in prison, the provost was obliged to make public recantation of the errors imputed to him in the Church of Minerva at Rome, and afterwards to repeat the ceremony in his own church at Modena, on the 28th of May 1558. The poor printer, who had also been carried to Rome, was detained still longer in prison, though upwards of eighty years old. Filippo Valentino and Castelvetro, not having made their appearance at the time appointed, were excommunicated for contumacy, and orders were sent to the bishop to cause the sentence to be intimated at Modena. Foscarari consulted the duke, who, irritated by the treatment which he had received, forbade the intimation.[1]

We are not informed where Valentino took refuge from the fury of the implacable pontiff, but his friend Castelvetro appears to have lived secretly in Ferrara. The year 1559 proved fatal to Pope Paul IV. and Hercules II. of Ferrara; and Alfonso II., who succeeded his father in the dukedom, hoping to find the new pontiff more tractable, applied for a commission to try the cause of Castelvetro within his own territories. This having been refused, Castelvetro, confiding in the interest of the duke, and in the promises made him by persons connected with the papal court, was persuaded to go to Rome. At his first arrival, he was treated with great courtesy, and, instead of being committed to prison, had the convent of Santa Maria *in Via* assigned to him as a place of residence, with liberty to receive his friends; but, after his third appearance before the inquisitors, finding that they had obtained possession of strong evidence against him, or dreading that they would put him to the torture, he suddenly left Rome, along with his brother Giammaria. On the 26th November 1560, the cardinals of the congregation published their final sentence, declaring him a fugitive and impenitent heretic, who had incurred all the pains, spiritual and temporal, decreed against such criminals, and calling upon every person who might have it in his power, to arrest his person and send him as a prisoner to Rome. His effigy was publicly burnt; and pressing letters were written to the Duke of Ferrara to seize the fugitive brothers and confiscate their property.[2] One of the leading charges against Castelvetro was, that he had translated into Italian a work of Melanchthon

[1] Bibl. Modenese, tom. i. p. 446—452.

[2] Ibid. tom. i. p. 452—455.

on the Authority of the Church and the Fathers, a copy of which, said to be in his own handwriting, was produced on his trial.[1]

While these measures were taken at Modena, the papal court was still more intent on extirpating the reformed opinions in Ferrara, which it regarded as the nursery and hotbed of heresy in Italy. In the year 1545, his holiness addressed a brief to the ecclesiastical authorities of that place, requiring them to institute a strict investigation into the conduct of persons of every rank and order, who were suspected of entertaining erroneous sentiments, and, after having taken the depositions, applied the torture, and brought the trial as far as the definitive sentence, to transmit the whole process to Rome for judgment.[2] The distress caused by the execution of this mandate was greatly increased by a base expedient lately adopted for discovering those who wavered in their attachment to the Church of Rome. A horde of commissioned spies were dispersed over Italy, who, by means of the recommendations with which they were furnished, got admission into private families, insinuated themselves into the confidence of individuals, and conveyed the secret information which they obtained in this way to the inquisitors. Assuming a variety of characters, they haunted the company of the learned and illiterate, and were to be found equally in courts and cloisters.[3] A number of excellent persons at Ferrara were caught in the toils spread by these pests of society. They succeeded in alienating the mind of the duke from the accomplished Olympia Morata, who, having left the palace, on the death of her father,[4] to take charge of her widowed mother and the younger branches of the family, was treated in a harsh and ungrateful manner by the court; and she would have suffered still worse treatment, had not a German student of medicine married her, and carried her along with him to his native country.[5] The persecution became more severe, when, on the death of Paul III., the papal chair was filled by Cardinal De Monte, under the title of Julius III. While this indolent pontiff wallowed in voluptuousness,[6] he signed, without scruple or remorse, the cruel orders which were dictated by those to whom he intrusted the management of public affairs. In

[1] Bibl. Modenese, tom. i. p. 457—460. Pallavicini had mentioned the charge, but did not give the name of the book. Storia del Concil. di Trento, l. xv. c. x. Fontanini assumed that it was the Common Places of Melanchthon (see before, p. 29), which led Muratori to call in question the truth of the whole charge. But the book—the identical *corpus delicti* which was verified before the inquisition—has since been discovered in the archives of St Angelo. It is a MS. in 4to, with the following title: "Libricciulo di Phi. M. dell'autorita della Chiesa, e degli Scritti degli Antichi, volgarizzato per Reprigone Rheo con l'aggiunto di alquanto chiose." The translator, in a short epistle to the reader, states that he had added a few notes, chiefly in explanation of certain Greek words used in "this noble little work." Tiraboschi is of opinion that the style of this book corresponds perfectly with that of the undoubted works of Castelvetro.

[2] Raynaldi Annal. ad ann. 1545.

[3] Calcagnini Opera, p. 169. Olympiæ Moratæ Opera, pp. 102, 111. In writings of that time, these spies are called *Corycæans*. Vide Suidæ Lex. voc. κωρυκαιος.

[4] He died in 1548.

[5] Olympiæ Moratæ Opera, p. 93—95. Nostenii Vita Olympiæ, p. 122—125. Her husband's name was Andrew Grunthler, whose life is to be seen in Melch. Adam. Vit. Medic. Germ. Conf. Englerti Franconic. Acta, vol. ii. p. 269. Nolten says that the duchess also was alienated from her; but Olympia herself gives no hint of this in her letters.

[6] Bayle, Dict., art. Julius III. Tiraboschi, vii. 27.

the year 1550, the reformed church, which had subsisted for a number of years at Ferrara, was dispersed; many were thrown into prison, and one of their preachers, a person of great piety, was put to death.[1] Olympia Morata writes on this subject:[2] "We did not come here with the intention of returning to Italy; for you are not ignorant how dangerous it is to profess Christianity in that country where Antichrist has his throne. I hear that the rage against the saints is at present so violent, that former severities were but child's play compared with those which are practised by the new pope, who cannot, like his predecessor, be moved by entreaties and intercession." And, in another letter, she says:[3] "I learn from letters which I have lately received out of Italy that the Christians are treated with great cruelty at Ferrara; neither high nor low are spared; some are imprisoned, others banished, and others obliged to save their lives by flight."

The success of these measures in abolishing the face of a reformed church, and silencing all opposition to the established faith, in Ferrara, did not however give satisfaction at Rome. All this availed nothing in the eyes of the clergy, so long as there remained one person, occupying the place nearest the prince, who scrupled to yield obedience to their authority. The high rank and distinguished accomplishments of the Duchess of Ferrara aggravated, instead of extenuating, the offence which she had given to the clergy, who resolved to humble her pride, if they could not subdue her firmness. Renée, who for some time had not concealed her partiality to the reformed sentiments, testified great dissatisfaction at the late persecution, and exerted herself in every way within her power to protect those who were exposed to its violence. This led to repeated and strong representations from the pope to the duke, her husband. He was told that the minds of his children and servants were corrupted, and the most pernicious example held out to his subjects; that the house of Este, which had been so long renowned for the purity of its faith and its fealty to the Holy See, was in danger of contracting the indelible stain of heresy; and that if he did not speedily abate the nuisance, he would expose himself to the censures of the church, and lose the favour of all catholic princes. In consequence of these remonstrances, Hercules pressed the duchess to avert the displeasure of his holiness by renouncing the new opinions, and conforming herself to the rites of the established worship. As she persisted in refusing to sacrifice her convictions, recourse was had to foreign influence. Whether it was with the view of overcoming the reluctance which her husband testified to proceed to extremities, or of affording him a decent excuse

[1] Olympiæ Moratæ Opera, p. 102. Actiones et Monimenta Martyrum, f. 163. Joan Crispin. 1560, 4to.

[2] To Celio Secundo Curione: Olympiæ Moratæ Opera, p. 101.

[3] To Chilian Sinapi: Ibid. p. 143. In another letter addressed to Vergerio (p. 158), after deploring the weakness of some of her acquaintance who had renounced their faith, she speaks with satisfaction of the constancy of her mother: "Matrem vero meam constantem fuisse in illis turbis, Deo gratias agimus, eique totum acceptum referimus. Eam oravi, ut ex illa Babylonia unà cum sororibus ad nos proficiscatur."

for adopting those severe measures which he had previously agreed to, it is certain that the pope procured the interference of the King of France, who was nephew to the duchess. Henry II. accordingly sent Oritz,[1] his inquisitor, to the court of Ferrara. His instructions bore, that he was to acquaint himself accurately with the extent to which the mind of the duchess was infected with error; he was then to request a personal interview with her, at which he should inform her of the great grief which his most Christian Majesty felt at hearing that "his only aunt," whom he had always loved and esteemed so highly, had involved herself in the labyrinth of these detestable and condemned opinions. If, after all his remonstrances and arguments, he could not recover her by gentle means, he was next, with the concurrence of the duke, to endeavour to bring her to reason by rigour and severity: he was to preach a course of sermons on the principal points on which she had been led astray, at which she and all her family should be obliged to attend, "whatever refusal or objection she might think proper to make." If this proved unsuccessful in reclaiming her, he was next, in her presence, to entreat the duke, in his majesty's name, to "sequester her from all society and conversation," that she might not have it in her power to taint the minds of others; to remove her children from her, and not to allow any of the family, of whatever nation they might be, who were accused or strongly suspected of heretical sentiments, to approach her; in fine, he was to bring them to trial, and to pronounce a sentence of exemplary punishment on such as were found guilty, only leaving it to the duke to give such directions as to the mode of process and the infliction of punishment, that the affair might terminate, so far as justice permitted, without causing scandal, or bringing any public stigma on the duchess and her dependents.[2]

The daughter of Louis XII., whose spirit was equal to her piety, spurned these conditions; and on her refusal to violate her conscience, her children were taken from under her management, her confidential servants proceeded against as heretics, and she herself detained as a prisoner in the palace.[3] Renée could have borne the insolence of Oritz, but felt in the keenest manner the upbraidings of her husband, who, without listening to her exculpations, told her she must prepare herself to conform unconditionally and without delay to the practices of the Roman Church—an unnatural demonstration of zeal on the part of Hercules, which the court of Rome rewarded, at a subsequent period, by depriving his grandson of the dukedom of Ferrara, and adding it to

[1] This appears to have been the same person of whom we read at an earlier period of the history of France. "Notre Maitre Oris," the inquisitor of the faith, was, in the year 1534, sent to Sancerre to search for hereties; but the inhabitants, aware of his fondness for good cheer, treated him with such hospitality, that he reported them to be a very good sort of people. His depute, Rocheli, returned with the same report. Upon which the *Lieutenant Criminel*, chagrined at missing his prey, said that "good wine would at any time make all these fellows quiet." Beze, Hist. des Eglises Ref. de France, tom. i. p. 20. But "Notre Maitre" was then but young, and had not yet tasted blood.

[2] Le Laboureur, Additions aux Mémoires de Michel de Castelnau, tom. i. p. 717.

[3] Ibid. p. 718.

the possessions of the church.[1] The duchess continued for some time to bear with fortitude this harsh treatment from her husband, aggravated as it was by certain low intrigues to which he descended; but, in the year 1555, on the accession of that truculent pontiff Paul IV., the persecution began to rage with greater violence; and it would seem that the threats with which she was anew assailed, together with the desire which she felt to be restored to the society of her children, induced her to relent and make concessions.[2] On the death of the duke in 1559, she returned to France, and took up her residence in the castle of Montargis, where she made open profession of the reformed religion, and extended her protection to the persecuted Protestants. The Duke of Guise, her son-in-law, having one day come to the castle with an armed force, sent a messenger to inform her, that if she did not dismiss the rebels whom she harboured, he would batter the walls with his cannon; she boldly replied, "Tell your master, that I shall myself mount the battlements, and see if he dare kill a king's daughter."[3] Her eldest daughter, Anne of Este, "whose integrity of understanding and sensibility of heart were worthy of a better age,"[4] was married to the first Francis, Duke of Guise, and afterwards to James of Savoy, Duke of Nemours, two of the most determined supporters of the Roman Catholic religion in France; and if she did not, like her mother, avow her friendship to the reformed cause, she exerted herself in moderating the violence of both her husbands against its friends.[5]

Next to the dominions of the Duke of Ferrara, the papal court felt most anxious for the suppression of the reformed doctrine within the territories of the Venetian republic. On the flight of Ochino, a rigorous inquisition was made into the sentiments of the Capuchins residing in that part of Italy.[6] For several years after this, the pope ceased not to urge the senate, both by letters and nuncios, to root out the Lutheran heresy, which had been embraced by many of their subjects, especially in Vicenza. Cardinal Rodolfo, who was administrator of the bishopric of Vicenza, showed great zeal in this work; but the local magistrates, either from personal aversion to the task, or because they knew that their superiors did not wish the orders which they had publicly given to

[1] Giovannandrea Barotti, Diffesa degli Scrittori Ferraresi, p. 112. Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. x. p. 553—558.

[2] Calvin, in a letter to Farel, says: "De Ducissa Ferrariensi tristis nuncius, et certius quam vellem, minis et probris victam cecidisse. Quid dicam nisi rarum in proceribus esse constantiæ exemplum." Senebier, Catalogue des Manuscrits dans la Bibliotheque de Genève, pp. 274, 275. Mons Senebier states that this letter is dated "du 1 Novembre," and he places it under the year 1554; but as Calvin informs his correspondent that he had written a defence of the *Consensus*, or agreement among the Swiss churches respecting the sacrament of the Supper, and as the dedication of that work is dated Nonis Januarii 1556, the letter to Farel was most probably written in 1555. Conf. Calvini Opera, tom. viii. p. 660.

[3] Bayle Dict., art. Ferrara, note F.

[4] Condorcet, Eloge de Chancelier d'Hôpital.

[5] Bayle says that she became zealous against the Huguenots during the League, which he imputes to the remembrance of the assassination of her first husband by Poltrot; but he produces no authority for his assertion. Calcagnini, Riccio, Palcario, Rabelais, St Marthe, De Thou, and Condorcet, have vied with each other in extolling this amiable princess. There is a beautiful letter of Olympia Morata, addressed, "Annæ Esoensi, principi Guisianæ," in the printed works of the former, p. 130—133.

[6] Bock, Hist. Antitrin. tom. ii. p. 496.

be carried into execution, declined lending the assistance of the secular arm. Information of this having been conveyed to Rome, the pope, in 1546, addressed a long and earnest brief to the senate, in which, after complimenting them on their former zeal for religion and fidelity to the Holy See, and telling them that innovation in religion would lead to civil dissensions and sedition among them, as it had done elsewhere, he complains loudly of the conduct of the Podesta and Capitano of Vicenza, who, instead of obeying the commands which had been repeatedly given them, allowed the Lutheran doctrines to be openly professed before the eyes of their masters, and of the ecumenical council which had been called and was now sitting at Trent, chiefly for the purpose of extirpating these heresies; on which account his holiness earnestly requires the Doge and senators to enjoin these magistrates peremptorily to compensate for their past negligence, by yielding every assistance to the vicars of the diocese in seizing and punishing the heretics.[1] With this request the senate complied, and issued orders which led to the dissipation of the church at Vicenza.[2]

The senators adopted similar measures in the rest of their dominions. In the year 1548 an edict was published commanding all who had books opposed to the Catholic faith to deliver them up within eight days, at the risk of being proceeded against as heretics, and offering a reward to informers.[3] This was followed by great severities against the Protestants in the city of Venice, and in all the territories of that republic. "The persecution here increases every day," writes Altieri. "Many are seized, of whom some have been sent to the galleys, others condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and some, alas! have been induced, by fear of punishment, to recant. Many have been banished along with their wives and children, while still greater numbers have fled for their lives. Matters are brought to that pass, that I begin to fear for myself; for though I have frequently been able to protect others in this storm, there is reason to apprehend that the same hard terms will be proposed to me; but it is the will of God that his people be tried by such afflictions."[4] Altieri continued to exert himself with the most laudable and unwearied zeal in behalf of his brethren. He not only procured letters in their favour from the Elector of Saxony and other German princes, for whom he acted as agent with the Venetian republic; but he undertook a journey into Switzerland, with the express view of persuading the Protestant cantons to exert their influence in the same cause. On his way home he attended an assembly of the deputies of the Grison confederation at Coire, where he pleaded the

[1] Raynaldi Annales, ad ann. 1546.

[2] Ibid. This is the persecution by which Socinian writers say that their colleges were dispersed. But the only heresy mentioned in the apostolical brief, or by the annalist, is the Lutheran; and it is reasonable to suppose, that, if it had been known that antitrinitarians existed in that place, they would have been specified, as we find they were in a subsequent bull. See before, p. 97.

[3] Thuani Hist. ad ann. 1548. Surius, apud Bock, Hist. Antitrin. tom. ii. p. 416.

[4] Alterius ad Bullingerum, d. 24. Mart. 1549, Venetiis: De Porta, Hist. Reform. Eccles. Rhæticarum, tom. ii. p. 32. Curiæ Rhæt. 1774, 4to.

cause of his persecuted countrymen. In both places he succeeded so far as to obtain letters interceding for lenity to the Protestants; but he was disappointed in his expectations of procuring a public commission to act for these states, which would have given additional weight to any representations which he might make to the doge and senate. The authorities of Switzerland and the Grisons might have good reasons for refusing his request; but we cannot help sympathising with the disappointment, and even with the complaints of this good man, as well as admiring the rare example which he gave of disinterested devotion to the cause of truth and the best interests of his country, at a time when the greater part either knew them not or cared not for them. In a letter from Coire to Bullinger, a distinguished minister of Zurich, he says: "I have delivered your letter and that of Myconius to the ministers of this church; I have also conversed with them on my business, but find them rather lukewarm; either because this is their natural disposition, or because they think the matter too difficult to be obtained, especially after your friends in Switzerland have refused it. They, however, give me some hopes of success."[1] In another letter to the same correspondent, he writes: "From the assembly of the Grison states, which has been held here, I have only been able to obtain commendatory letters; had it not been for the opposition made by some enemies of religion, I would have also obtained a public commission. They have concluded a treaty with France; the emperor's ambassador was present, but could do nothing."[2] After mentioning the discouragements he had met with from those of whom he had hoped better things, he exclaims: "Thus do the minds of men now cleave to the world! If the Spirit of the Lord had not long ago taken possession of my heart, I would have followed the common example, and, hiding myself in some secret corner, attended to my own private affairs, instead of taking an active part in the cause of Christ. But God forbid that I should entertain the blasphemous thought of desisting to labour for him, who never ceased to labour in my cause until he had endured the reproach of the cross. Therefore I return to Italy, ready, as before, to encounter whatever may befall me, and willing to be bound for the name of Christ."[3] Before leaving the Grisons, he received intelligence that the persecution was daily waxing hotter at Venice. "It is not, therefore, without danger that I return," says he in another letter; "for you know how much I am hated by the papists and wicked. I do not undertake the journey rashly: God will preserve me from all evil: do you pray for me."[4] On his arrival at Venice, he found that his enemies had succeeded in incensing the magistrates against him; and he was ordered either to renounce his religion, or instantly to quit the territories of the republic. Without hesitation he chose the latter; but being unwilling to despair of the reformation of his native country, and anxious to be

[1] Curia, ult. Jan. 1549: De Porta, tom. ii. p. 34.
[2] Julii 22, 1549: Ibid.
[3] Sangallo, 28 Jan. 1549: De Porta, tom. ii. p. 34.
[4] Curia, 28 Jul. 1549: Ibid. p. 96.

at hand to lend succour to his suffering brethren, he lingered in Italy, wandered from city to city, and, when he durst no longer appear in public, sought an asylum in a retired place for himself and his family. Soon after his banishment from Venice he wrote to Bullinger: "Take the following particulars concerning my return to Italy. I am well with my wife and little child. As to other things, all the effect of my commendatory letters was an offer, on the part of the senate, that I should be allowed to remain in safety among them, provided I would yield conformity to their religion, that is, the Roman; otherwise it behoved me to withdraw without delay from their dominions. Having devoted myself to Christ, I chose exile rather than the enjoyment of pleasant Venice, with its execrable religion. I departed accordingly, and went first to Ferrara, and afterwards to Florence."[1] In another letter, written from his place of hiding, somewhere in the territory of Brescia, he says: "Know that I am in great trouble and danger of my life, nor is there a place in Italy where I can be safe with my wife and boy. My fears for myself increase daily, for I know the wicked will never rest till they have swallowed me up alive. I entreat a share in your prayers."[2] These are the last accounts we have of this excellent person. It is probable that he never escaped from Italy, and that his fate will remain a secret, until the horrid mysteries of the Roman Inquisition shall be disclosed.

When the Protestants were treated in this manner in the capital, we need not be surprised to find the magistrates of Venice permitting the greatest severities to be used against them in the more distant provinces. This was particularly the case in Istria, where the agents of Rome were irritated beyond measure by the more than suspected defection of the two Vergerii, the Bishops of Capo d'Istria and Pola. Annibale Grisone, who was sent into these dioceses as inquisitor, in the year 1546, spread distress and alarm among the inhabitants. He read everywhere from the pulpits the papal bull, requiring all, under the pain of excommunication, to inform against those whom they suspected of heresy, and to deliver up the prohibited books which might be in their possession. Those who confessed and supplicated forgiveness he promised to treat with lenity, but threatened to condemn to the fire all who, concealing their crime, should be convicted on information. Not satisfied with public denunciations, he entered into every house in search of heretical books. Such as confessed that they had read the New Testament in the vulgar tongue, he charged to abstain from that dangerous practice for the future, under the severest pains. The rich he subjected to private penance, and obliged the poor to make a public recantation. At first, only a few individuals of weaker minds were induced to inform against themselves or their acquaintances; but at last consternation seized the multitude, and every one became afraid that

[1] Epist. ad Bulling. Ex itinere, 25 Aug. 1549: De Porta, *ut supra*, p. 35.

[2] Ad Bulling. Ex agro Brixiano, prid. Kal. Nov. 1549: Ibid.

his neighbour would get the start of him. The ties of consanguinity and gratitude were disregarded: the son informed against his father, the wife against her husband, the client against his patron. Taking advantage of the agitated state of the public mind, Grisone ascended the pulpit, in the cathedral of Capo d'Istria, on a high festival day, and after celebrating mass, harangued the crowded assembly. "You see," said he, "the calamities which have befallen you for some years past. At one time your fields, at another your olive-trees, at another your vines, have failed; you have been afflicted in your cattle, and in the whole of your substance. To what are all these evils to be ascribed? To your bishop and the heretics whom he protects; nor can you expect any alleviation of your distress until they are punished. Why do you not rise up and stone them?" So much were the ignorant and frightened populace inflamed, that Vergerio found it necessary to conceal himself.

In the midst of this confusion, the Bishop of Pola died, not without suspicion of having been carried off by poison.[1] His brother withdrew, and took refuge at Mantua with his patron, Cardinal Gonzago, who soon dismissed him, in consequence of the representations made by the noted Della Casa, the papal nuncio, resident at Venice. Upon this Vergerio went to the Council of Trent, with the view of vindicating himself, or, as some state, of demanding his seat in that assembly. The pope would have ordered him to be arrested, but was afraid of giving any reason for asserting that the Council was not free, at a time when he professed to wish the attendance of the German Protestants. In order to obtain the removal of so dangerous a person from Trent, the papal legates agreed to supersede the summons which had been given him to appear at Rome, and remitted the trial of the charges exhibited against him to the nuncio and Patriarch of Venice. Vergerio managed his defence with such address as to protract the trial for two years, at the end of which he was prohibited from returning to his diocese.[2] At that time Francesco Spira, a lawyer of Padua, died in a state of great mental horror, in consequence of his having been induced, by the terrors of the inquisition, to recant the Protestant faith. Vergerio, who had come from Venice to Padua, saw him on his death-bed, and joined with some other learned and pious persons in attempting to comfort the wretched penitent.[3] The scene made such a deep impres-

[1] A work by the bishop was afterwards published by his brother, with this title: "Esposizione e Parafrasi sopra il Salmo cxix. di M. Gio. Battista Vergerio Vescovo di Pola, data d. 6. Gennajo, 1550." De Porta, tom. ii. p. 151.

[2] Pallavicini, lib. vi. cap. 13. Tiraboschi, vii. 380.

[3] The History of Spira was compiled by Vergerio, with the assistance of letters from Celio S. Curio, Matthæus Gribaldus, a native of Padua, Sigismundus Gelous, a Pole, and Henricus Scotus. The last named was our countryman, Henry Scrimger. In the library of the University of Leyden, I met with a manuscript volume, containing, among others, a letter from Calvin to Bullinger, dated "15th August 1549," in which he writes: "I received lately a letter from Paulus Vergerius, along with a history of Franciscus Spira, which he wishes printed here. He says the chief cause of his being obliged to leave his native country was, that the pope, irritated by this book, laid snares for his life. At present he is residing in the Grisons, but expresses a strong desire to see

sion on the mind of Vergerio, that he determined to relinquish his bishopric and native country, and to seek an asylum in a place where he could with safety make a public profession of the truth which he had embraced. "To tell the truth," says he, "I felt such a flame in my breast, that I could scarcely restrain myself at times from going to the chamber-door of the legate at Venice, and crying out, 'Here I am: where are your prisons and your fires? Satisfy your utmost desire upon me; burn me for the cause of Christ, I beseech you, since I have had an opportunity of comforting the miserable Spira, and of publishing what it was the will of God should be published.'"[1] In the end of the year 1548 he carried his purpose into execution, by retiring into the Grisons, to the surprise equally of those whom he deserted and of those whom he joined.[2]

The inquisitor Grisone was succeeded by Tommaso de Santo Stella, who, after irritating the inhabitants by his vexatious proceedings, endeavoured to persuade the senate of Venice to put garrisons into their principal cities, under the pretext that Vergerio meditated an invasion of Istria.[3] This gave the latter an occasion to publish a defence of his conduct, addressed to the doge and senate, in which, besides complaining of the insidious and violent methods adopted by the firebrands of persecution through Italy,[4] he states several facts as to their conduct in the Venetian dominions. "Nothing," says he, "can be more shameful than what this pope has done. He has conferred honours and rewards on such of your prelates as are unprofitable and godless; but the Bishop of Bergamo, your countryman of the house of Soranzo, he has thrown into prison, for no other reason than that he opposed non-residence and superstition, and testified a regard for the doctrine of the Gospel. What is it to exercise oppression and tyranny over you, if this is not? Is it possible that this should not awaken you?"[5] The senate, about this time, showed a disposition to check the violent proceedings of the papal agents, by opposing a strong barrier to their encroachments on criminal jurisdiction. "The news from Italy are," says Vergerio, "that the senate of Venice have made a decree, that no papal legate, nor bishop, nor inquisitor, shall proceed against any subject, except in the presence of a civil magistrate; and that the pope, enraged at this, has fulminated a bull, interdicting, under the heaviest pains,

me. I have not yet read the history, but, so far as I can judge from a slight glance, it is written with somewhat more prudence and gravity than in the letters translated by Celio. When I have read the work more carefully, I shall think of the preface which he urges me to write to it." The history was printed in 1550, with a preface by Calvin. Miscell. Groningana, tom. iii. p. 109.

[1] Historia Spieræ: De Porta, ii. 144.

[2] Sleidan, lib. xxi. tom. iii. pp. 123, 124. Bayle, Dict., art. Vergier. (Pierre Paul.) Ughelli Italia Sac. tom. v. p. 391.

[3] Al Sereniss. Duce e alla Eccelsissima Rep. di Venezia, Orazione e Defensione del Vergerio, di Vico Suprano, A x Aprile, 1551; De Porta, tom. ii. p. 152.

[4] Girolamo Muzio, who had fomented the persecution in Istria, and afterwards wrote against Vergerio, he thus characterises: "Un certo Muzio, le cui professione è di dettar cartello, e condurre gli uomini ad ammazzarsi negli steccati, è fatto Teologo papesco in tre giorni, e di più Barigello de' papisti." In another work (Giudicio sopra le Lettere di XIII. Uomini Illustri), he names, as the leading persecutors, at a period somewhat later, the Archinti, Buldragi, Todeschini, Falzetti, and Crivelli.

[5] Orazione e Defensione, *ut supra*, p. 253.

any secular prince from interposing the least hindrance to trials for heresy. It remains to be seen whether the Venetians will obey."[1] But the court of Rome, by its perseverance and intrigues, ultimately triumphed over patrician jealousy. Even foreigners who visited the republic in the course of trade, were seized and detained by the inquisition. Frederic de Salice, who had been sent to Venice from the republic of the Grisons, to demand the release of some of its subjects, gives the following account of the state of matters in the year 1557: "In this commonwealth, and in general throughout Italy, where the pope possesses what they call spiritual jurisdiction, the faithful are subjected to the severest inquisition. Ample authority is given to the inquisitors, on the smallest information, to seize any one at their pleasure, to put him to the torture, and (what is worse than death) to send him to Rome; which was not wont to be the case until the time of the reigning pontiff. I am detained here longer than I could wish, and know not when I shall be able to extricate myself from this labyrinth."[2] Scarcely had this ambassador returned home, after accomplishing his object, when another of his countrymen, a merchant, was thrown into prison by the inquisition at Vicenza. To procure his release, it was necessary to despatch Hercules de Salice, late governor of the Grisons. His remonstrances, though seconded by the influence of the French ambassador, were for some time disregarded by the senate, who sought to evade the terms of the treaty between the two countries, and the concessions which they had made during the preceding year; until, having demanded a public audience, he inveighed, amidst the murmurs of the elder patricians, with such intrepid eloquence, against the intolerable arrogance of the papal claims, that the majority of the senate voted for the instant discharge of the prisoner.[3] As a reward for the zeal which they had displayed against the doctrine of Luther, the pope, in 1559, conferred on the senate of Venice the perpetual right of electing their own patriarch.[4]

In spite of the keen search made for them, many Protestants still remained in the city of Venice. In the year 1560, they sent for a minister to form them into a church, and had the Lord's Supper administered to them in a private house. But soon after this, information having been given of their meetings by one of those spies whom the court of Rome kept in its pay, all who failed in making their escape were committed to prison. Numbers fled to the province of Istria; and after concealing themselves there for some time, a party of them, amounting to twenty-three, purchased a vessel to carry them to a foreign country. When they were about to set sail, an avaricious foreigner,

[1] Vergerio al Gualt. On. Fratello; di Samadeno in Agnedina, a' 24 April 1551: De Porta, tom. ii. p. 252.

[2] De Porta, tom. ii. p. 299.

[3] Ibid. p. 299—301. The ambassador was afterwards thanked by several of the senators, who admired the boldness with which he, being a foreigner, and formerly in the military service of Venice, had dared to state what would have cost a patrician his life.

[4] Puffendorf, Introd. p. 574.

who had obtained a knowledge of their design, preferred a claim before the magistrates of the place against three of them for a debt which he alleged they owed him, and failing in his object of extorting the money, accused them as heretics who fled from justice; in consequence of which they were arrested, conveyed to Venice, and lodged in the same prisons with their brethren.[1] Hitherto the senate had not visited the Protestants with capital punishment; though it would appear that, before this period, the inquisitors had, in some instances, prevailed on the local magistrates of the remoter provinces to gratify them to that extent.[2] But now the senators yielded to those counsels which they had so long resisted; and acts of cruelty commenced which continued for years to disgrace the criminal jurisdiction of the republic. Drowning was the mode of death to which they doomed the Protestants, either because it was less cruel and odious than committing them to the flames, or because it accorded with the customs of Venice. But if the auto-da-fes of the Queen of the Adriatic were less barbarous than those of Spain, the solitude and silence with which they were accompanied were calculated to excite the deepest horror. At the dead hour of midnight the prisoner was taken from his cell and put into a gondola or Venetian boat, attended only, beside the sailors, by a single priest, to act as confessor. He was rowed out into the sea, beyond the Two Castles, where another boat was in waiting. A plank was then laid across the two gondolas, upon which the prisoner, having his body chained, and a heavy stone affixed to his feet, was placed; and, on a signal given, the gondolas retiring from one another, he was precipitated into the deep.[3]

The first person who appears to have suffered martyrdom at Venice was Julio Guirlauda, a native of Trevisano.[4] When set on the plank, he cheerfully bade the captain farewell, and sank into the deep calling on the Lord Jesus.[5] Antonio Ricetto, of Vicenza, was held in such respect, that, subsequently to his conviction, the senators offered to restore him not only to his liberty, but also to the whole of his property, part of which had been sold, and the rest promised away, provided he would conform to the Church of Rome. The firmness of Ricetto was put to a still severer test: his son, a boy of twelve years of age, having been admitted into the prison, fell at his feet, and supplicated him, in the most melting strains, to accept of the offers made

[1] Histoire des Martyrs, f. 680, à Geneve, 1597, folio.

[2] Calvini Epist. p. 85: Oper. tom. ix.

[3] Histoire des Martyrs, f. 681. De Porta, tom. ii. p. 33.

[4] The Socinian historians, formerly quoted (pp. 81, 117), in giving an account of the suppression of their colleges at Vicenza in 1546, say that two individuals holding their sentiments, "Julius Trevisanus and Franciscus de Ruego, were strangled at Venice." This could not have happened at that time; for it is a well authenticated fact, that none were capitally punished for religion at Venice before the year 1560. Busdragi Epist. *ut supra*, p. 326. Histoire des Martyrs, f. 680. I have little doubt that the two persons referred to were Julio Guirlauda of the Trevisano, and Francesco Sega of Rovigo, mentioned in the text as drowned; and the Martyrology represents them as of the common Protestant faith. The author of that work, speaking of their death, uses the phrase, "persecutée par nouveaux Ebionites." Did the Socinian historians read *pour* instead of *par*?

[5] On the 19th October 1562. He was in his fortieth year. Hist. des Martyrs, f 680

him, and not leave his child an orphan. The keeper of the prison having told him one day, with the view of inducing him to recant, that one of his companions had yielded, he merely replied, "What is that to me?" And in the gondola, and on the plank, he retained his firmness, praying for those who ignorantly put him to death, and commending his soul to his Saviour.[1] Francesco Sega, a native of Rovigo, composed several pious works during his confinement, for the comfort of his fellow-prisoners, part of which was preserved after his death.[2] Francesco Spinula, a native of the Milanese, being a priest, was more severely questioned than his brethren. He was thrice brought before the judges, and on one of these occasions the papal legate and a number of the chief clergy attended. In their presence, and when threatened with a fiery death, he professed openly the articles of the Protestant faith, and bore an explicit testimony against the usurpations of the pope, the doctrine of purgatory, and the invocation of saints. During a fit of sickness, brought on by the length and rigour of his confinement, some concessions were extorted from him, but, on his recovery, he instantly retracted them, and being formally degraded from the priesthood, obtained the same watery grave with his brethren.[3] But the most distinguished of those who suffered death at Venice, was the venerable Fra Baldo Lupetino.[4] The following account of him by his nephew, in a book now become very rare, deserves to be preserved entire. "The Reverend Baldus Lupetinus, sprung from a noble and ancient family, was a learned monk and provincial of the order to which he belonged. After having long preached the word of God in both the vulgar languages (the Italian and Sclavonian), in many cities, and defended it by public disputation in several places of celebrity with great applause, was at last thrown into close prison at Venice, by the inquisitor and papal legate. In this condition he continued, during nearly twenty years, to bear an undaunted testimony to the Gospel of Christ; so that his bonds and doctrine were made known, not only to that city, but to the whole of Italy, and even to Europe at large, by which means evangelical truth was more widely spread. Two things, among many others, may be mentioned as marks of the singular providence of God towards this person during his imprisonment. In the first place, the princes of Germany often interceded for his liberation, but without success. And, secondly, on the other hand, the papal legate, the inquisitor, and even the pope himself, laboured with all their might, and by repeated applications, to have him, from the very first, committed to the flames, as a noted heresiarch. This was refused by the doge and senate, who, when he was at last condemned, freed him from the

[1] He died on the 15th of February 1566. Ibid.

[2] He was drowned ten days after Ricetto. Ibid.

[3] He suffered on the 31st of January 1567. Ibid. p. 681. Gerdes makes Spinula the martyr the same individual who composed the Latin poetical version of the Psalms, which has been several times printed along with that of Flaminio. Spec. Italiæ Ref. p. 336.

[4] See before, p. 64.

punishment of the fire by an express decree. It was the will of God that he should bear his testimony to the truth for so long a time; and that, like a person affixed to a cross, he should, as from an eminence, proclaim to all the world the restoration of Christianity and the revelation of Antichrist. At last this pious and excellent man, whom neither threatenings nor promises could move, sealed his doctrine by an undaunted martyrdom, and exchanged the filth and protracted tortures of a prison for a watery grave." [1]

We have good reason to think that many others, whose names have not come down to us, suffered the same death at Venice,[2] besides those who perished by diseases contracted during a tedious and unwholesome imprisonment. Among the latter was Jeronimo Galateo, who evinced his constancy in the faith by enduring a rigorous confinement of ten years.[3] It may naturally be supposed that those violent measures would dissipate the Protestants in Venice; and yet we learn that they had secret meetings for worship in the seventeenth century, distinct from those which the ambassadors of Protestant states were permitted to hold.[4]

Everywhere throughout Italy, during the period under consideration, those suspected of favouring the new opinions were sought out with equal keenness, and treated with at least equal cruelty, as in the Venetian territories. As the archives of the inquisition are locked up, we are left in general to judge of its proceedings in the interior states, whose political or commercial relations with Protestant countries were slender, from collateral circumstances and incidental notices. From the number who escaped, we may form some idea of the still greater number which must have been caught in the fangs of that vigilant and insatiable tribunal; and there was not a city of any note in Italy from which there were not refugees in some part of Protestant Europe. The execution done by the inquisition at Cremona may be conjectured from the notice bestowed on it by the popish historians, who often refer with peculiar satisfaction to the superior strictness of its regulations and celerity of its movements.[5] At Faenza, a nobleman, revered for his high birth and distinguished virtues, fell under the suspicion of the inquisitors of that city as a Lutheran. After being long

[1] Matth. Flacius, De Sectis, Dissensionibus, &c. Scriptorum Pontificiorum; Præfat. ad Ducem et Senat. Venet. p. 43. Conf. Vergerio, Lettere al Mons. Delfino, Vescovo de Lesina: De Porta, tom. ii. p. 33.

[2] "Veneti in sua ditione persecutionem satis gravem Christo faciunt Bergomi, Brixiæ, Veronæ, Patavii. Omnia bona Ulixi comitis (nempe Martinengi) ad fiscum redacta sunt Brixiæ. Comes Ulysses mihi tuas legit." Aug. Maynardus ad Fabritium, 7 Mart. 1563: De Porta, ii. 459. "Veneti cæterique Italiæ Principes sævam adversus pios persecutionem prosequuntur." Ulysses Martinengus, Comes à Barcho, ad Bullingerum, ibid. Decembr. 1563: Ibid. p. 486.

[3] Eusebius Captivus, per Hieronymum Marium, p. 249, Basil. 1553. Curionis Pasquillus Ecstaticus, p. 34.

[4] Jacobi Grynæi Epistola ad Hippolytum a Collibus 1609 scripta; in Monument. Pietatis, tom. ii. p. 157. Franc. ad Mœn. 1701. Conf. Gerdes. Ital. Ref. p. 93. Scaliger says that Mons. Dolot (C. de Harlay, brother to the first president of Paris) told him that he had carried the writings of Calvin to the Lords of Venice, and that there were many persons there who were previously acquainted with the Protestant doctrine and books. Secunda Scaligerana, art. Dolot. See also the letters of Diodati to Scaliger. Epistres Françoises à M. de la Scala, pp. 68, 235—237.

[5] Limborch's History of the Inquisition, part ii. *passim*.

detained in a foul prison, he was put to the torture. Not being able to extort from him what they wished, the inquisitors ordered the infernal operation to be repeated, and the victim expired among their hands. The report of this barbarous deed spreading through the city, created a tumult, in which the house of the inquisition was attacked, its altars and images torn down, and some of the priests trodden to death by the incensed multitude.[1] The persecution was also severe in the duchy of Parma ; the duke having entered into a treaty with that violent pontiff, Paul IV., by which he delivered up the properties and lives of his innocent subjects to the mercy of the inquisition.[2]

The flourishing church at Locarno was a great eyesore to the popes, distant as it was from Rome. In the measures taken for its suppression it was necessary to proceed with caution, as it included persons of wealth and respectability, and as the sovereignty of the place belonged to the Swiss cantons, some of which were Protestant, and all of them jealous of their authority. From the year 1549, when the disputation formerly mentioned[3] took place, every means was taken to excite odium against the Protestants in the minds of their fellow-citizens, and to involve them in a quarrel with the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts, and with the government of Milan. Beccaria, their most zealous advocate, though dismissed from prison, was exposed to such personal danger, that he deemed it prudent, by the advice of his friends, to banish himself and retire to Chiavenna.[4] Next to him, the individual most obnoxious, from his talents and activity, was Taddeo de Dunis. His fame as a physician having made his advice to be sought for throughout the adjacent country, he found it necessary to remove to a more central place within the Milanese. No sooner was it known that he was without the protection of the Swiss confederacy, than his old antagonist, the priest of Lugano, gave information against him, as a ringleader of the heretics, to the inquisitor at Milan, who sent a party to intercept and seize him on one of his professional journeys. Being warned of his danger, he secured himself by retreating hastily to the mountains. Trusting, however, to his innocence, or to the powerful interest of the families which he attended, he afterwards appeared voluntarily before the inquisitor, and was so fortunate as to be dismissed, on condition of his quitting the Milanese, and confining his medical aid for the future to the inhabitants of his native district.[5]

During four years the Protestants at Locarno were subjected to every species of indignity short of open violence. They had for some time desisted from employing the priests to confess their sick, and from burying their dead after the popish manner, with torches and the cross ; and they had their children baptised by ministers whom they brought for that purpose from Chiavenna, when they had no pastor of their own.

[1] Eglinus ad Bullingerum, 29 Mart. 1568: De Porta, tom. ii. pp. 487, 488.

[2] Fridericus Salicetus ad Bullingerum, 10 Jan. 1558: Ibid. p. 295.

[3] See before, p. 85.

[4] Muralti Oratio, in Tempe Helvetica, tom. iv. p. 165.

[5] Ibid. p. 149.

The increase of the Protestants lessened in this way the gains of the mercenary priesthood, who endeavoured to move heaven and earth against the innovators, as at once sacrilegious and unnatural. They circulated the base report that the Protestants were guilty of the most licentious practices in their secret meetings ; and such calumnious rumours, while they met with easy credit from the ignorant and superstitious multitude, were encouraged by others who were too enlightened not to know their falsehood. In the mean time, a deep plot was laid by one Walther, a native of the popish canton of Uri, who was at that time town-clerk of Locarno, and who, some years after, was banished for holding a treasonable correspondence with the Duke of Alva, Governor of Milan. He forged a deed, purporting that the senators, citizens, and other inhabitants of the town and bailiwick of Locarno, bound themselves by oath to the seven popish cantons that they would adhere to the pope and the Roman religion until the meeting of a general council. This paper he dated several years back, and sent it as a genuine deed to an assembly of the seven cantons, held in March 1554, who, without making any inquiries, immediately passed a decree, that all the Locarnese should, agreeably to their bond, make confession to the priests during the ensuing Lent ; that they should give their names to the superior of the church ; and that the rites of sepulture should be denied to those who had not received mass on their death-bed.[1] The promulgation of this decree at Locarno came on the Protestants like a thunderbolt. They instantly despatched a commissioner to the Protestant cantons, with instructions to represent the utter falsehood of the allegation on which the decree proceeded, and to entreat them, as their joint temporal superiors, and as professors of the same faith, to exert their influence to avert the ruin which threatened two hundred heads of families, who had never swerved from their allegiance, and against whom no occasion or fault had been found, except concerning the law of their God. In consequence of this representation, the deputies of the Protestant cantons assembled at Arau, and wrote to those of the popish persuasion, desiring them not to proceed farther in the affair of Locarno until the meeting of the next diet of the confederacy, nor to take any step which would infringe the rights of the Protestant cantons in that territory. To defeat this interposition, the enemies of the persecuted Locarnese industriously circulated through Switzerland that they were not entitled to the protection of the Protestant cantons, inasmuch as they were infected with Servetianism, Anabaptism, and other fanatical opinions.[2] Being informed of this by

[1] March 10, 1554. Muralti Oratio, 150, 152.

[2] This report has misled a modern Swiss historian, who, speaking of Locarno, says: "Lélius et Faustus Socin avoient répandu dans cette contrée une doctrine beaucoup plus libre encore que celle de Zwingli et de Calvin. Mais ils furent chassés, et leurs adhérens punis par l'exil ou par la mort. Après eux, Beccaria devint à Locarno," &c. Histoire de la Nation Suisse, par Hen. Zschokke, trad. par Ch. Monnard, p. 207. Faustus Socinus was only born in 1539 ; and there is not the least evidence that his uncle Lelius ever saw Locarno.

their commissioner, they transmitted to Zurich a confession of their faith, in which they avowed their agreement with the reformed churches concerning the Trinity, the incarnation and mediatory work of Christ, justification, and the sacraments ; which had the effect of silencing this unfounded calumny. Two general diets were held in the end of the year 1554, for discussing this subject. The fictitious bond was unanimously set aside ; but when they came to the main point, the enemies of the reformed at Locarno insisted that it should be decided by the majority of votes in the diet, contrary to the rule usually observed in questions relating to religion. Riverda, bishop of Terracino, who had been sent as papal nuncio to the diet, stimulated the popish deputies to violent measures, while those of the Protestant cantons were influenced, partly by jealousy of one another, and partly by dread of interrupting the peace of the confederacy. The matter was referred at last to arbiters chosen from the two mixed cantons, who gave it as their judgment that the inhabitants of Locarno, who were free from crime, should either embrace the Roman Catholic religion, or leave their native country, taking with them their families and property ; that they should not return thither, nor be permitted to settle in the territories of the seven Catholic cantons ; that those chargeable with reproaching the Virgin Mary, with Anabaptism, or other opinions contrary to both confessions, should be punished ; that this sentence should be intimated to the prefect of Locarno ; and that it should be carried into effect by deputies sent by the seven Catholic cantons, provided those of the four Protestant ones refused to take part in the affair, or absented themselves. Against this decision the deputies of Zurich protested, declaring that, though they were resolved to abide by the league, and not to excite any commotion, they could not agree to have this sentence intimated in their name, and still less to take any share in carrying it into execution. This protest was afterwards formally approved of by their constituents. It was no small part of the indignity offered to the Protestants by this decree, that Locarno was that year under the government of Isaiah Reuchlin, the prefect appointed by the canton of Zurich. This excellent man, who had already experienced repeated vexations in the discharge of his office, from the violence of the Roman Catholics, was thrown into great perplexity by the intelligence of what was concluded at the diet ; from which, however, he was relieved, by instructions from home to regulate his conduct by the protest taken by the deputies of his native city.[1]

So bent were the popish cantons on the execution of their edict, and so much were they afraid lest anything should intervene to prevent it, that they ordered their deputies to cross the Alps in the depth of winter. On their arrival at Locarno, the latter assembled the inhabitants, and in a threatening harangue told them, that as they had by their rebellious and perverse innovations in religion disturbed the peace and nearly broken the union of the Helvetic body, they might justly have

[1] Muralti Oratio, p. 152—160.

been visited with exemplary punishment, but that the diet, graciously overlooking their past faults, had ordained a law by which their future conduct should be imperiously regulated. The decree having been read, the municipal authorities immediately ratified it by their subscriptions. The inhabitants, being divided in sentiment, were allowed till next day to give in their answer. On the following morning such as were resolved to adhere to the popish religion appeared before the deputies, and begging forgiveness for anything in their past conduct which might have been offensive, promised an entire obedience and conformity to the laws for the future. In the afternoon, the Protestants, drawn up in regular order, two men, followed by their wives, walking abreast, the women carrying their infants in their arms, the men leading their children, and those who were most respectable for their rank taking the lead, proceeded to the council-room, where they were received by the deputies with marks of indecent levity, instead of that respect and sympathy to which their appearance and prospects entitled them. One of their number addressed the deputies in the name of his brethren. "Being heavily accused of embracing novelties and dangerous opinions, they begged leave," he said, "humbly to declare that they professed that faith which was prefigured under the Old Testament, and more clearly revealed by Christ and his apostles. After searching the Scriptures, and comparing the Latin and Italian translations, with prayer for divine illumination, they had embraced that doctrine which was summarily comprehended in the apostles' creed, and rejected all human traditions contrary to the word of God. They disclaimed Novatianism and all novel opinions, and held in abhorrence everything that favoured licentiousness of manners, as they had often protested to the seven Popish and four Protestant cantons. Committing themselves to Providence, they were prepared to suffer anything rather than foment strife, or be the occasion of war in the confederation. They had always preserved their allegiance to the confederate cantons inviolate, and were willing to spend their blood and treasure in their defence. They threw themselves on the generosity and mercy of the lords of the seven cantons, and supplicated them, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to take pity on such a number of persons, including delicate females and helpless infants, who, if driven from their native country, must be reduced to the greatest distress; but whatever resolution might be come to respecting this request, they entreated that a rigorous investigation should be made into the crimes, affecting their honour and the credit of their religion, with which they had been charged; and that, if any of them were found guilty, they should be punished, according to their demerit, with the utmost severity." With hearts as rigid and haughty as the Alps which they had lately passed, the deputies replied to this touching and magnanimous appeal: "We are not come here to listen to your faith. The lords of the seven cantons have, by the deed now made known to you, declared what their religion is, and they will not suffer it to be

called in question or disputed.[1] Say, in one word, are you ready to quit your faith, or are you not?" To this the Protestants with one voice replied: "We will live in it, we will die in it;" while the exclamations "we will never renounce it!"—"it is the only true faith!"—"it is the only holy faith!"—"it is the only saving faith!"—continued for a considerable time to resound from different parts of the assembly, like the murmurs which succeed the principal peal in a thunderstorm. Before leaving the room, they were required individually to give their names to the clerk; when two hundred persons immediately came forward with the greatest alacrity and with mutual congratulations.[2]

Perceiving that they could look for no favour from the deputies, who sternly refused them permission to remain till the rigour of winter was over, the Protestants made preparations for their departure, and sent Taddeo de Dunis before them to request an asylum from the magistrates of Zurich. But they had still to suffer greater trials. Riverda, the papal nuncio, following up his success at the diet in Switzerland, made his appearance at Locarno. Having obtained an audience of the deputies, and thanked them in the pope's name for the care they had testified for the Catholic faith, he requested, first, that they should require the Grison league to deliver up the fugitive preacher Beccaria, that he might be punished for the daring crime which he had committed in corrupting the faith of his countrymen; and, secondly, that they would not permit the Locarnese emigrants to carry along with them their property and children; but that the former should be forfeited, and the latter retained and brought up in the faith of the Church of Rome. The deputies readily acceded to the first of these requests, but excused themselves from complying with the second, with which their instructions did not warrant them to interfere. They begged the nuncio, however, to grant power to the priests of Locarno to receive such of the Protestants as might be induced to return into the bosom of the church. This Riverda not only granted, but also offered his own services, along with those of two Dominican doctors of theology, whom he had brought along with him to convince the deluded heretics. But though he harassed the Protestants, by obliging them to listen to harangues delivered by the monks, and to wait on conferences with himself, he did not succeed in making a single convert. Having heard of three ladies of great respectability, Catarina Rosalina, Lucia di Orello, and Barbara di Montalto, who were zealous Protestants, the nuncio felt a strong inclination to enter the lists of controversy with them; but they parried his attacks with so much dexterity, and exposed the idolatry and abuses of the Romish church with such boldness and severity, as at once to mortify and irritate his eminence. Barbara di Montalto, the wife of the first physician of the place, having incurred his greatest resentment, he prevailed on the deputies to issue an order to apprehend her for

[1] "Das wöllen sie unarguieret und ungedisputieret haben."
[2] Muralti Oratio, p. 160—164.

blasphemies which she had uttered against the sacrifice of the mass. Her husband's house, which had been constructed as a place of defence during the violent feuds between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, was built on the Lake Maggiore, and had a concealed door, requiring the strength of six men to move it, which opened upon the water, where a boat was kept in waiting, to carry off the inmates upon any sudden alarm. This door he had caused his servants to open that night, in consequence of an alarming dream, which led him to apprehend danger, not to his wife indeed, but to himself. Early next morning the officers of justice entered the house, and bursting into the apartment where the lady was in the act of dressing herself, presented a warrant from the deputies to convey her to prison. Rising up with great presence of mind, she begged them, with an air of feminine delicacy, to permit her to retire to an adjoining apartment, for the purpose of putting on some article of apparel. This being granted, she descended the stairs, and, leaping into the boat, was rowed off in safety, before the eyes of her enemies, who were assembled in the court-room to receive her. Provoked at this disappointment, the nuncio and deputies wreaked their vengeance upon the husband of the lady, whom they stripped of his property. Not satisfied with this, they amerced in a large sum two members of the reformed church who had refused to have their children baptized after the popish forms. But the severest punishment fell on a poor tradesman named Nicolas. He had been informed against, some time before, for using, in a conversation with some of his neighbours, certain expressions derogatory to the Virgin Mary, who had a celebrated chapel in the vicinity, called Madonna del Sasso; and the prefect Reuchlin, with the view of silencing the clamours of the priests, had punished his imprudence by condemning him to an imprisonment of sixteen weeks. The poor man was now brought a second time to trial for that offence, and, after being put to the torture, had sentence of death passed upon him, which was unrelentingly executed by order of the deputies, notwithstanding the intercession of the Roman Catholic citizens in his behalf.[1]

The Protestants had fixed on the 3d of March 1555, for setting out on their journey; and so bitter had their life been for some time, that, attached as they were to their native place, they looked forward to the day of their departure with joy. But before it arrived, the government of Milan, yielding to the instigations of the priesthood, published an edict, prohibiting the Locarnese exiles from remaining above three days within the Milanese territory, under the pain of death; and imposing a fine on those who should afford them any assistance, or enter into conversation with them, especially on any matter connected with religion. Being thus precluded from taking the road which led to the easiest passage across the Alps, they set out early on the morning of the day fixed, and, after sailing to the northern point of the Lake Maggiore, passed

[1] Muralti Oratio, pp. 157, 164—170.

the Helvetian balliages, by the way of Bellinzone, and reached Rogoreto, a town subject to the Grison league. Here the Alps, covered with snow and ice, presented an impassable barrier, and obliged them to take up their winter quarters, amidst the inconveniences necessarily attending the residence of such a number of persons among strangers. After two months, the thaw having opened a passage for them, they proceeded to the Grisons, where they were welcomed by their brethren of the same faith. Being offered a permanent residence, with admission to the privileges of citizenship, nearly the half of their number took up their abode in that country; the remainder, amounting to a hundred and fourteen persons, went forward to Zurich, the inhabitants of which came out to meet them at their approach, and, by the kind and fraternal reception which they gave them, consoled and revived the hearts of the sad and weary exiles.[1]

In the mean time, the city of Locarno rejoiced at the expulsion of the reformed, as if it had been the removal of a plague; but this exultation was of short continuance. The most industrious part of the community being expelled, the trade of the place began to languish. As if visibly to punish the cruelty with which they had treated their brethren, their lands were laid waste during the succeeding year by a tempest, while the pestilence raged with still more destructive violence among the inhabitants. To these calamities were added intestine animosities and dissensions. The two powerful families of the Buchiachi and Rinaldi, who had been leagued against the Protestants, now became competitors for the superiority of the neighbouring village of Brisago, vacant by the expulsion of the Orelli; and, in support of their claims, they raised bands of armed men, attacked each other, and committed depredations on the peaceable inhabitants; in consequence of which the Swiss government was obliged to maintain a garrison at great expense in Locarno.[2]

Hard as was the fate of the Locarnese Protestants, it was mild compared with that of their brethren in the interior of Italy, who had no friendly power to save them from the vengeance of Rome, and no asylum at hand to which they could flee, when refused the protection of their own governments. To retire in a body was impossible; they were obliged to fly singly; and when they ventured to return for the purpose of carrying away their families or recovering the wreck of their fortunes, they were often seized by the familiars of the Inquisition, and lodged in the same prisons with their brethren whom they had left behind them. While the profession of the truth exposed persons to such hardships and perils, we need not wonder that many were induced to

[1] Muralti Oratio, 171, 172. Sleidan, tom. iii. lib. xxvi. p. 506. Schelhorn makes the number of those who reached Zurich 133, Ergötzlichkeiten, tom. iii. p. 1162. A few persons, attached to the reformed doctrine, still remained at Locarno. De Porta, ii. 346.

[2] Muralti Oratio, p. 174—175. Another account of the persecution of the Locarnese, besides that of Muralto, is given in a letter from Simon Sultzer, minister at Basle, to J. Marbach. Fechtius, Epist. Marbach, p. 46. &c.

recant, while still greater numbers, with the view of avoiding or allaying suspicion, gave external countenance to a worship which they inwardly detested as superstitious and idolatrous. This was the case at Lucca. Averse to quit their native country, and to relinquish their honours and possessions, trusting in their numbers and influence, and deceived by the connivance of the court of Rome at their private meetings for a course of years, the Protestants in that republic became secure, and began to boast of their superior courage in maintaining their ground, while many of their brethren had timidly deserted it, and suffered the banner of truth, which had been displayed in different quarters of Italy, to fall to the ground. But this pleasing dream was soon to be dissipated. Scarcely had Paul IV. mounted the papal throne, when orders were issued for the suppression of the Lucchese conventicle. According to a preconcerted plan, its principal members were in one day thrown into the dungeons of the Inquisition; and, at the sight of the instruments of torture, the stoutest of them lost their courage, and were fain to make their peace with Rome on the easiest terms which they could purchase. Martyr, whose apology for his flight they had with difficulty sustained, and whose example they had refused to follow when it was in their power, felt deeply afflicted at the dissipation of a church in which he took a tender interest, and at the sudden defection of so many persons in whose praises he had often been so warm. In a letter which he addressed to them on this occasion, he says: "How can I refrain from lamentations, when I think that such a pleasant garden as the reformed church at Lucca presented to the view, has been so completely laid waste by the cruel tempest as scarcely to retain a vestige of its former cultivation? Those who did not know you might have entertained fears that you would not be able to resist the storm; it never could have entered into my mind that you would fall so foully. After the knowledge you had of the fury of Antichrist, and of the danger which hung over your heads, when you did not choose to retire, by availing yourselves of what some call the common remedy of the weak, but which, in certain circumstances, I deem a wise precaution, your friends were disposed to say, 'These tried and brave soldiers of Christ will not fly, because they are determined, by their martyrdom and blood, to open a way for the progress of the Gospel in their native country, emulating the noble examples which are given every day by their brethren in France, Belgium, and England.' Ah, how much have these hopes been disappointed! What matter of boasting has been given to our antichristian oppressors! But this confounding catastrophe is to be deplored with tears rather than words."[1]

Notwithstanding these severities, the seeds of the reformed doctrine were not extirpated in Lucca. In the year 1556, some of the best families in that city, with the view of enjoying the free exercise of religion, transferred their families and wealth to Switzerland and France.

[1] Martyris Loc. Com. pp. 771, 772.

The Micheli, Turretini, Calendrini, Burlamacchi, Diodati, Balbani, and Minutoli, who have made so great a figure in the state and church of Geneva, came originally from Lucca. Irritated by their departure, the government barbarously offered three hundred crowns to the person who should kill one of them in Italy, France, or Flanders. The council of Geneva wrote to Lucca requesting the recall of this proclamation, but all their solicitations were in vain, though it does not appear that the refugees were molested any farther than by being put in fear of their lives.[1] We find the popish writers complaining that, in the year 1562, the heretics in Lucca kept up a correspondence with their countrymen in foreign countries, and, by means of merchants, procured Protestant books from Lyons and Geneva.[2] In 1556, more families from Lucca arrived at Geneva;[3] and in the following year a severe ordinance came from the Lucchese authorities, prohibiting all intercourse, by speech or letters, with those who had been denounced "rebels for the cause of religion."[4]

The refugees from Lucca appear to have been allowed to remain in quietness until 1679, when an unexpected occurrence showed that they were not altogether forgotten in the land of their fathers. This was a letter addressed to them by Cardinal Spinola, at that time Bishop of Lucca, in which his eminence declared that, "in his paternal solicitude for the diocese over which Innocent XI. had placed him, he had learned with grief that, during the troubles of the bygone century, multitudes remarkable for the nobility of their extraction and the superiority of their talents, had left a city in which they filled the highest offices, to repair to Geneva; that the affection he felt for the descendants of these men would not allow him to rest until he had taken this step, with the view of prevailing with them to return to the bosom of their mother church, for the success of which he had ordered a public supplication throughout the whole of his diocese; and that he trusted they would remember, that there was nothing more glorious nor more conducive to their safety than to yield to God, and betake themselves to the only sanctuary of truth." The refugees at first thought it most prudent to return no answer to this letter, lest truth should oblige them to say things unpleasant to a prelate who had spoken of their ancestors in such flattering terms; but being aware that there was at that time a general concert among the Roman Catholic powers to make proselytes of the Protestants, and hearing that reports unfavourable to their steadfastness were abroad, and that the cardinal was actually applying to the pope for their absolution, they felt it incumbent on them to publish

[1] Picot, Histoire de Genève, tom. ii. p. 110.

[2] Raynaldi Annales, ad ann. 1562.

[3] Leti, Historia Genevrina, parte iii. p. 162. Bibl. Modenese, tom. v. p. 125. Among the persons named in this ordinance as rebels is, "Messer Simoni Simone, Medico." This ingenious but versatile man resided at Geneva, Heidelberg, Leipsic, Prague, and Cracow, and was as unsettled in his religious creed as in his place of residence; having been successively a Calvinist, Lutheran, Arian, Jesuit, and (if we may believe his countryman Squarcialupo) Atheist. Bezæ Epist. ep. 53, 56. Brucker, Hist. Philos. iv. 286. Bock, i. 834, 910.

to the world their real sentiments. After giving a sketch of the progress which the reformed religion had made at Lucca, they, in their answer, analyse the cardinal's letter, and conclude with an affectionate and forcible appeal to their "kinsmen according to the flesh," who were still groping in the darkness of popish Lucca.[1] When the reply came into the hands of Spinola, he sent one copy of it to the pope and another to the Congregation of the Holy Office, who ordered him to cause all the copies to be burnt by the executioner.[2]

Two facts are sufficient to establish the severity of persecution in the Duchy of Mantua. In the year 1566, Guglielmo, Duke of Mantua, respecting the rights of his subjects as well as his own authority, refused to send certain persons accused of heresy to Rome for trial. This drew down upon him the indignation of Pius V., who threatened him with excommunication and a declaration of war, as one who had made Mantua a nest of heretics; and his holiness would have carried his threats into execution, had not the princes of Italy prevailed on him to pardon the duke on his submission.[3] Two years after, a person allied to the duke, having been seized by the Inquisition on suspicion of heresy, his highness begged the chief inquisitor to release the prisoner. This request was refused by the haughty monk, who replied, that though he acknowledged the duke as his temporal lord, yet, in the present case, he acted for the pope, who possessed a power paramount to that of any secular prince. Some days after, the duke sent a second message, pressing his former request, when the inquisitor, holding out the keys of the dungeon, told the messengers insolently they might release the prisoners at their peril.[4]

In no quarter of Italy were more cruel methods employed to extirpate the new opinions than in the Milanese, especially after it fell under the dominion of Philip II. of Spain. Galeazzo Trezio, a nobleman of Lodi, while attending the university of Pavia, had imbibed the reformed doctrines from Maynardi, who acted at that time as an Augustinian preacher, and was afterwards confirmed in them by the instructions of Curio. Having fallen into the hands of the Inquisition in 1551, and retracted some concessions which he had been induced to make at his first apprehension, he was sentenced to be burned alive, a punishment which he bore with the utmost fortitude.[5] The persecution became more general when the Duke of Alva was made governor. In the year 1558 two persons were committed to the flames. One of them, a monk, being forced by an attending priest into a pulpit erected beside the stake to make his recantation, confessed the truth with great bold-

[1] Lettre de M. le Cardinal Spinola, eveque de Luques, aux originaux Luquois qui demeurent à Genève. Avec les Considerations qu'ils ont fait à ce sujet. A Genève, 1680. The cardinal's letter was dated May 19, 1679.

[2] Leti, Historia Genevrina, parte v. p. 351—366. The reply was written by the pastor Burlamacchi, from materials furnished by the pastor Turretini.

[3] Bzovii Annales, ad ann. 1566.

[4] Epist. Tob. Eglini ad H. Bullingerum, 2 Mart. 1568: De Porta, tom. ii. p. 486.

[5] The account of this martyr was furnished by Celio Secundo Curio to Pantaleon. Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum, p. 247—249. Conf. Hieronymi Marii Eusebius Captivus, f. 105.

ness, and was driven into the fire with blows and curses. During the course of the following year scarcely a week elapsed without some individual being brought out to suffer for heresy; and, in 1563, eleven citizens of rank were thrown into prison. The execution of a young priest in 1569 was accompanied with circumstances of peculiar barbarity. He was condemned to be hanged and dragged to the gibbet at a horse's tail. In consequence of earnest intercessions in his favour, the last part of the sentence was dispensed with; but after being half-strangled, he was cut down, and refusing to recant, was literally roasted to death, and his body thrown to the dogs.[1]

Persecution was also let loose within the territories of Tuscany. In 1547, a law was proclaimed at Florence, calling upon all who possessed heretical books, particularly those of Ochino and Martyr, to deliver them up within fifteen days, under the pain of a hundred ducats, and ten years' confinement in the galleys; threatening a personal visit to the houses of suspected persons after the expiry of the limited time; and forbidding, under heavy penalties, the printing of such books. After the establishment of the Inquisition, more decisive measures were adopted by the commissioners of the Holy Office, the vicar of the archbishop, the provost of the metropolitan church, and the spedalingo or director of the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova. In December 1551 an auto-da-fé was celebrated in the city of Florence, in which twenty-two persons walked in procession as penitents, among whom was Bartolommeo Panchiarichi, a wealthy citizen, who had served the duke in the capacity of ambassador to the court of France. They were clothed in caps and cloaks painted with crosses and devils, and were publicly "reconciled" in the cathedral church, while the books found in their possession were burned in the piazza. At the same time a number of females went through this ceremony privately in the church of San Simone. The zeal of the inquisitorial commissioners was soon after signalised in the case of a native of Piacenza, who had come to Florence in 1547, and having dedicated to the duke a translation of Xenophon, continued his literary pursuits in that city. The record of his process, which has been preserved, bears: "That Ludovico Domenichi, a learned man of about thirty years of age, had translated, from Latin into the vulgar tongue, the Nicodemiana of Calvin, caused it to be printed, and corrected it, the book being most dishonest, and printed in Florence, not at Basle, as it falsely pretended, on which account he was suspected of heresy, though he denied having ever held any dangerous opinions: that he should therefore abjure, as one violently suspected, having a copy of the book translated by him hung from his neck, and be afterwards condemned to the galleys for ten years, less or more, for transgressing the laws which regulated the press."[2] These severities increased at a subsequent period. Under the pretext that it was dangerous to intrust to a number of persons the secrets which transpired in the course of examination,

[1] De Porta, tom. ii. pp. 295, 295, 486, 488. [2] Galluzzi, i. 143, 144.

Pius V. discharged the three commissaries who had hitherto taken part in trials for heresy, and committed the whole business to a single inquisitor, which was the same thing as transferring the power to the Congregation at Rome, by whose directions he was regulated. This, together with the facile conduct of Cosmo in delivering up to the pope Carnesecchi, whose fate will afterwards be recorded, spread terror and discontent over the city. Numbers betook themselves to flight, and others were sent to Rome. The inquisitor, fond of displaying his power, and anxious to recommend himself by his activity, harassed the inhabitants incessantly, interrogating the unlearned on the profoundest mysteries of religion, and converting into heresy what proceeded from mere ignorance. In the year 1567, the regent remonstrated with the pope against these iniquitous proceedings, and insisted that the archbishop and nuncio should be associated with the inquisitor; but all that could be obtained was the removal of the latter, and the substitution of one less indiscreet and ignorant. The consequence was, that Florence, which had long been the resort of enlightened men from all parts of the world, was shunned by foreigners; and as the minds of the inquisitors were filled with the notion that emissaries were sent from Germany and France to disseminate the new opinions in Italy, persons coming from these countries, unless they were furnished with the most unexceptional testimonials, were subjected to infinite trouble and vexation.[1]

These proceedings drove many persons, eminent for their talents and rank, from Tuscany. Michael Angelo Florio, a popular preacher in his native country, became pastor to a congregation of Italian Protestants, first in the Grisons and afterwards in London.[2] The name of Nardi, so familiar to those acquainted with Italian literature, appears in the catalogue of those who forsook Florence from love to the Gospel.[3] Pietro Gelido, a native of Samminiato, was an ecclesiastic of great learning, who having been educated in his youth at the court of Clement VII. took up his residence in Florence.[4] He had served the duke in the character of secretary at the court of France, and acted as his resident in Venice from 1552 to 1562, during which period he acquitted himself equally to the satisfaction of the republic and of his prince. During the visits which he paid to Ferrara, Gelido had imbibed the

[1] Galluzzi, ii. 203, 204.

[2] Florio is the author of a very rare and curious work, including a life of the unfortunate and accomplished Lady Jane Grey: "Historia de la Vita e de la morte de l'illustriss. Signora Giovanna Graia, gia Regina eletta e publicata d'Inghilterra: e de la cose accadute in quel Regno dopo la morte del Re Edoardo VI. nella quale secondo le Divine Scritture si trata de i principali articoli de la Religione Christiana. Con l'aggiunto d'una doctiss. disputa Theologica fatta in Ossonia, l'anno 1554. L'Argumento dell tutto si dechiaro ne l'Auuertimento sequente, e nel' Proemio de l'Authore, M. Michel-Angelo Florio Fiorentiuo, gia Predicatore famoso del Sant Evangelio en piu cita d'Italia, et en Londra. Stampate appressi Richardo Pittore ne l'anno di Christo 1607."

[3] Joannes Leo Nardus, Florentinus, Tabularum duarum Legis Evangelicæ, Gratiæ, Spiritus, et Vitæ, Libri quinque. Bas. 1555.

[4] We learn from Galluzzi, that he was commonly called "Il Pero," and he is no doubt the person mentioned by that name in a letter from Paulus Manutius to Carnesecchi. Lettere di Tredeci, p. 294, edit. 1565.

doctrines of the Reformation, and gave great offence to the clergy by the intercourse which he held with the Germans, and the protection which he extended to those who were suspected of heresy. This induced him to retire to France, and to take up his abode with the Duchess Renée of Ferrara. But he was not permitted to enjoy this retirement. A spy of his former master gave false information against him to the Florentines who surrounded Queen Catherine; and being accused at court, he found it necessary to retreat to Geneva, where he joined the Italian congregation already erected in that city. From that place he addressed a letter to Cosmo, vindicating his own conduct, and urging the duke to use his influence with the pope to assemble a council in the heart of Germany, and to attend it in person.[1] The example of Gelido was followed, at a later period, by Antonio Albizio, who belonged to one of the noblest families in Tuscany. He was the founder of the Academy of Alterati at Florence, and had been sent by the grand duke as ambassador to the Emperor Maximilian II.; but having discovered the truth by reading the Scriptures, he made a voluntary sacrifice of his honours, and retired to Kempten in Suabia, where he divided his time, until his death in 1626, between devotional exercises and literary studies. Great influence was used by his friends to recover him to the ancient faith, but without effect; and his process was going on before the inquisition at Rome when he died.[2]

Similar proceedings took place in Sienna, which had now fallen under the dominion of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. During a number of years after the discovery of the defection of Ochino, the Soccini, and Paleario, from the Romish faith, the clergy and inquisitors alarmed the government with reports of the spread of heresy in the city and territories of Sienna. In 1560 the Bishop of Bologna was sent to conduct a process which was deemed of greater importance; it was that of Cornelio Soccini, who was accused of having adopted the peculiar opinions of his relation, Faustus Socinus. As all that could be drawn from him by examination was, that he believed whatever was contained in the Scriptures, he was, with the consent of the duke, transferred to Rome. In the year 1567 the persecution became severer, and many were driven from the country, subjected to process, or delivered up to the Holy Office. Even Germans who had come, under the security of the public faith, to study at the university of Sienna, were seized and placed in the hands of the pope.[3]

At Naples the Protestants enjoyed a reprieve from persecution during the dissensions excited by the renewed attempt to introduce the Spanish Inquisition.[4] But the people were satisfied with the abandonment of

[1] Galluzzi, ii. 77, 78.

[2] Mazzuchelli, Scrittori Italiani, tom. i. part. i. p. 337. He was the author of Stemmata Principum Christianorum, Aug. Vind. 1612, and of Exercitationes Theologicæ, Campoduni, 1616. An account of his conversion was published by Jac. Zeamann in 1692, and his life by F. D. Haeberlein in 1740.

[3] Galluzzi, ii. 202, 203.

[4] See before, p. 123. Gonçalo de Illescas, Historia Pontifical y Catholica, parte ii. f. 418, a.—420, b. Burgos, 1578.

that measure by the government, which, in its turn, not only forgave the pope for fomenting the late opposition to its measures, but entered into a treaty with him, in which it was agreed to take common measures for rooting out the new opinions. Lorenzo Romano, a native of Sicily, had, at a former period, instilled the doctrine of Zuingle into the minds of many of the inhabitants of Caserta, a town lying about fifteen miles north of Naples. Having gone to Germany, where he was more fully instructed in the truth, he returned to the Neapolitan territory in 1549, and, having opened a class for logic, took occasion to expound the Scriptures to his scholars. But the jealousy of the clergy was awake, and he was soon delated to the Inquisition. Romano did not possess the firmness of a martyr: alarmed at the danger which he had incurred, he sought an interview with the Theatine cardinal, confessed his errors, and informed him of the numbers, including persons of the first rank, male and female, who had embraced heresy, both in the capital and in other parts of the kingdom. He was condemned to abjure his opinions publicly in the cathedral churches of Naples and Caserta, and to undergo certain other penances at Rome; after which he obtained his liberty.[1] In consequence of his information, the inquisitors sent by the pope commenced a rigorous search after heretics in the city of Naples, which was afterwards extended over the kingdom. Many were thrown into prison, and not a few sent to Rome to undergo the fiery ordeal. These severities continued, with intervals of relaxation, during several years. On the 24th of March 1564, two noblemen, Giovan-Francesco d'Alois, of Caserta, and Giovan-Bernardino di Gargano, of Avarsa, after being convicted of heresy, were beheaded in the market-place, and their bodies consumed to ashes in the sight of the people.[2]

The prosecutions for heresy, together with the dread of the introduction of the inquisition in which the inhabitants were kept, had a fatal influence on the interests both of trade and literature. Whole streets in the city of Naples were deserted by their inhabitants. The academies of the Sireni, Ardenti, and Incogniti, lately erected for the cultivation of poetry, rhetoric, and astronomy, were shut up by the viceroy, under the pretext that the members, after giving out a question on some branch of secular learning, dropped it, and entered on discussions respecting the Scriptures and divinity.[3]

Two things conspired with this violence to ruin the reformed cause in Naples. The first was the coming of certain adherents of Anabaptism and Arianism, who got introduced to the secret meetings of the Protestants, and made disciples to their peculiar tenets.[4] The second was the practice which some of them indulged, of attending the popish worship, partaking of mass, and conducting themselves in public in every respect as if they had been papists. These have been called Valdesians by some writers,

[1] Giannone, Hist. Civ. de Naples, b. xxxii. chap. v. sect. i.
[2] Ibid. sect. ii.
[3] Giannone, lib. xxxii. chap. v. sect. i.
[4] Life of the Marquis of Vico, chap. vii. p. 13. Lond. 1635.

because they justified themselves by appealing to the example of Valdes, and to the advice which he gave those whom he had instructed in the doctrine of justification, but whose minds were yet fettered by prejudices in favour of the Church of Rome and the ancient rites. This practice, which became more general as the persecution increased, not only offended those conscientious individuals who shunned the popish worship as idolatrous, but it gradually wore off from the minds of the conformists the impressions of that faith which they had embraced, and prepared them for sacrificing it on the slightest temptation. Notwithstanding all their caution, not a few of them were seized as suspected persons, and purchased their lives by recanting those truths which they had professed to hold in the highest estimation. But this was not all: having once incurred the jealousy of the inquisitors, and exposed themselves to the malice or avarice of informers, some of them were seized a second time, and subjected to tortures and a cruel death, as relapsed heretics.[1] Afraid of incurring the same punishment, or actuated by a desire to enjoy the pure worship of God, a considerable number of Protestants agreed to quit Italy; but when they came to the Alps, and stopped to take a last view of their beloved country, the greater part, struck with its beauties, and calling to mind the friends and the comforts which they had left behind, burst into a flood of tears, and, abandoning their purpose, returned to Naples. They had scarcely arrived there when they were thrown into prison, and, having submitted to penance, spent the remainder of their lives distrusted by those around them, and preyed upon by remorse and a consciousness of self-degradation.[2]

When the reformed opinions had been suppressed in the capital, the Neapolitan government permitted the inquisitors to roam through the country like wild beasts let loose, and to devour its innocent subjects. Of all the barbarities of which Rome was guilty at this period, none was more horrible than those which were inflicted on the descendants of the ancient Waldenses. It would seem as if she wished to exceed the cruelties committed during the dark ages, in the crusades which Simon de Montfort, of bloody memory, had conducted against the ancestors of that people, under the consecrated banners of the church.

The Waldensian colony in Calabria Citeriore[3] had increased in the sixteenth century to four thousand persons, who possessed several towns in the neighbourhood of Cosenza, of which the principal were Santo Xisto, belonging to the Duke of Montalto, and La Guardia, situate on the sea-coast. Cut off from intercourse with their brethren of the same faith, and destitute of the means of education for their pastors, this simple people, at the same time that they observed their own forms of worship, had gradually become habituated to attend on mass, without which they found it difficult to maintain a friendly

[1] Life of Marquis of Vico, chap. vii. p. 14 [2] Ibid., x. 21. [3] See before, p. 4.

intercourse with the original inhabitants of the place. Their curiosity was awakened by hearing that a doctrine bearing a strong affinity to that of their fathers was propagated in Italy; they eagerly sought to become acquainted with it, and being convinced that they had erred hitherto in countenancing the popish worship, they applied to their brethren in the valleys of Pragela, and to the ministers of Geneva, to obtain teachers who should instruct them more perfectly, and organise their churches after the Scripture pattern.[1] By diligent preaching and catechising, these missionaries not only promoted the knowledge of the truth among those to whom they were sent, but propagated it in the neighbouring towns, and in the province of Basilicata.[2]

No sooner was this known at Rome, than the sacred college sent two monks, Valerio Malvicino and Alfonso Urbino, into Calabria, to suppress the churches of the Waldenses, and reduce them to the obedience of the Holy See. On their first arrival, the monks assumed an air of great gentleness. Having assembled the inhabitants of Santo Xisto, they told them that they had not come with the view of hurting any person, but merely to warn them in a friendly manner to desist from hearing any teachers but those appointed by their ordinary: that if they would dismiss those men who had led them astray, and live for the future according to the rules of the Roman church, they had nothing to fear; but that, if they acted otherwise, they would expose themselves to the danger of losing their lives and property, by incurring the punishment of heretics. They then appointed a time for celebration of mass, which they required all present to attend. Instead of complying with this injunction, the inhabitants, in a body, quitted the town and retired into the woods, leaving behind them only a few aged persons and children. Concealing their chagrin, the monks immediately went to La Guardia, and having caused the gates to be shut, assembled the inhabitants, and told them that their brethren of Santo Xisto had renounced their erroneous opinions, and gone to mass, exhorting them to imitate so dutiful and wise an example. The poor simple people, crediting the report of the monks, and alarmed at the danger which they held out, complied; but no sooner did they ascertain the truth, than, overwhelmed with shame and vexation, they resolved instantly to leave the place with their wives and children, and to join their brethren who had taken refuge in the woods; a resolution from which they were with difficulty diverted by the representations and promises of Salvatore Spinello, the feudatory superior of the town. In the mean time, the monks procured two companies of foot soldiers to be sent into the woods, who hunted the inhabitants of Santo Xisto like beasts of prey, and, having discovered their lurking-place, fell on them with cries of *Ammazzi, ammazzi!* "Murder them, murder them!" A part of the fugitives took refuge on a mountain, and having secured

[1] Zanchii Epistolæ, lib. ii. p. 360. Leger, Hist. des Eglises Vaud. part ii. p. 333.
[2] Giannone, lib. xxxii. chap. v. sect. ii.

themselves among the rocks, demanded a parley with the captain. After entreating him to take pity on them, their wives, and children, they said that they and their fathers had inhabited that country for several ages, without having given any person cause to complain of their conduct; that if they could not be allowed to remain in it any longer without renouncing their faith, they hoped they would be permitted to retire to some other country; that they would go, by sea or land, to any place which their superiors were pleased to appoint; that they would engage not to return; and that they would take no more along with them than what was necessary for their support on the journey, for they were ready to part with their property rather than do violence to their consciences by practising idolatry. They implored him to withdraw his men, and not oblige them reluctantly to defend themselves, as they could not answer for the consequences, if reduced to despair. Instead of listening to this reasonable offer, and reporting it to his superiors, the captain ordered his men to advance by a defile, upon which those on the hill attacked them, killed the greater part, and put the rest to flight.[1]

It was immediately resolved to avenge on the whole body this unpremeditated act of resistance on the part of a few. The monks wrote to Naples that the country was in a state of rebellion, upon which the viceroy despatched several companies of soldiers to Calabria, and, to gratify the pope, followed them in person. On his arrival, listening to the advice of the inquisitors, he caused a proclamation to be made, delivering up Santo Xisto to fire and sword, which obliged the inhabitants to remain in their concealments. By another proclamation, he offered a pardon to the *bannitti*, or persons proscribed for crimes (who form a numerous class in Naples), on the condition of their assisting in the war against the heretics. This brought a number of desperate characters to his standard, who, being acquainted with the recesses of the woods, tracked out the fugitives, the greater part of whom were slaughtered by the soldiers, while the remainder took refuge in the caverns of the high rocks, where many of them died of hunger. Pretending to be displeased with the severity of military execution, the inquisitors retired to some distance from the place, and cited the inhabitants of La Guardia to appear before them. Encouraged by the reports which they had heard, the people complied; but they had no sooner made their appearance, than seventy of them were seized and conducted in chains to Montalto.[2] They were put to the question by

[1] Perrin, Hist. des Vaudois, part. i. p. 199—202. Perrin relates this under the year 1560, and speaks of it as having taken place after Louis Paschal came to Calabria. But I suspect he has placed it too late. At least the author of *Busdragi Epistola*, which is dated 15th December 1558, speaking of the progress of the reformed doctrine in Italy, says: "Nam quotidie aliquid novi sentitur, nunc in hac civitate, nunc in illa. Calabria nuper ferè tota tumultuata est." Scrin. Antiq. tom. i. p. 322.

[2] Giannone says, that the heretics had fortified Guardia; and that Scipio Spinelli, finding he could not reduce it by force, had recourse to deceit, and, under pretext of an exchange of prisoners, introduced soldiers into the castle, and gained possession of the town. Hist. de Naples, b. xxxii. c. v. sect. ii.

the orders of the inquisitor Panza, to induce them not only to renounce their faith, but also to accuse themselves and their brethren of having committed odious crimes in their religious assemblies. To wring a confession of this from him, Stefano Carlino was tortured until his bowels gushed out. Another prisoner, named Verminel, having, in the extremity of pain, promised to go to mass, the inquisitor flattered himself that, by increasing the violence of the torture, he could extort a confession of the charge which he was so anxious to fasten on the Protestants. But though the exhausted sufferer was kept during eight hours on the horrid instrument called *the hell*, he persisted in denying the atrocious calumny. A person of the name of Marzone was stripped naked, beaten with iron rods, dragged through the streets, and then felled with the blows of torches. One of his sons, a boy, having resisted the attempts made for his conversion, was conveyed to the top of a tower, from which they threatened to precipitate him, if he would not embrace a crucifix, which was presented to him. He refused; and the inquisitor, in a rage, ordered him instantly to be thrown down. Bernardino Conte, on his way to the stake, threw away a crucifix which the executioner had forced into his hands; upon which Panza remanded him to prison, until a more dreadful mode of punishment should be devised. He was conveyed to Cosenza, where his body was covered with pitch, in which he was burnt to death before the people.[1] The manner in which persons of the tender sex were treated by this brutal inquisitor, is too disgusting to be related here. Suffice it to say, that he put sixty females to the torture, the greater part of whom died in prison in consequence of their wounds remaining undressed. On his return to Naples, he delivered a great number of Protestants to the secular arm at St Agata, where he inspired the inhabitants with the utmost terror; for, if any individual came forward to intercede for the prisoners, he was immediately put to the torture as a favourer of heresy.[2]

Horrid as these facts are, they fall short of the barbarity perpetrated on the same people at Montalto in the year 1560, under the government of the Marquis di Buccianici, to whose brother, it is said, the pope had promised a cardinal's hat, provided the province of Calabria was cleared of heresy. I shall give the account in the words of a Roman Catholic, servant to Ascanio Caraccioli, who witnessed the scene: the letter in which he describes it was published in Italy, along with other narratives of the bloody transaction. "Most illustrious sir,—Having written you from time to time what has been done here in the affair of heresy, I have now to inform you of the dreadful justice which began to be executed on these Lutherans early this morning, being the 11th of June. And, to tell you the truth, I can compare it to nothing but the

[1] Perrin, *ut supra*, p. 202—204. Leger, Histoire des Eglises Vaudoises, tom. ii. p. 335.

[2] Ibid. pp. 205, 206. A priest named Anania, who had taken an active part in the persecution of that innocent people, wrote an account of it in *Latin verse*. Giannone, *ut supra*.

slaughter of so many sheep. They were all shut up in one house as in a sheepfold. The executioner went, and, bringing out one of them, covered his face with a napkin, or *benda*, as we call it, led him out to a field near the house, and, causing him to kneel down, cut his throat with a knife. Then, taking off the bloody napkin, he went and brought out another, whom he put to death after the same manner. In this way, the whole number, amounting to eighty-eight men, were butchered. I leave you to figure to yourself the lamentable spectacle, for I can scarcely refrain from tears while I write; nor was there any person who, after witnessing the execution of one, could stand to look on a second. The meekness and patience with which they went to martyrdom and death are incredible. Some of them at their death professed themselves of the same faith with us, but the greater part died in their cursed obstinacy. All the old men met their death with cheerfulness, but the young exhibited symptoms of fear. I still shudder while I think of the executioner with the bloody knife in his teeth, the dripping napkin in his hand, and his arms besmeared with gore, going to the house and taking out one victim after another, just as a butcher does the sheep which he means to kill. According to orders, waggons are already come to carry away the dead bodies, which are appointed to be quartered, and hung up on the public roads from one end of Calabria to the other. Unless his holiness and the Viceroy of Naples command the Marquis de Buccianici, the governor of this province, to stay his hand and leave off, he will go on to put others to the torture, and multiply the executions until he has destroyed the whole. Even to-day a decree has passed that a hundred grown-up women shall be put to the question, and afterwards executed; in order that there may be a complete mixture, and we may be able to say, in well-sounding language, that so many persons were punished, partly men and partly women. This is all that I have to say of this act of justice. It is now eight o'clock, and I shall presently hear accounts of what was said by these obstinate people as they were led to execution. Some have testified such obstinacy and stubbornness as to refuse to look on a crucifix, or confess to a priest; and they are to be burnt alive. The heretics taken in Calabria amount to sixteen hundred, all of whom are condemned; but only eighty-eight have as yet been put to death. This people came originally from the valley of Angrogna, near Savoy, and in Calabria are called Ultramontani. Four other places in the kingdom of Naples are inhabited by the same race, but I do not know that they behave ill; for they are a simple unlettered people, entirely occupied with the spade and plough, and, I am told, show themselves sufficiently religious at the hour of death."[1] Lest the reader should be inclined to doubt the truth of such horrid atrocities, the following summary of them, by a Neapolitan historian of that age, may be added. After giving some account of the Calabrian heretics, he says: "Some had their throats cut, others

[1] Pantaleon, Rerum in Eccles. Gest. Hist. f. 337, 338. De Porta, tom. ii. pp. 309, 312.

were sawn through the middle, and others thrown from the top of a high cliff: all were cruelly but deservedly put to death. It was strange to hear of their obstinacy; for while the father saw his son put to death, and the son his father, they not only exhibited no symptoms of grief, but said joyfully that they would be angels of God: so much had the devil, to whom they had given themselves up as a prey, deceived them."[1]

By the time that the persecutors were glutted with blood, it was not difficult to dispose of the prisoners who remained. The men were sent to the Spanish galleys; the women and children were sold for slaves; and, with the exception of a few who renounced their faith, the whole colony was exterminated.[2] "Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth," may the race of the Waldenses say: "many a time have they afflicted me from my youth. My blood—the violence done to me and to my flesh—be upon" Rome!

While the popes exerted themselves in the suppression of the reformed doctrine in other parts of Italy, it may be taken for granted that they were not idle within the Territories of the Church. It has been stated by some writers, that the procedure of the Inquisition was milder in Italy than in Spain; but both the statement of the fact and the reasons by which it is usually accounted for require to be qualified. One of these reasons is, the policy with which the Italians, including the popes, have always consulted their pecuniary interests, to which they postponed every other consideration. This, however, will be found to hold true as to their treatment of the Jews rather than of the Lutherans. The second reason is, that the popes being temporal princes in the States of the Church, had no occasion to employ the inquisition to undermine the rights of the secular authorities in them, as in other countries. This is unquestionably true; and it accounts for the fact that the Court of Inquisition, long after its operations had been suspended in Italy, continued to be warmly supported by papal influence in Spain. But at the time of which I write, and during the remainder of the sixteenth century, it was in full and constant operation, and the popes found that it enabled them to accomplish what would have baffled their power as secular sovereigns. The chief difference between the Italian and Spanish inquisitions at that period, consisted in their policy respecting the mode of punishment. The latter sought to inspire terror by the solemn spectacle of a public act of justice, in which the scaffold was crowded with criminals. Except in the case of the remote and friendless Calabrians, it was the object of the former to avoid all unnecessary publicity and eclat. With this view, the mode of punishment usual at Venice was sometimes adopted at Rome, as in the case of Bartolommeo Fonzio.[3]

[1] Tommaso Costo, Seconda Parte del Compendio dell' Istoria di Napoli, p. 257.

[2] Perrin, *ut supra*, pp. 206, 207. Hist. des Martyrs, f. 516, a.

[3] De Porta, ii. 33. Heidegger states that Fonzio was drowned along with thirteen preachers of the Gospel. Diss. de Miraculis Eccles. Evang. sect. 45. I conjecture that this writer was misled by a cursory inspection of a letter (then probably unprint-

In other cases the victims were brought to the stake singly or in small numbers, and often strangled before being committed to the flames. The report of the auto-da-fés of Seville and Valladolid blazed at once over Europe; the executions at Rome made less noise in the city, because they were less splendid as well as more frequent; and the rumour of them died away before it could reach the ear of foreigners.

Paul III. threw many of the Protestants into the prisons of Rome; they were brought forth to execution by Julius III.; and Paul IV. followed in the bloody track of his predecessor. Under the latter the Inquisition spread alarm everywhere, and created the very evils which it sought to allay. Princes and princesses, clergy and laity, bishops and friars, entire academies, the sacred college, and even the Holy Office itself, fell under the suspicion of heretical pravity. The conclave was subjected to an expurgatory process. Cardinals Morone and Pole, with Foscarari, Bishop of Modena, Luighi Priuli, and other persons of eminence, were prosecuted as heretics. It was at last found necessary to introduce laymen into the Inquisition, "because," to use the words of a contemporary writer, "not only many bishops, and vicars, and friars, but also many of the inquisitors themselves, were tainted with heresy."[1] Much of the extravagance displayed at this time is, no doubt, to be ascribed to the personal fanaticism and jealousy of the pontiff, who sent for some of the cardinals to his death-bed, and recommended the Inquisition to their support with his latest breath. Such was the frenzied zeal of this infallible dotard, that, if his life had been spared a little longer, the poet's description of the effects of superstition would have been realised, "and one capricious curse enveloped all." Irritated by his violent proceedings, and by the extortion and rapine with which they had been accompanied, the inhabitants of Rome, as soon as the tidings of his death transpired, rose in tumult, burnt the house of inquisition to the ground, after having liberated all the prisoners, broke down the statue which Paul had erected for himself, and dragging its members with ropes through the streets, threw them into the Tiber.[2]

Pius IV. was naturally of a mild disposition, and put a stop to the violent and arbitrary proceedings of his predecessor.[3] But he was unable to control the cardinal placed at the head of the Inquisition, and accordingly his pontificate was disgraced by the massacres in Calabria, and by executions in various parts of Italy. In the room of the edifice which had been demolished in the tumult, a house beyond the Tiber,

ed) from Frechtus to Bullinger, dated July 24, 1538, which says: "Bartholomæum Fontium Venetum, publica fide sibi a Romano Pontifice data, Romam pervenisse et fidei suæ rationem dedisse, ac statim ab Antichristo sacco impositum et Tiberi immersum, in Domino mortuum, in hujus locum XIII. *emersisse* evangelicos prædicatores, qui Romæ, invito etiam Antichristo, Christum annuncient." Fueslin, Epist. Reform. Helvet. p. 177. It is rather a serious mistake to confound *emergo* with *immergo*.

[1] Bernini, Istoria di tutte l'Heresia, secol. xvi. cap. vii.: Puigblanch's History of the Inquisition, i. 61, 62.

[2] Natalis Comes, Hist. sui Temporis, lib. xii. f. 263, 269.

[3] Galluzzi, tom. ii p. 71. "Du temps de Pie IV. on parloit fort librement à Rome; j'y etois du regne de Pie IV. et V." Secunda Scaligerana; Collect. des Maiseaux, tom. ii. p. 504.

which belonged to one of the cardinals, was appropriated to the inquisitors, and cells were added to it for the reception of prisoners. This was commonly called the Lutheran prison, and is said to have been built on the site of the ancient Circus of Nero, in which so many Christians were delivered to the wild beasts. It was in this prison that Philip, the son of the learned Joachim Camerarius, and Peter Rieter de Kornburg, a Bavarian gentleman, were confined for two months during the year 1565, having been seized, when visiting Rome on their travels, in consequence of the information of a Jew, who mistook Rieter for another German with whom he had quarrelled. But although the mistake was acknowledged by the informer himself, they were detained as heretics, and obtained their liberty only through the interference of the imperial ambassador, accompanied with a threat from the Protestant princes that the agents of Rome should be treated in the same manner in travelling through Germany.[1] Pompeio di Monti, a Neapolitan nobleman, who had been seized by the familiars of the Inquisition as he was crossing the bridge of St Angelo on horseback along with his relation Marcantonio Colonna, was lodged in the same apartment with Camerarius, who derived from his conversation much Christian comfort, as well as useful counsel, to avoid the snares which the inquisitors were in the habit of spreading for their prisoners.[2] During the subsequent year di Monti was sentenced to be burnt alive ; but, in consideration of a sum of seven thousand crowns being advanced by his friends, he was only strangled, and his body afterwards committed to the flames.[3]

The flames of persecution were rekindled under Pius V., who was created pope in the year 1566. The name of this inexorable pontiff was Michele Ghisleri, and the cruelties committed during the two preceding pontificates are in no small degree to be ascribed to his influence, as President of the Inquisition, a situation which he had held, under the designation of the Alexandrine Cardinal, since the late establishment of that tribunal.[4] His elevation to the popedom was followed by a hot persecution in Rome and the States of the Church. It raged with great violence in Bologna, where "persons of all ranks were promiscuously subjected to the same imprisonment, and tortures, and death."[5] "Three persons," says a writer of that time, "have lately been burnt alive in that city, and two brothers of the noble family of Ercolani seized on suspicion of heresy, and sent bound to Rome." At the same time, many

[1] Schelhorn, Vita Philippi Camerarii, p. 86—101. Relatio de Captivitate Romana Philippi Camerarii et Petri Rieteri, pp. 7—30, 54—64. This last work was published by Camerarius himself, and contains a particular account of the examinations which he underwent, and of the causes of his release, accompanied with documents.

[2] Relatio, *ut supra*, pp. 73, 74. They shared together the use of a Latin Bible, which the baron had procured and kept concealed in his bed. Camerarius having applied for a Psalter to assist him in his devotions, the noted Jesuit, Petrius Canisius, by whom he was visited, pressed on him the *Office of the Holy Virgin*, as more conducive to edification ; and, when it was declined, sent him *Amadis de Gaul*, and Cæsar's Commentaries. Ibid. pp. 14, 15.

[3] Relatio, *ut supra*, pp. 7, 8.

[4] Thuani Hist. lib. xxxix. ad ann. 1566. Vita Philippi Camerarii, p. 102. Galluzzi, tom. ii. p. 75.

[5] Thobias Eglinus ad Bullingerum, 29 Decem. 1567 : De Porta, tom. ii. p. 460.

of the German students in the university were imprisoned or obliged to fly.[1] The following description of the state of matters in the year 1568 is from the pen of one who was residing at that time on the borders of Italy: "At Rome some are every day burnt, hanged, or beheaded: all the prisons and places of confinement are filled, and they are obliged to build new ones. That large city cannot furnish gaols for the numbers of pious persons who are continually apprehended. A distinguished person named Carnesecchi, formerly ambassador to the Duke of Tuscany, has been committed to the flames. Two persons of still greater distinction, Baron Bernardo di Angole, and Count di Petigliano, a genuine and brave Roman, are in prison. After long resistance, they were at last induced to recant, on a promise that they should be set at liberty. But what was the consequence? The one was condemned to pay a fine of eighty thousand crowns, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment; and the other to pay one thousand crowns, and be confined for life in the convent of the Jesuits. Thus have they, by a dishonourable defection, purchased a life worse than death."[2] The same writer relates the following anecdote, which shows the base stratagems which the Roman inquisition employed to get hold of its victims: "A letter from Genoa to Messere Bonetti states that a rich nobleman at Modena, in the duchy of Ferrara, was lately informed against as a heretic to the pope, who had recourse to the following method of getting him into his claws. The nobleman had a cousin at Rome, who was sent for to the castle of St Angelo, and told, 'Either you must die, or write to your cousin at Modena, desiring him to meet you in Bologna at a certain hour, as if you wished to speak to him on important business.' The letter was despatched, and the nobleman having ridden in haste to Bologna, was seized as soon as he had dismounted from his horse. His friend was then set at liberty. This is dragon's game."[3] Speaking of the rigour of the inquisition in Italy, and the suddenness of executions at this period, Muretus said to de Thou: "We know not what becomes of people here: I am terrified every morning when I rise, lest I should be told that such and such a one is no more; and, if it should be so, we durst not say a word."[4]

Furious as this pope was, he felt himself sometimes forced to yield to a power which he durst not brave. Galeas de San Severino, Count de Caiazzo, was a favourite of Charles IX. of France, and held a high rank in his army. Having occasion to go into Italy on his private affairs about the year 1568, he was thrown into the inquisition as a Huguenot. Charles instantly despatched the Marquis de Pisano with instructions to insist on the liberation of the count as a French subject. The pope requested time to deliberate. After repeated delays, the marquis demanded

[1] Epistola Joachimi Camerarii, 16 Feb. 1566; et Epistola Petri Rieteri, prid. Id. Maii 1567: Vita Philippi Camerarii, pp. 174, 197.

[2] Thobias Eglinus ad Bullingerum, 2 Mart. 1568: De Porta, tom. ii. p. 486

[3] Ibid. 20 Mart. 1568: De Porta, ii. 487.

[4] Thuana, Collect. des Maiseaux, i. 16.

the release of the prisoner within eight days; and, that time having elapsed, he obtained an audience of his holiness, and told him peremptorily, that if the count was not delivered to him next day, the ambassador of France should be instantly recalled, and a stop put to all the ordinary intercourse with Rome as to ecclesiastical benefices in the kingdom. By the advice of the cardinals, Pius was prevailed on to give up the prisoner, but with great reluctance, saying, that the king had sent him an *imbriacone*.[1]

It is not my intention to write a martyrology; but I cannot altogether pass over the names of those men who intrepidly displayed the standard of truth before the walls of Rome, and fell within the breach of the antichristian citadel.

Faventino Fanino, or Fannio, a native of Faenza, within the States of the Church, is usually, though not correctly, said to be the first who suffered martyrdom for the Protestant faith in Italy.[2] Having received the knowledge of the truth by reading the Bible and other religious books in his native language, he began to impart it to his neighbours, and was soon thrown into prison. Through the persuasion of his friends, he purchased his liberty by recantation, which threw him into great distress of mind. On recovering from this dejection, he resolved to exert himself more zealously than before in discovering to his countrymen the errors by which they were deluded, and in acquainting them with the way of salvation. For this purpose he commenced travelling through the province of Romagna. His plan was, after succeeding with a few individuals, to leave them to instruct others, while he removed to another place; by which means he, within a short time, disseminated extensively the knowledge of evangelical doctrine. He was at last seized at a place called Bagnacavallo, and conducted in chains to Ferrara. Neither threats nor solicitations could now move him to waver in his confession of the truth. To the lamentations of his wife and sister, who came to see him in prison, he replied, "Let it suffice you, that, for your sakes, I have *once* denied my Saviour. Had I then had the knowledge which, by the grace of God, I have acquired since my fall, I would not have yielded to your entreaties. Go home in peace." Of Fannio's imprisonment, which lasted two years, it may be said that it fell out "to the furtherance of the Gospel, so that his bonds in Christ were manifest in all the palace." He was visited by the Princess Lavinia della Rovere, by Olympia Morata, and other persons distinguished for rank or intelligence, who were edified by his instructions and prayers, and took a deep interest in his fate. When

[1] A *drunkard*. De Thou received this anecdote from the Marquis himself. Thuana, Collect. des Maiseaux, tom. i. pp. 3, 4. It was the same nobleman who, when ordered by Sixtus V. to quit his territories within eight days, replied: "Your territories are not so large but that I can quit them within twenty-four hours." Ibid. p. 5.

[2] According to Scaliger, a person named Jacobin was the first martyr in Italy. The civilian Cujas, who was present at his execution, says he was not a Protestant, but merely differed in some things from the Roman church; for, adds he, "in those days they burnt for a small matter." Scaligerana Secunda, art. *Hæretici*.

orders were issued to prevent strangers from having access to him, he employed himself in teaching his fellow-prisoners, including several persons of rank, confined for state crimes, upon whom his piety, joined with uncommon modesty and meekness, produced such an effect, that they acknowledged, after their enlargement, that they never knew what liberty and happiness were until they found them within the walls of a prison. Orders were next given to put him in solitary confinement, where he spent his time in writing religious letters and essays, which he found means of conveying to his friends, and several of which were published after his death. So much were the priests afraid of the influence which he exerted over those who approached him, that his prison and his keeper were repeatedly changed. In the year 1550, Julius III., rejecting every intercession made for his life, ordered him to be executed. He was accordingly brought out to the stake at an early hour in the morning, to prevent the people from witnessing the scene, and being first strangled, was committed to the flames.[1]

At the same time, and in the same manner, did Domenica della Casa Bianca suffer death. He was a native of Basano in the Venetian States, and acquired the knowledge of the truth in Germany, when a soldier in the army of Charles V. With the zeal of a young convert he endeavoured, on his return to Italy, to disabuse the minds of his deluded countrymen. After labouring with success in Naples and other places, he was thrown into prison at Piacenza, and, refusing to retract what he had taught, suffered martyrdom, with much fortitude, in the thirtieth year of his age.[2]

We have already met repeatedly with Mollio, the Bolognese professor, who was held in such high esteem through Italy for his learning and holy life.[3] After the flight of his brethren, Ochino and Martyr, in 1542, he was frequently in great danger, and more than once thrown into confinement, from which he had always providentially escaped. But after the accession of Pope Julius III. he was sought for with great eagerness, and being seized at Ravenna, was conducted, under a strong guard, to Rome, and lodged in a strait prison.[4] On the 5th of September 1553, a public assembly of the Inquisition was held with great pomp, which was attended by the six cardinals and their episcopal assessors, before whom a number of prisoners were brought with torches in their hands. All of them recanted and performed penance, except Mollio, and a native of Perugia, named Tisserano. When the articles of accusation against Mollio were read, permission was given him to speak. He defended the doctrines which he had taught respect-

[1] Olympiæ Moratæ Opera, pp. 90, 102, 107. Nolten, Vita Olym. Moratæ, p. 127—134. Hist. des Martyrs, f. 186, 187. Bezæ Icones, sig. IIh ij.

[2] Hist. des Martyrs, f. 487, b. The following work I have not seen: "De Fannii Faventini ac Dominici Bassanensis morte, qui nuper ob Christum in Italia Rom. Pontificis jussu impio occisi sunt, brevis historia; Fran. Nigro Bassanensi auctore. 1550."

[3] See before, pp. 57, 77.

[4] During his imprisonment he composed a Commentary on Genesis, which is praised by Rabus, the German martyrologist. Gerdesii Italia Reform. p. 302.

ing justification, the merit of good works, auricular confession, and the sacraments; pronounced the power claimed by the pope and his clergy to be usurped and antichristian; and addressed his judges in a strain of bold and fervid invective, which silenced and chained them to their seats, at the same time that it cut them to the quick. "As for you, cardinals and bishops," said he, "if I were satisfied that you had justly obtained that power which you assume to yourselves, and that you had risen to your eminence by virtuous deeds, and not by blind ambition and the arts of profligacy, I would not say a word to you. But since I know, on the best grounds, that you have set moderation, and modesty, and honour, and virtue at defiance, I am constrained to treat you without ceremony, and to declare that your power is not from God but the devil. If it were apostolical, as you would make the poor world believe, then your manner of life would resemble that of the apostles. But when I perceive the filth, and falsehood, and profaneness with which it is overspread, what can I think or say of your church but that it is a receptacle of thieves and a den of robbers? What is your doctrine but a dream—a lie forged by hypocrites? Your very countenances proclaim that your belly is your god. Your great object is to seize and amass wealth by every species of injustice and cruelty. You thirst without ceasing for the blood of the saints. Can you be the successors of the holy apostles, and vicars of Jesus Christ—you who despise Christ and His word; you who act as if you did not believe that there is a God in heaven; you who persecute to the death His faithful ministers, make His commandments of no effect, and tyrannise over the consciences of His saints? Wherefore I appeal from your sentence, and summon you, cruel tyrants and murderers, to answer before the judgment-seat of Christ at the last day, where your pompous titles and gorgeous trappings will not dazzle, nor your guards and torturing apparatus terrify us. And in testimony of this, take back that which you have given me." In saying this, he threw the flaming torch which he held in his hand on the ground and extinguished it. Galled and gnashing upon him with their teeth, like the persecutors of the first Christian martyr, the cardinals ordered Mollio, together with his companion, who approved of the testimony he had borne, to instant execution. They were conveyed, accordingly, to the Campo del Fior, where they died with the most pious fortitude.[1]

Pomponio Algieri, a native of Nola, in the kingdom of Naples, was seized when attending the university of Padua, and after being ex-

[1] Hist. des Martyrs, f. 264, 265. Gerdesii Ital. Reform. p. 104. Zanchi gives the following anecdote of this martyr, in a letter to Bullinger: "I will relate what (Mollio of) Montalcino, the monk, who was afterwards burnt at Rome for the Gospel, once said to me respecting your book, *De origine erroris*. As I had not read or seen the work, he exhorted me to purchase it; 'and,' said he, 'if you have not money, pluck out your right eye to enable you to buy it, and read it with the left.' By the favour of Providence, I soon after found the book, without losing my eye; for I bought it for a crown, and abridged it in such a character as that not even an inquisitor could read it; and in such a form, that, if he had read it, he could not have discovered what my sentiments were." Zanchii Epist. lib. ii. p. 278.

amined in the presence of the podesta, was sent bound to Venice. His answers, on the different examinations which he underwent, contain a luminous view of the truth, and form one of the most succinct and nervous refutations of the principal articles of popery, from Scripture and the decretals, which is anywhere to be found. They had the effect of spreading his fame through Italy. From regard to his learning and youth, the senators of Venice were anxious to set him at liberty, but as he refused to abandon his sentiments, they condemned him to the galleys. Yet, yielding to the importunities of the nuncio, they afterwards sent him to Rome, as an acceptable present to the newly-elected pope, Paul IV., by whom he was doomed to be burnt alive, in the twenty-fourth year of his age. The Christian magnanimity with which this youthful martyr bore that cruel death, terrified the cardinals who attended to grace the spectacle. A letter written by him, in his prison at Venice, describes the consolations by which his spirit was refreshed and upheld under his sufferings, in language to which I scarcely know a parallel. It appears from this interesting document, that the friends of evangelical truth were still numerous in Padua.[1]

Equally distinguished was the constancy of Francesco Gamba, a native of Como. He was in the habit of visiting Geneva for the sake of conversation with the learned men of that city. Having, on one of these occasions, participated along with them in the Lord's Supper, the news of this fact reached home before him, and he was seized on the Lake of Como, thrown into prison, and condemned to the flames. By the interposition of the Imperial ambassador and some of the Milanese nobility, his execution was prevented for some days, during which interval his firmness was assailed by the sophistry of the monks, the entreaties of his friends, and the interest which many of his townsmen of the popish persuasion took in his welfare. He modestly declined the last services of the friars, expressed his gratitude to those who had testified a concern for his life, and assured the judge, who lamented the necessity which he was under of executing the law, that he forgave him, and prayed God to forgive him. His tongue having been perforated to prevent him from addressing the spectators, he kneeled down and prayed at the place of execution; then rising, he looked round the crowd, which consisted of several thousands, for a particular friend, to whom he waved his right hand, which was loose, as the appointed sign that he died in peace and confidence; after which he stretched out his neck to the executioner, who had been authorised, by way of favour, to strangle him before committing his body to the fire.[2]

Godfredo Varaglia, though a Piedmontese, and put to death in his

[1] The autograph of this letter, together with the facts respecting the writer, were communicated by Curio to the historian Henry Pantaleon. Rerum in Eccles. Gest. part. ii. app. 329—332. Conf. Bezæ Icones, sig. IIh iij.

[2] This account is taken from a letter written by a gentleman of Como to the martyr's brother. Acta et Monim. Martyrum, f. 270—272. Wolfii Lect. Memorab. tom. ii. p. 686. Gamba suffered on the 21st of July 1554.

native country, deserves a place here from his intimate connection with Italy. He belonged to the order of Capuchins, and acquired great celebrity as one of their preachers. Inheriting from his ancestors a strong antipathy to the Waldenses, he had received an appointment to labour as a missionary in their conversion, and the highest hopes of success were entertained from his zeal and eloquence; but the issue turned out very different, for he became a convert to the opinions of his opponents, and like another Paul, began to preach the faith which he had sought to destroy.[1] From that time he acted in concert with Ochino.[2] When the latter left Italy, he and twelve others of his order were apprehended and conveyed to Rome. The suspicions against them being slight, or their interest powerful, they were admitted to make an abjuration of heresy in general terms, and confined to the capital on their parole for five years. At the end of that period Varaglia was persuaded to lay aside the cowl, and enter into secular orders. His talents had procured him the friendship of a dignitary of the church, from whom he enjoyed a pension for some time; and his patron being appointed papal legate to the King of France in the year 1556, he accompanied him to that country. But his conscience not permitting him any longer to conceal his sentiments, he parted from the legate at Lyons, and repaired to Geneva, where he accepted an appointment to preach the Gospel to the Waldenses in the valley of Angrogna.[3] He had not laboured many months among that people, when he was apprehended, conveyed to Turin, and condemned to death, which he endured with great fortitude on the 29th of March 1558, in the fiftieth year of his age. When interrogated on his trial as to his companions, he told his judges that he had lately been in company with twenty-four preachers, who had mostly come from Geneva; and that the number of those who were ready to follow them was so great, that the inquisitors would not find wood wherewith to burn them.[4]

Ludovico Paschali was a native of Cuni in Piedmont, and having acquired a taste for evangelical doctrine at Nice, left the army, to which he had been bred, and went to study at Lausanne. When the Waldenses of Calabria applied to the Italian church at Geneva for preachers, Paschali was fixed upon as eminently qualified for that station. Having obtained the consent of Camilla Guerina, a young woman to whom he had previously been affianced, he set out along with Stefano Negrino. On their arrival in Calabria, they found the country in a state of agitation; and after labouring for some time to quiet the minds of the people and comfort them under persecution, they were both apprehended at

[1] Leger, Histoire des Eglises Vaudoises, p. 29. Hospinian, by mistake, makes Varaglia to have been the founder of the Capuchins. De Orig. Monach. cap. ix. p. 297. This order of monks was instituted by Matteo de Baschi. Observationes Halenses, iv. 410.

[2] Gerdesii Hist. Ref. tom. iv. p. 360.

[3] This is the account which he gave of himself, on his examination before the supreme court of justice at Turin. Hist. des Martyrs, f. 418b.

[4] The account of Varaglia was transmitted to Pantaleon by Curio. Rerum in Eccl. Gest. pp. 334, 335. Hist. des Martyrs, f. 418—421. In 1563, the nuncio Visconti wrote to Cardinal Borromeo, that more than the half of the Piedmontese were Huguenots. Epist. apud Gerdes. Ital. Ref. p. 94.

the instance of the inquisitor. Negrino was allowed to perish of hunger in his prison. Paschali, after being kept eight months in confinement at Cosenza, was conducted to Naples, from which he was transferred to Rome. His sufferings were great, and he bore them with the most uncommon fortitude and patience, as appears from the letters, equally remarkable for their noble sentiments and pious unction, which he wrote from his prisons to the persecuted flock in Calabria, to his afflicted spouse, and to the Church of Geneva. Giving an account of his journey from Cosenza to Naples, he says: "Two of our companions had been prevailed on to recant, but they were no better treated on that account; and God knows what they will suffer at Rome, where they are to be conveyed, as well as Marquet and myself. The *good* Spaniard, our conductor, wished us to give him a sum of money to be relieved from the chain by which we were bound to one another; and, with the view of extorting a bribe, he put on me a pair of handcuffs so strait that they entered into the flesh and deprived me of all sleep; but I found that nothing would satisfy him short of all the money I had, amounting to two ducats, which I needed for my support. At night the beasts were better treated than we, for their litter was spread for them, while we were obliged to lie on the hard ground without any covering; and in this condition we remained for nine nights. On our arrival at Naples, we were thrust into a cell, noisome in the highest degree, from the damp and the ordure of the prisoners."

His brother, Bartolomeo, who had come from Cuni, with letters of recommendation to endeavour to procure his liberty, gives an interesting account of the first interview which, after great difficulty, he obtained with him at Rome, in the presence of a judge of the Inquisition. "It was quite hideous to see him, with his bare head, and his hands and arms lacerated by the small cords with which he was bound, like one about to be led to the gibbet. On advancing to embrace him, I sank to the ground. 'My brother!' said he, 'if you are a Christian, why do you distress yourself thus? Do you not know, that a leaf cannot fall to the earth without the will of God? Comfort yourself in Christ Jesus, for the present troubles are not worthy to be compared with the glory to come.' 'No more of that talk!' exclaimed the inquisitor. When we were about to part, my brother begged the judge to remove him to a less horrid prison. 'There is no other prison for you than this,' was the answer. 'At least show me a little pity in my last days, and God will shew it to you.' 'There is no pity for such obstinate criminals as you,' replied the hardened wretch. A Piedmontese doctor who was present joined me in entreating the judge to grant this favour; but he remained inflexible. 'He will do it for the love of God,' said my brother, in a melting tone. 'All the other prisons are full,' replied the judge, evasively. 'They are not so full but that a small corner can be spared for me.' 'You would infect all who were near you by your smooth speeches.' 'I will speak to none who does

not speak to me.' 'Be content; you cannot have another place.' 'I must then have patience,' replied my brother, meekly." How convincing a proof of the power of the Gospel do we see in the confidence and joy displayed by Paschali, under such protracted and exhausting sufferings! "My state is this," says he, in a letter to his former hearers: "I feel my joy increase every day as I approach nearer to the hour in which I shall be offered as a sweet-smelling sacrifice to the Lord Jesus Christ, my faithful Saviour; yea, so inexpressible is my joy, that I seem to myself to be free from captivity, and am prepared to die for Christ, not only once, but ten thousand times, if it were possible; nevertheless, I persevere in imploring the divine assistance by prayer, for I am convinced that man is a miserable creature when left to himself and not upheld and directed by God." A short time before his death, he said to his brother: "I give thanks to my God, that, in the midst of my long-continued and severe affliction, I have found some kind friends; and I thank you, my dearest brother, for the tender interest you have taken in my welfare. But as for me, God has bestowed on me that knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ which assures me that I am not in an error, and I know that I must go by the narrow way of the cross, and seal my testimony with my blood. I do not dread death, and still less the loss of my earthly goods; for I am certain of eternal life and a celestial inheritance, and my heart is united to my Lord and Saviour." When his brother was urging him to yield a little, with the view of saving his life and property, he replied, "Oh! my brother, the danger in which you are involved gives me more distress than all that I suffer, or have the prospect of suffering, for I perceive that your mind is so addicted to earthly things as to be indifferent to heaven." At last, on the 8th of September 1560, he was brought out to the conventual church of Minerva, to hear his process publicly read; and next day he appeared, without any diminution of his courage, in the court adjoining the castle of St Angelo, where he was strangled and burnt, in the view of the pope and a party of cardinals assembled to witness the spectacle.[1]

Passing over others, I shall give an account of two persons of great celebrity for their talents and stations, but whose names, owing to the secresy with which they were put to death, have not obtained a place in the martyrology of the Protestant church.

Pietro Carnesecchi was a Florentine of good birth and liberally educated.[2] From his youth it appeared that he was destined to "stand before kings and not before mean men." Possessing a fine person and a quick and penetrating judgment, he united affability with dignity in his manners, and was at once discreet and generous. Sadolet praises him as "a young man of distinguished virtue and liberal accomplish-

[1] Hist. des Martyrs, f. 506—516. Leger, Hist. des Eglises Vaudoises, part i. p. 204.

[2] Camerarius says that Francesco Robertello was his preceptor. Epistolæ Flaminii, &c. apud Schelhornii Amœnit. Literariæ, tom. x. p. 1200. If this was the case, the master must have been as young as the scholar. Tiraboschi, tom. vii. p. 841.

ments ;"[1] and Bembo speaks of him in terms of the highest respect and affection.[2] As he had followed the fortunes of the Medici, he was made secretary, and afterwards apostolical protonotary, to Clement VII., who bestowed on him two abbacies, one in Naples and the other in France ; and so great was his influence with that pope, that it was commonly said " that the church was governed by Carnesecchi rather than by Clement." Yet he conducted himself with so much modesty and propriety in his delicate situation, as not to incur envy during the life of his patron, and to escape disgrace at his death. His career of worldly honour, which had commenced so auspiciously, was arrested by a very different cause. Being deeply versed in Greek and Roman literature, an eloquent speaker, and a poet, he spent his time, after the death of his patron, in travelling through the different cities of Italy, conversing with the learned, and adding to his stock of knowledge.[3] At Naples he formed an intimacy with Valdes, from whom he imbibed the reformed doctrine ;[4] and as he possessed great candour and love of truth, his attachment to these doctrines daily acquired strength from reading, meditation, and conference with learned men. During the better days of Cardinal Pole, he made one of the select party which met in that prelate's house in Viterbo, and spent the time in religious exercises.[5] When his friend Flaminio, startling at the thought of leaving the Church of Rome, stopped short in his inquiries, Carnesecchi displayed that mental courage which welcomes truth when she tramples on received prejudices, and follows her in spite of the hazards which environ her path.[6] After the flight of Ochino and Martyr, he incurred the violent suspicions of those who prosecuted the search after heresy, and in 1546 was cited to Rome, where Cardinal de Burgos, one of the inquisitors, was ordered to investigate the charges brought against him. He was accused of corresponding with the heretics who had fled from justice, supplying suspected persons with money to enable them to retire to foreign parts, giving testimonials to schoolmasters, who, under the pretext of teaching the rudiments of knowledge, poisoned the minds of the youth with their heretical catechisms, and particularly with having recommended to the Duchess of Trajetto[7] two apostates, whom he extolled as apostles sent to preach the Gospel to the heathen.[8] Through the favour of the mild pontiff, Paul III., the matter was accommodated ; but Carnesecchi, to avoid the odium which had been excited against him, found it necessary to quit Italy for a season. After spending some time with Margaret, Duchess of Savoy, who was not unfriendly to the reformed doctrines, he went to France, where he enjoyed the favour of

[1] Epist. Famil. vol. ii. p. 189.
[2] Lettere, tom. iii. p. 437—439.
[3] Galluzzi, tom. ii. p. 76.
[4] Laderchii Annales, ad ann. 1567.
[5] " Il resto del giorno passo con questa santa e utile compagnia del Sig. Carnesecchi, e Mr. Marco Antonio Flaminio nostro. Utile io chiamo, perche la sera poi Mr. Marco Antonio da pasto a me, e alla miglior parte della famiglia, de illo cibo qui non perit. in tal maniera che io non so quando io abbia sentito maggior consolatione, ne maggior edificatione." Lettere, il Card. Reg. Polo al Card. Gasp. Contarini ; di Viterbo, alli ix di Decembre 1541 ; Poli Epistolæ, vol. iii. p. 42.
[6] See before, p. 105.
[7] See before, p. 101.
[8] Laderchii Annal. ad ann. 1567.

the new monarch, Henry II., and his queen Catharine de Medicis. In the year 1552 he returned to his native country, confirmed in his opinions by the intercourse which he had had with foreign Protestants,[1] and took up his residence chiefly at Padua, within the Venetian territories, where he was in less danger from the intrigues of the court of Rome, and could enjoy the society of those who were of the same religious sentiments with himself. Paul IV. had not been long seated on the papal throne when a criminal process was commenced against him. As he did not choose to place himself at the mercy of that furious pontiff by making a personal appearance, he was summoned at Rome and Venice, and failing to appear within the prescribed term, the sentence of excommunication was launched against him, by which he was delivered over to the secular power to be punished as a contumacious heretic.[2] When Giovanni Angelo de Medici ascended the chair of St Peter, under the name of Pius IV., Carnesecchi, who had always been a zealous friend to the family of this pontiff, obtained from him the removal of the sentence of excommunication, without his being required to make any abjuration of his opinions. The popish writers complain, that, notwithstanding these repeated favours, he still kept up his correspondence with heretics in Naples, Rome, Florence, Venice, Padua, and other places both within and without Italy; that he gave supplies of money to Pietro Gelido, Leone Marionio, and others who had fled to Geneva; and that he recommended the writings of the Lutherans, while he spoke degradingly of those of the Catholics. On the accession of Pius V. he retired to Florence, and put himself under the protection of Cosmo, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, justly dreading the vengeance of the new pope. From papers afterwards found in his possession, it appears that he had intended to retire to Geneva, but was induced, by the confidence which he placed in his protector, to delay the execution of his purpose until it was too late. At a conclave held at Rome for the special purpose, measures were concerted for obtaining possession of his person. Cardinal Pacecco, a distinguished member of the sacred college, addressed a flattering letter to the duke, in which, after praising his zeal for the Holy See, and telling him that he could never have a better opportunity of testifying it and gratifying his holiness, he added, that it should not be matter of surprise that such eagerness was shown for the apprehension of one man, as the example would draw after it the most important consequences, in which his excellency himself might share. The master of the sacred palace was sent to Florence with a letter to Cosmo, written with the pope's own hand, and instructions to

[1] Laderchius says he formed an intimacy with Philip Melanchthon; but as the latter was never in France, Schelhorn thinks the person referred to might be Andrew Melanchthon, a relation of that reformer, who was imprisoned for preaching in the Agénois. Amœn. Hist. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 192.

[2] The process against him was commenced October 25, 1557; the monitory summons was issued March 24, 1558; and the excommunication was passed April 6, 1559. Laderchius, *ut supra*. Galluzzi, in his History of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, says that Cosmo, by means of letters of commendation, prorogations, and attestations of infirmity, contrived to avert the sentence during the life of that pope.

request him to deliver up a heretic, who had long laboured to destroy the catholic faith, and corrupted the minds of multitudes.[1] When the messenger arrived and delivered his credentials, Carnesecchi was sitting at table with the duke, who, to ingratiate himself with the pope, ordered his guest to be immediately laid under arrest, and conducted as a prisoner to Rome; a violation of the laws of hospitality and friendship, for which he received the warm thanks of his holiness.[2] The prisoner was proceeded against without delay before the Inquisition, on a charge consisting of no fewer than thirty-four articles, which comprehended all the peculiar doctrines held by Protestants in opposition to the Church of Rome.[3] Achilles Statius, a native of Portugal, who had formerly held the situation of secretary to him, acted on the present occasion as his legal accuser. The articles were proved by witnesses, and by the letters of the prisoner, who, after defending himself for some time, admitted the truth of the main charges, and owned that the articles contained generally a statement of the opinions which he entertained. We have the testimony of a popish historian, who consulted the records of the holy office, to the constancy and firmness with which the prisoner avowed his sentiments to the last. "With hardened heart," says he, "and uncircumcised ears, he refused to yield to the necessity of his circumstances, and thus rendered the admonitions and the often repeated delays granted to him for deliberation useless; nor could he, by any means, be induced to abjure his errors and return to the true religion, according to the wish of Pius, who had resolved, on the appearance of penitence, to visit his past crimes with a more lenient punishment than they merited."[4] The same account is given by the historian of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, who says that Cosmo, by letters and messages, sought to move the clemency of the pope and cardinals; but that all his efforts were rendered useless by "the fanaticism" of Carnesecchi.[5] On the 16th of August 1567, sentence was pronounced against him, and on the 21st of September it was publicly read in the Church of St Mary, near Minerva, along with those of other heretics.[6] He was condemned as an incorrigible heretic, deprived of all honours, dignities, and benefices,

[1] Galluzzi, tom. ii. pp. 78, 79.

[2] Thuani Hist. ad ann. 1566. Laderchius, who has inserted in his Annals the pope's letters to Cosmo, admits the truth of de Thou's narrative as to the manner of Carnesecchi's apprehension, which he applauds: "Ex bene acta re et optima Cosmi mente." The letter demanding Carnesecchi is dated June 20, and the letter of thanks July 1, 1566.

[3] The articles are given at large by Laderchius, in his Annals, from which they have been reprinted by Schelhorn (Amœn. Hist. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 197—205), and by Gerdesius, with some abridgment. Ital. Ref. p. 144—148.

[4] Laderchius, *ut supra.*

[5] Heresy was the word used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; but the writers of the Church of Rome in the eighteenth century substitute the word fanaticism, as calculated to lessen the odium of the severities employed against the Protestants, on the minds of men living in an age more distinguished for its liberality than its faith.

[6] In the Diary of Cardinal Farnese is the following entry, under the 19th September 1567: "Sanctissimus Dominus noster hortatus est, et invitavit omnes Reverendissimos Dominos, ut accederent ad videndum, et audiendum abjurationem hæreticorum, qui fieri debet die Dominico proxime futuro in Ecclesia B. Mariæ prope Minervam." To this is added, in the original MS.: "Lata est hæc sententia die Sabbathi 16 Augusti 1567; die vero Dominico 21 Septembris ejusdem anni, in Ecclesia S. Mariæ supra Minervam publice recitata."

and delivered over to the secular arm; after which he was degraded and clothed with a *sanbenito*, painted with flames and devils. The final execution of the sentence was, however, delayed for ten days. Whether this delay proceeded from deference to the duke, or a hope of being able to present such a distinguished person as Carnesecchi in the character of a penitent on the scaffold, it may be difficult to determine. During the interval, a capuchin of Pistoia was incarcerated along with him, with the view of inducing him to recant; but as the labours of the friar proved fruitless, Carnesecchi was brought out on the 3d of October, and being beheaded, his body was consumed in the flames. His "fanaticism," says a historian who has furnished us with some minute particulars respecting him, "sustained him to the very last moment. He went to execution as to a triumph, and appeared with new linen and gloves, as his inflamed *sanbenito* did not admit of his wearing any other piece of apparel."[1]

It has been the barbarous policy of the Church of Rome to destroy the fame, however well earned, and, if possible, to abolish the memory and blot out the very names, of those whose lives she has taken away for heresy. Flaminio himself did not escape this "occult censure," as it has been called; and his name was expunged from letters which were published after his death, though he was never formally convicted of heresy, and had several friends in the sacred college.[2] The subject is curious, and it may not be improper to adduce an example or two. The celebrated Muretus was engaged in publishing a work which was intended to contain a poem in praise of Carnesecchi. In the mean time, a prosecution for heresy was commenced against the object of his panegyric, which threw the delicate author into great perplexity. Averse to lose the ode, but afraid to associate himself with a person suspected of heresy, he held a consultation on the subject, and the result was, that his caution conquered his vanity, and the poem was suppressed.[3] Carnesecchi was the intimate friend of the learned printer Paulus Manutius, and was godfather to one of his sons. In an edition of his letters published in 1558, this scholar, writing to Muretus, had spoken in the most kindly manner of *his* Carnesecchi; but in subsequent editions, including those which proceeded from his own press, we find the harsh name of his friend gratefully softened down to *Molini*. Again, in a de-

[1] Galluzzi, tom. ii. p. 80. Laderchius expresses great displeasure at de Thou for saying that Carnesecchi was condemned to the fire, without saying whether he was to be committed to it dead or alive; and he asserts that the Roman church never decreed that heretics should be burnt alive. But in his next volume he found it necessary to correct his error, and to admit the truth of what he had denied. Annal. tom. xxiii. f. 200.

[2] Neque tamen occultam censuram effugit (Flaminius), ejus nomine passim in epistolis, quæ postea publicatæ sunt, expuncto." Thuani Hist. ad ann. 1551. Schelhorn has produced a number of instances in illustration of the truth of de Thou's assertion. Ergötzlichkeiten, tom. i. p. 201—205.

[3] The passage relating to this subject is in a letter to Paulus Manutius, and begins in the following characteristic strain: "Erat ad Petrum τον ξηροξεον (finge aliquod ejusmodi nomen aut latinum aut vernaculum, ita quem dicam intelliges) ode una jam pridem scripta; de qua, quid faciam, nescio," &c. Mureti Orat. et Epist. lib. i. p. 442. Lips. 1672.

dication of the works of Sallust to Cardinal Trivulzi, printed in 1557, Manutius mentions "Petrus Carneseccus, the protonotary, an honoured person, distinguished for every virtue, and excelling, in a cultivated mind, all that I have met with in the course of my life;" but in the subsequent editions of the dedication we look in vain for the name of the "honoured" protonotary! The same person printed, in 1556, select letters of illustrious men, containing one written in a laudatory strain by Cosmo Ghieri, Bishop of Fano, to "Carnesecchi, apostolical protonotary;" but in an enlarged edition of the work published at Venice in 1568, the office only, and not the name of the person to whom that letter was addressed, appears. "It is not so much to be wondered at," says Schelhorn, when speaking of the verses written in praise of this martyr, "that they should have been afraid to mention his name, at least in Italian, at a time when the funeral pile on which his body was consumed to ashes was yet smoking; but that, at the expiry of nearly two centuries, such innocent and beautiful poems, which do not treat of religion, and had been published, should be still suppressed, merely because they were addressed to Carnesecchi, is a clear proof that the prohibitory laws of Rome continue to have no small authority in the Venetian states."[1] About the middle of the eighteenth century an edition of the poems of Flaminio was published by one of his countrymen, who found it necessary, or judged it prudent, to omit the odes addressed to Carnesecchi, "lest he should incur the censure of those who have said and written that Marcus Antonius Flaminius was a heretic, because he cultivated the friendship of Carnesecus."[2] Nor is this all; for the learned editor, in quoting from a dedication to a former edition of the poems, in which Carnesecchi was highly praised,[3] suppresses his name; forgetting, perhaps, that the excellent author whose works he was editing had himself been formerly subjected to the same unworthy treatment. It is impossible to say how far this system of suppression was carried. Another instance of it may be given. A letter of Cardinal Maffei to Ludovico Castelvetro, in which his eminence expresses the highest esteem for that scholar, was published in

[1] Schelhorn, Ergötzlichkeiten, i. 205—209.

[2] Flaminii Carmina, ex prelo Cominiano, 1743, p. 375. The editor, Franciscus Maria Mancurtius, had included the odes referred to in a former edition of the work printed in 1727. Schelhorn, Ergötzlichkeiten, tom. i. pp. 189, 191, 197. Conf. Amœn. Hist. Eccl. tom. ii. p. 209. I subjoin one of the poems, from which the learned reader will judge of the violence which the editor must have done to his taste, when he prevailed on himself afterwards to exclude it:—

Ad Petrum Carnesecum.

O dulce hospitium, O lares beati,
O mores faciles, et Atticorum
Conditæ sale collocutiones,
Quam vos, ægro animo et laborioso,
Quantis cum lacrymis, miser reliquo!
Cur me sæva necessitas abire,
Cur vultum, atque oculos, jocosque suaves
Cogit linquere tam venusti amici?
Ah reges valeant, opesque regum,
Et quisquis potuit domos potentum
Anteponere candidi sodalis
Blandis alloquiis, facetiisque;
Sed quanquam procul a tuis ocellis,
Jucundissime Carnesece, abibo
Regis imperium mei secutus,
Non loci tamen ulla, temporisve
Intervalla, tuos mihi lepores,
Non mors ipsa adimet. Manebo tecum,
Tecum semper ero, tibique semper
Magnam partem animæ meæ relinquam,
Mellite, optime, mi venuste amice.

[3] Schelhorn, Ergötz. tom. i. pp. 196, 197. The dedication was addressed to Margaret, sister of Henry II. of France, and contained these words: "Cum Petrus Carneseccus, lectissimus et ornatissimus vir, de tua singulari erga Deum pietate, et assiduo litterarum studio, ad me multa scripsisset," &c. Mancurti gives the passage thus: "Cum lectissimus et ornatissimus *quidam* vir," &c.

1556, among a collection of the epistles of illustrious men ; but in a new edition of the work which appeared in 1568, after Castelvetro had incurred the stigma of heresy, his name is not to be seen.[1] These facts are not foreign to our subject. They will suggest to the intelligent reader a train of reflections on the fatal influence which bigotry and intolerance must have exerted at this time in Italy over all that is liberal in letters or generous in spirit. If it is only after the most laborious search, and often in the way of catching at obscure hints, detecting fallacious names, and cross-examining and confronting editions of the works of the learned, that we have been able to discover much of what we know of the Reformation and its friends in that country, how many facts respecting them must remain hid, or have been irrecoverably lost, in consequence of the long continuance of a practice so indefensible in itself and so disgraceful to the republic of letters !

We have already spoken of Aonio Paleario,[2] or, according to his proper name, Antonio dalla Paglia.[3] On quitting the Siennese about the year 1543, he embraced an invitation from the senate of Lucca, where he taught the Latin classics, and acted as orator to the republic on solemn occasions. To this place he was followed by Maco Blaterone, one of his former adversaries, a sciolist who possessed that volubility of tongue which captivates the vulgar ear, and whose ignorance and loquacity had been severely chastised, but not corrected, by the satirical pen of Aretino. Lucca at that time abounded with men of enlightened and honourable minds ; and the eloquence of Paleario, sustained by the lofty bearing of his spirit, enabled him easily to triumph over his unworthy rival, who, disgraced and driven from the city, sought his revenge from the Dominicans at Rome. By means of his friends in the conclave, Paleario counteracted at that time the informations of his accuser, which, however, were produced against him at a future period.[4] Meanwhile his spirit submitted with reluctance to the drudgery of teaching languages, and his income was insufficient for supporting the domestic establishment to which his wife, who had been genteely brought up, seems to have aspired.[5] In these circumstances, after remaining about ten years at Lucca. he accepted an invitation from the senate of Milan, which conferred on him a liberal salary, together with special immunities as Professor of Eloquence.[6] He kept his place in that city during seven years, though in great perils amidst the severities practised towards those suspected of favouring the new opinions. But in the year 1566, while deliberating about his removal to Bologna,[7] he was caught in the storm which burst

[1] Biblioteca Modenese, tom. i. p. 437.

[2] See before, p. 81.

[3] Tiraboschi, Storia, vii. 1452. The wretched iambics in which Latinus Latinius charges Paleario with having renounced his baptism by changing his Christian name, and alleges that his dropping the letter T from it was ominous of the manner in which "the wretched old man expiated his crimes on a gibbet," have been thought worthy of a place in the Menagiana. De la Monnoye, who wrote an epigram in Greek and Latin in opposition to them, says: "They are so frigid, that they would have quenched the flames in which Paleario was consumed." Menag. tom. i. p. 217.

[4] Epistolæ, lib. iii. ; Opera Palearii, pp. 525—531, 550—554, edit. Halbaueri.

[5] Epist. lib. iv. : Ibid, p. 563.

[6] Halbauer has given the diploma of the civic authorities in his Life of Paleario, 27—29.

[7] Tiraboschi, Storia, vii. 1454.

on so many learned and excellent men at the elevation of Pius V. to the pontifical chair. Being seized by Frate Angelo de Cremona the inquisitor, and conveyed to Rome, he was committed to close confinement in the Torre Nona. His book on the Benefit of Christ's Death, his commendations of Ochino,[1] his defence of himself before the senators at Sienna, and the suspicions which he had incurred during his residence at that place and at Lucca, were all revived against him. After the whole had been collected and sifted, the charge at last resolved itself into the four following articles : That he denied purgatory ; disapproved of burying the dead in churches, preferring the ancient Roman method of sepulture without the walls of cities ; ridiculed the monastic life ; and appeared to ascribe justification solely to confidence in the mercy of God forgiving our sins through Jesus Christ.[2] For holding these opinions he was condemned, after an imprisonment of three years, to be suspended on a gibbet, and his body to be given to the flames ; and the sentence was executed on the 3d of July 1570, in the seventieth year of his age.[3] A minute, which professes to be an official document of the Dominicans who attended him in his last moments, but which has neither names nor signatures, states that Palcario died confessed and contrite.[4] The testimony of such interested reporters, though it had been better authenticated, is not to be implicitly received, as it is well known that they were accustomed to boast, without the slightest foundation, of the conversions which they made on such occasions.[5] In the present instance it is contradicted by the popish continuator of the annals of the church, who drew his materials from the records of the Inquisition, and represents Paleario as dying impenitent. His words are : "When it appeared that this son of Belial was obstinate and refractory, and could by no means be recovered from the darkness of error to the light of truth, he was deservedly delivered to the fire, that, after suffering its momentary pains here, he might be bound in everlasting flames hereafter."[6] The unnatural and disordered conceptions which certain persons have of right and wrong prompt them to impart facts which their more judicious but not less guilty associates would have concealed or coloured. To this we owe the following account of Palcario's behaviour on his trial before the cardinals of the inquisition : "When he saw that he could produce nothing in defence of his pravity," says the annalist last quoted, "falling into a rage, he broke out in these words : 'Seeing your eminences have so many credible witnesses against me, it is unnecessary for you to give yourselves or me longer trouble.

[1] Palearii Opera, pp. 102, 103.

[2] Laderchii Annales, tom. xxii. p. 202.

[3] Writers have varied as to the year of his martyrdom, which, however, may be considered as determined by an extract from a register kept in San Giovanni de' Fiorentini di Roma, which was printed in Novelle Letterarie dell' Anno 1745, p. 328, and reprinted by Schelhorn. Dissert. de Mino Celso Senensi, p. 25.

[4] Diss. de Mino Celso, p. 26. Tiraboschi, following Padra Lagomarsini and Abbate Lazzeri, has adopted this opinion, but solely on the ground referred to in the text.

[5] Conringius has shown this from a variety of examples. Præfat. ad Cassandri et Wicelii Libr. de Sacris nostri temporis Controversiis, p. 148.

[6] Laderchii Annal. tom. xx. f. 204.

I am resolved to act according to the advice of the blessed apostle Peter. when he says, Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps, who did no evil, neither was guile found in his mouth ; who, when he was reviled, reviled not again ; when he suffered, threatened not, but committed himself to Him that judgeth righteously. Proceed then to give judgment—pronounce sentence on Aonio, and thus gratify his adversaries and fulfil your office.'"[1] Instead of supposing that the person who uttered these words was under the influence of passion, every reader of right feeling will be disposed to exclaim, "Here is the patience and the faith of the saints!" Before leaving his cell for the place of execution, he was permitted, by the monks who waited on him, to write two letters, one to his wife and another to his sons, Lampridio and Fedro.[2] They are short, but the more affecting from this very circumstance ; because it is evident that he was restrained by the fear of saying anything which, by giving offence to his judges, might lead to the suppression of the letters, or to the harsh treatment of his family after his death. They testify the pious fortitude with which he met his death, as an issue which he had long anticipated and wished for, and that warmth of conjugal and paternal affection which breathes in all his letters.[3] They also afford a negative proof that the report of his recantation was unfounded ; for if he had really changed his sentiments, would he not have felt anxious to acquaint his family with the fact ? or, if the change was feigned, would not the monks have insisted on his using the language of a penitent when they granted him permission to write ?

Paleario had, before his apprehension, taken care to secure his writings against the risk of suppression, by committing them to the care of friends whom he could trust ; and their repeated publication in Protestant countries has saved them from those mutilations to which the works of so many of his countrymen have been subjected. From his letters it appears that he enjoyed the friendship and correspondence of the most celebrated persons of that time, both in the church and in the republic of letters. Among the former were Cardinals Sadolet, Bembo, Pole, Maffei, Badia, Filonardo, Sfondrati ; and among the latter, Flaminio, Riccio, Alciati, Vittorio, Lampridio, and Buonamici. His poem on the immortality of the soul was received with applause by the learned.[4] It is, perhaps, no high praise to say of his Orations that they placed him above all the moderns who obtained the name of Ciceronians, from their studious imitation of the style of the Roman orator ; but they are certainly written with elegance and spirit.[5] His

[1] Laderchii Annal. tom. xx. f. 205.

[2] He left two sons and two daughters.

[3] The two letters will be found in the Appendix.

[4] Tiraboschi, Storia, vii. 1454—1456. Sadolet says of it, in a letter to Sebastian Gryphæus : "Tam graviter, tam erudite, tam etiam et verbis et numeris apte et eleganter tractatum esse, nihil ut ferme nostrorum temporum legerim, quod me in eo genere delectavit magis." Palearii Opera, p. 627 : conf. p. 624.

[5] Morhoff says : "Longe aliter sonat quod Palearius scribit, quàm Longolius et alii inepti Ciceronis imitatores." Colleg. Epistolic. p. 17. Crenius has collected several testi-

letter on the Council of Trent, addressed to the Reformers. and his testimony and pleading against the Roman pontiffs, evince a knowledge of the Scriptures, soundness in the faith, candour, and fervent zeal, worthy of a reformer and confessor of the truth.[1] His tract on the Benefit of the Death of Christ was uncommonly useful, and made a great noise at its first publication. Forty thousand copies of it were sold in the course of six years.[2] It is said that Cardinal Pole had a share in composing this work, and that Flaminio wrote a defence of it;[3] and activity in circulating it formed one of the charges on which Cardinal Morone was imprisoned, and Carnesecchi committed to the flames.[4] When we take into consideration his talents, his zeal, the utility of his writings, and the sufferings which he endured, Paleario must be viewed as one of the greatest ornaments of the reformed cause in Italy.[5]

A number of other excellent men suffered about the same time with Carnesecchi and Paleario, of whom the most noted were Julio Zannetti and Bartolommeo Bartoccio.[6] The latter was the son of a wealthy citizen of Castel, in the duchy of Spoletto, and imbibed the reformed doctrine from Fabrizio Tommassi of Gubbio, a learned young gentleman who was his companion in arms at the siege of Sienna.[7] On returning home he zealously propagated the truth, and made converts of several of his relations. During a dangerous sickness by which he was attacked, he refused to avail himself of the services of the family confessor, and resisted all the arguments by which the bishop of the diocese attempted to bring him back to the Catholic faith; upon which he was summoned, along with his companions, before the governor,

monies to the merit of Palearius. Animad. Philolog. et Historic. part. ii. p. 18—23. Conf. Miscell. Groning. tom. iii. pp. 92, 93. Des Maizeaux, Scaligerana, &c. tom. ii. p. 483. A Life of Paleario is in Bayle and in Niceron.

[1] The letter appears to have been written with the view of being sent along with Ochino when he retired from Italy; and one copy of it was addressed to Bucer and another to Calvin. Salig gave an account of it without knowing the author (Historie der Augspurgischen Confession, tom. ii. lib. v. p. 66); but it was published, for the first time, in 1737, by Schelhorn, along with a short account of the martyrdom of the author. Amœnit. Hist. Eccles. tom. i. n. 425—462. The other work, entitled *Testimonia et Actio in Pontifices Romanos et eorum Asseclas*, though intended also by the author to be sent across the Alps, was first found in his hand-writing at Sienna in the year 1596, and printed in 1606 at Leipsic. Halbauer, Vita Palearii, p. 49. The only peculiar opinion which the author adopted was the unlawfulness of an oath in any case, which he endeavours to support at some length. Opera, p. 317, &c. When he calls marriage a sacrament, he appears to me merely to mean that it was a divine or sacred ordinance. Ibid. pp. 305, 315.

[2] Schelhorn, Ergötzlichkeiten, i. 27.

[3] Schelhorn, Amœnit. Hist. Eccles. tom. i. p. 156. Laderchii Annal. tom. xxii. p. 326.

[4] Wolfii Lect. Memorab. tom. ii. p. 656. Schelhorn, *ut supra*, tom. ii. p. 205. The only writer for two centuries, so far as I know, who has seen the original of this rare work, is Reiderer. The proper title is: Trattato utilissimo del beneficio de Giesu Christo crucifisso, verso i Christiani. Venetiis apud Bernardinum de Bindonis, Anno Do. 1543. Nachrichten zur Kirchen-gelerten und Bücher-geschichte, tom. iv. p. 121. An answer was made to it by Ambrogio Catarino, who was afterwards rewarded with an archbishopric.

[5] The Italian works of Paleario, printed and in MS., including some poems, are mentioned by Tiraboschi. Tom. vii. p. 1456. Joannes Matthæus Toscanus, the author of *Peplus Italiæ*, who was a pupil of Paleario, composed the following verses, among others, on his master:—

> Aonio Aonides Graios prompsere lepores,
> Et quascunque vetus protulit Hellas opes.
> Aonio Latio tinxerunt melle Camœnæ
> Verba ligata modis, verba soluta modis.
> Quæ nec longa dies, nec (quæ scelerata cremasti
> Aonii corpus) perdere flamma potest.

[6] Thuani Hist. ad ann. 1566. Mat. Flacii Catal. Test. Verit., Append.

[7] In 1555.

Paolo Vitelli. Though still weak with the effects of his distemper, he rose in the night-time, surmounted the wall of the city by the help of a pike, and escaped first to Sienna and afterwards to Venice. Having ascertained by letters that there was no hope of his being allowed to return to his native place, or of his receiving any support from his father, except in the way of recanting his opinions, he retired to Geneva, where he married, and became a manufacturer of silk. In the end of the year 1567, while visiting Genoa in the course of trade, he imprudently gave his real name to a merchant, and was apprehended by the inquisition. The magistrates of Geneva and Berne sent to demand his liberation from the Genoese republic; but before their envoy arrived, the prisoner had been sent to Rome at the request of the pope. After suffering an imprisonment of nearly two years, he was sentenced to be burnt alive. The courage which Bartoccio had all along displayed did not forsake him in the trying hour: he walked to the place of execution with a firm step and unaltered countenance; and the cry, *Vittoria, vittoria!* was distinctly heard from his lips after his body was enveloped in the flames.[1]

But it is time to bring this distressing part of the narrative to a close. Suffice it to say, that during the whole of this century the prisons of the Inquisition in Italy, and particularly at Rome, were filled with victims, including persons of noble birth, male and female, men of letters and mechanics. Multitudes were condemned to penance, to the galleys, or other arbitrary punishments, and from time to time individuals were put to death. Several of the prisoners were foreigners, who had visited the country in the course of business or of their travels. Englishmen were peculiarly obnoxious to this treatment.[2] At an earlier period, Dr Thomas Wilson, afterwards secretary to Queen Elizabeth, was accused of heresy, and thrown into the prisons of the inquisition at Rome, on account of some things which were contained in his books on logic and rhetoric. He made his escape in consequence of his prison doors being broken open during the tumult which took place at the death of Pope Paul IV.[3] Among those who escaped by this occurrence was also John Craig, one of our reformers, who lived to draw up the National Covenant, in which Scotland solemnly abjured the popish religion.[4] Dr Thomas Reynolds was less fortunate. After residing for some time at Naples, he was informed against to the bishop, who sent him to Rome along with three Neapolitan gentlemen accused of heresy. With the view of forcing him to depose against his fellow-prisoners, he was subjected to the torture called by the Italians *la tratta di corda*,

[1] Histoire des Martyrs, f. 757, 758.

[2] Ibid. f. 758, a.

[3] Dr Wilson, after giving an account of his imprisonment and escape, in a new edition of one of his works printed in 1560, adds facetiously: "And now that I am come home, this booke is showed me, and I am desired to looke upon it and to amende it where I thought meete. Amende it? quoth I. Nay, let the book first amende itself, and make me amendes. For surely I have no cause to acknowledge it for my booke; because I have so smarted for it. If the sonne were the occasion of the father's imprisonment, would not the father be offended with him, think you?" Art of Rhetorike, Prologue, sig. A 5. Lond. 1583.

[4] Life of John Knox, p. 190.

and by the Spaniards *l'astrapado;* and, in consequence of this and similar treatment, he died in prison in November 1566.[1] In the year 1595 two persons were burnt alive in Rome, the one an Englishman and the other a native of Silesia; the former, having in a fit of zeal indiscreetly torn the host from the hands of the priest who was carrying it in procession, had his hand cut off at the stake before he was committed to the flames. The nobleman who relates this fact, and was then studying at the university of Padua, adds, in a postscript to his letter, that he had just heard of some other Englishmen having been thrown into prison at Rome.[2] Notwithstanding all these severities, persons secretly attached to the reformed doctrines were to be found in that country during the seventeenth century; and some of our own countrymen, who had been induced to expatriate themselves out of zeal for popery, were converted to the Protestant faith during their residence in Italy.[3]

After these details of cruelty, it may appear a matter of trivial interest to trace the measures adopted for the suppression and destruction of books. From the period of the invention of printing, the regulation of the press had belonged to the civil authorities, who issued, from time to time, orders for suppressing particular books, which were deemed dangerous or unfit for the public eye. In the year 1546, Charles V., anxious to arrest the progress of the new opinions in Flanders, charged the theological faculty of Louvain to draw up a catalogue of such books as ought not to be read by the people; and, ten years after, this catalogue was enlarged, and authorised by an imperial edict.[4] In Rome the laws on this subject were still local, and no attempt had been made to extend their authority over the Catholic world. But in 1559, Pope Paul IV., emulating the zeal of the Emperor, resolved to frame a catalogue still more rigid in its prohibitions, and to make its observance universal. Accordingly he published an index of books, accompanied with a denunciation of the highest pains at his pleasure, and particularly of deprivation of ecclesiastical benefices, censures, and infamy, against all who should not, before a certain time, deliver such books to the persons appointed to receive them. This index was divided into three classes. The first contained the names of those

[1] Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 526.

[2] Letter from John Earl of Gowrie, Padua, 28th November 1595; printed in Appendix to Life of Andrew Melville. It is probable that the following extract relates to the execution mentioned above: "Il y a eu plusieurs Anglois (condamnes), mais sur tout un, qui a Rome au grand temple de Saint Pierre, lorsque le prestre consacroit l'hostie, l'arracha d'entre ses mains, le quel fut puny meritoirement. Les Secretaire de Monsieur Dabain m'a dit l'avoir veu executer." Scaligerana Secunda, art. *Hæretici*. In Bishop Hall's Epistles, published in 1614, is a letter "To Mr John Mole, of a long time now a prisoner under the Inquisition at Rome; exciting him to his wonted constancie, and encouraging him to martyrdome." Epistles, Decade vi. ep. 9.

[3] Mr Evelyn, in his travels through Italy in 1646, met with a Scotsman, an officer of the army, at Milan, who treated him courteously, and who, together with an Irish friar, his confidante, concealed their Protestantism from dread of the inquisition. Evelyn's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 215—217.

[4] An account of the first register of prohibited books, written in the language of the Netherlands, and printed at Antwerp in 1540, is given by Riederer, in Nachrichten, tom. i. p. 354—361.

authors whose whole works, whatever the subject might be of which they treated, were interdicted. The second contained the names of those persons of whose works some only were specified as forbidden. The third pointed out certain books printed without any author's name, and contained a prohibition of all anonymous books published since the year 1519, and of all of the same description which might be published for the future without the approbation of the ordinary of the place and of an inquisitor. To the whole was added a list of upwards of sixty printers, with a prohibition of all works which proceeded from their press, on what subject and in what language soever they were written. Such was the infamous *Index Expurgatorius* of Rome; an engine devised to extinguish letters in Europe, and to reduce it to the barbarism from which it had lately emerged.[1]

Deputies were despatched without delay to the different states of Italy, for the purpose of promulgating the papal decree in confirmation of the index, and seeing it carried into effect. The doom of the condemned books was the same with that pronounced against heretics—consumption by the flames. The arrival of the deputies at Florence threw Cosmo, Duke of Tuscany, into great perplexity. On the one hand, he was afraid of irritating his holiness and his myrmidons; on the other, to execute such a decree would have been to forfeit the glory of the house of Medici, and to desecrate a city which boasted of being the favourite seat of letters and the arts. From this dilemma he expected to be extricated by the determination of his neighbours. But the senate of Venice temporised, while the Viceroy of Naples and the Governor of Milan referred the matter to Philip II., who was then in Flanders, though the disposition of that monarch to suppress every species of liberty was sufficiently known. Torelli, an eminent lawyer and first auditor of the duke, having been required to make a report on the subject to his master, presented a remonstrance stating that the execution of this indiscreet law would inflict on the citizens of Florence a loss of more than a hundred thousand ducats, would ruin the printers and booksellers, and reduce to ashes all books printed in Germany, Paris, and Lyons (which were the most highly esteemed), including Bibles, Greek and Roman classics, and other works of great value and public utility. The Medicean College, through Andrea Pasquali, the duke's physician, represented the injury which it would inflict on the study of the arts; and the deputies of the inquisition themselves, having been probably dealt with in private by Cosmo, seemed to be ashamed to insist on a rigorous execution of their orders. But the Cardinal of Alexandria (afterwards Pius V.) insisted on the promulgation of the papal decree, in which he was zealously supported by the monks. To this the duke partially consented, appointing it to be

[1] Index Auctorum et Librorum qui ab Officio Sanctæ Rom. & Universalis Inquisitionis caveri ab omnibus & singulis in universa Christiana Republica mandantur. Hic Index excusus est—de mandato speciali sacri officii, Romæ An. D. 1559. Mense Januarii.

carried into effect as to all books contrary to religion, or which treated of magic and judicial astrology, but suspending its execution as to others; and the monks of San Maria, who intended to yield implicit obedience to the papal decree, were given to understand that, as patron of their convent and library, he could not agree to the destruction of so many books, the gift of his ancestors. On the 8th of March 1559 the condemned books were accordingly brought out and committed to the flames, with great solemnity, in the piazzas of San Giovanni and Sante Cruce. Notwithstanding the restrictions, the trade suffered so severely that the magistrates of Basle, Zurich, and Frankfort applied to Cosmo to use his influence with the pope to obtain some reparation for the loss which their respective cities had sustained.[1]

In the mean time, the work of conflagration was carried on without discrimination or remorse at Rome, throughout the States of the Church, and in every part of Italy that was under the influence of the papal court, to the dismay of literary men, foreign and native. "At Rome," says Bullinger in a letter to Blaurer, "Paul IV. has burned all the works of Erasmus, and also the works of Cyprian, Jerome, and Augustine, because they are polluted, as he foully speaks, with the scholia of Erasmus."[2] "So great," says Simler, "was the number of books condemned by the pope, that the professors in the Italian academies complained loudly that they would be obliged to desist from lecturing if the edict remained in force. The magistrates of Frankfort, as well as ours and those of other cities in Germany, wrote to the senate of Venice, urging them not to admit an edict which would put an end to the mutual traffic in books."[3] An Italian writer of that age says: "The number of books committed to the flames was immense, so that if they had all been collected into one place, it would have equalled the burning of Troy. There was not a library, private or public, which escaped the disaster, or which was not nearly annihilated."[4] Another contemporary writes thus from Rome to a friend in Germany: "Why do you think of setting forth new works, at a time when almost all those which have been published are laid under an interdict. No one here will, in my opinion, venture for many years to write anything, except it may be a letter to an absent friend. It is vain for you to labour on the translation of Demosthenes, or the various readings of the Bible. Faernus has been occupied for several days in clearing and purging his library; and I intend to commence the same operation to-morrow, lest some of the prohibited goods should be found in my possession. This shipwreck, or rather conflagration, of books will, I doubt not, have the effect of deterring your learned men from writing, and making your printers cautious of what they undertake. As you regard me and your-

[1] Galluzzi, Istor. del Granduc. di Toscano, tom. i. p. 366—369.
[2] Hottinger, Hist. Eccl. tom. ix. p. 408.
[3] Vita H. Bullingeri, p. 33.
[4] Natalis Comes, Hist. Sui Temporis, b. xi. p. 263.

self, keep your desk close, lest anything which comes to you should transpire."[1]

On the death of Paul IV. the inquisition after books was relaxed, and a new index was published by the authority of the Council of Trent, which, while it included a greater number of Protestant works under the prohibitory sentence, was more select and discriminate in its censure of other productions of the press. The names of some popish authors formerly stigmatised were dropped, and a distinction was made among the works of others. But this led to a practice as barbarous as the former. The tolerated works were mangled by the censors of the press, to whose correction they were subjected. Several copies of the works of the fathers are still to be found, in which the annotations of Erasmus are so much disfigured by being cut with knives, torn with pincers, or besmeared with glutinous matter, as to be utterly illegible. One of these is plastered over with woodcuts and figures of different kinds, in such a way as to have the appearance of a historical or cosmographical work, instead of one of the fathers; but on a more minute inspection, we ascertain that these figures consist of views of fields of battle, tournaments, and executions, maps of cities and countries, drawings of animals, escutcheons, medals, and other prints, which the inquisitors had ordered to be taken out of Munster's Cosmography, and similar works, when they were condemned to the flames.[2] So strict was the search at this period, that domiciliary visits were appointed with the view of discovering such books as were prohibited; and those who were unwilling to have them committed to the flames, or who had neglected to deliver them up within the prescribed time, adopted the precaution of burying them in the earth, or immuring them in their houses. On taking down an old house in Urbino, in the year 1728, the workmen disinterred a copy of Bruccioli's paraphrase of Paul's Epistles, with some books of Ochino, Valdes, and others of the same kind, which had remained in concealment for more than a century and a half.[3]

[1] Latinus Latinius, Lucubrat. part. ii. p. 61.
[2] Schelhorn, Ergötzlichkeiten, tom. i. p. 20—22.
[3] Apostolo Zeno, Note al Fontanini Bibl. della Eloq. Italiana, tom. i. p. 119.

CHAPTER VI.

FOREIGN ITALIAN CHURCHES, WITH ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE REFORMATION IN THE GRISONS.

An account of those exiles who left Italy from attachment to the Protestant cause forms an important branch of our undertaking. It is important, whether we take into view the testimony which was given to the authority of religious principle and the reformed faith by the fact of so many persons quitting their homes, and all that was dear to them, in obedience to the dictates of conscience, or consider the loss which their ungrateful country sustained by their emigration, and the benefits which accrued to those countries which, with Christian hospitality, opened an asylum to the unfortunate strangers.

It was calculated that, in the year 1550, the exiles amounted to two hundred, of whom a fourth or fifth part were men of letters, and these not of the meanest name.[1] Before the year 1559, the number had increased to eight hundred.[2] From that time to the year 1568, we have ground to believe that the increase was fully as great in proportion; and down to the close of the century, individuals were to be seen, after short intervals, flying to the north, and throwing themselves on the glaciers of the Alps to escape the fires of the Inquisition.

The settlements which the Italian refugees made in the Grisons claim our first notice. With a few exceptions they all visited that country in the first instance, and a great part of them made it the place of their permanent abode. This was chiefly owing to its proximity to Italy, and its affording them the best opportunities of corresponding with the friends they had left behind them, or of gratifying the hope, to which exiles long fondly cling, of revisiting their natal soil, as soon as such a change should occur as would render this step practicable and safe. But in choosing this as a place of residence, they must also have been influenced by the consideration that the native tongue of the inhabitants in the southern dependencies of the Grison republic was Italian, while a language bearing a near affinity to it was spoken over the greater part of the republic itself. The affairs of the Italian settlers in the Grisons are so interwoven with the progress of the Reformation in that country, that the former cannot be understood without some account of

[1] Vergerio, Lettere al Vescovo di Lesina: De Porta, tom. ii. p. 36.
[2] Busdragi Epist. *ut supra*, p. 322.

the latter. I shall be the less scrupulous in entering into details on this subject, because it relates to a portion of the history of the Reformed Church which is comparatively little known among us ; for while the interesting fortunes of the Vaudois, who took refuge in the Valais and Piedmont, have attracted the attention of ecclesiastical historians to the Cottian or western range of the Alps, the Rhetian or eastern has been in a great measure overlooked.

To the south-east of Switzerland, in the higher region of the Alps, where these gigantic mountains, covered with ice and clouds, are cleft into narrow valleys, and around the sources of the Rhine and Inn, lies the country of the ancient Rhetians and modern Grisons. Secluded from the rest of the world, and occupied in feeding their cattle on the mountains, and in cultivating corn and the vine within their more fertile valleys, the inhabitants, who came originally from Italy, had preserved their ancient language and manners, with little variation, from a period considerably anterior to the Christian era. During the middle ages they fell under the dominion of the Bishops of Coire, the Abbots of Disentis, and a crowd of other chiefs, ecclesiastical and secular, who kept them in awe by means of innumerable castles, the ruins of which are still to be seen in all parts of the country. Worn out by the injuries which they suffered from these petty tyrants, and animated by the example which had been set them by their neighbours the Swiss, the miserable inhabitants, in the course of the fifteenth century, threw off the yoke of their oppressors one by one ; and, having established a popular government in their several districts, entered into a common league for the defence of their independence and rights. The Grison league or republic consisted of a union of three distinct leagues—the Grey League, that of God's House, and that of the Ten Jurisdictions, each of which was composed of a number of smaller communities, which retained the right of managing all their internal affairs, as well as of sending deputies to the general diet, whose powers were extremely circumscribed. In no nation, ancient or modern, have the principles of democracy been carried to such an extent as in the Grison republic ; and as the checks necessary to prevent its abuse were not provided by a rude people smarting under the recent effects of tyranny, its form of government, according to the confession of its own as well as foreign writers, not only created great dissensions, but led to gross corruption and bribery in election to offices and in the administration of justice.[1] Toward the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Grison republic obtained a large accession to its territories, by the possession of the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, fertile districts situate between the Alps and the Milanese and Venetian territories.

The corruptions which had overspread the Catholic church before the Reformation, were to be found in the Grisons, with all the aggravations

[1] De Porta, Hist. Ref. Eccl. Ræt. i. 15 ; ii. 264. Zschokke, Des Schweizerlands Geschichte, 275—279. Id. traduit par Monnard, 222—224. Coxe's Travels in Switzerland, iii., let. 85.

arising from the credulity of a rude people utterly ignorant of letters. The clergy lived openly in concubinage, figured at revels, rode about the country in complete armour, and claimed and enjoyed, under a republican government, a complete exemption from the laws, even when they were guilty of the most flagrant crimes and outrages.[1] Bands of foreign priests, furnished with bulls from the pope, continually prowled about in search of vacant benefices; and as they were ignorant of the language of the country, could do nothing but say mass in Latin. Preaching was unknown, for the most part, even among the native clergy; and when they did attempt it, on the appearance of the reformers among them, their performances were such as to excite at once ridicule and pity.[2] In many of the communities the people were as ignorant as brutes. Half a century after the light of the Reformation had penetrated into the Rhetian valleys, the government found it necessary to issue a decree that the Roman Catholic priests should recite the Lord's prayer, apostle's creed, and ten commandments, for the instruction of the people. There were, however, a few honourable exceptions, both among the clergy and laity.

The inhabitants of the Grisons first learned their love of evangelical reform, as they had done their love of civil liberty, from the Swiss. A year had scarcely elapsed from the time that Zuingle embarked in the reform of the Church of Zurich, when he received a letter from a schoolmaster at Coire, the capital of the League of God's House, informing him that his name was known to many in that country who approved of his doctrine and were weary of the simony of the Church of Rome.[3] He soon after received a letter to the same purpose from the Stadtvogt or chief magistrate of the town of Mayenfeld, within the League of the Ten Jurisdictions. In the year 1524, the government of the Grisons imitated the example of the Popish cantons of Switzerland, who, as a means of checking the progress of innovation, had enacted laws for the reformation of the clergy. In a diet held at Ilantz, the capital of the Grey League, it was decreed, among other articles, that parish priests should discharge their duty by instructing the people according to the word of

[1] In the eighteenth century this exemption continued to be enjoyed in the Valteline, not only by the clergy, but also by all who purchased permission from the Bishop of Como to wear a clerical dress. Coxe's Travels in Switzerland, vol. iii. p. 130.

[2] Theodore Schlegel, Abbot of St Luke, in the city of Coire, Vicar of the Diocese, and one of the acutest opponents of the Reformation, in a sermon preached by him on Christmas 1525, told the people: "St John was the most excellent of all the Evangelists, on account of his virginity, which enabled him to write in an elevated strain and under divine inspiration concerning the Godhead. But you will say, Peter returned a good answer to the question of the Lord, when he said, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.' I answer, he spoke this *ex exteriore conjectura, computatione;* he had acquired the knowledge of it from external things, when he saw him walking on the sea and doing other wonders; but he did not call him the Son of God from divine inspiration, as St John did. As the incarnation of Christ was brought about through the figures of the law, the promise of the Father, and the writings of the prophets, so truly does he come into the hands of the priest in the bread in the service of the mass; and whoever denies the latter denies also the former." The writer who has reported this passage, adds: "May we not apply to this preacher the adage, *Among cows an ox is an abbot?*" Comander ad Zuinglium, ann. 1526: De Porta, tom. i. p. 48.

[3] De Porta, tom. i. p. 40—51.

God; and that, provided they failed in this, or were unfit for it, the parishioners should have liberty to choose others in their room. These regulations were evaded by the clergy; but they were the means of fixing the attention of the people on a subject to which they had hitherto been indifferent, and produced unforeseen consequences of the greatest importance. The first public reformation in the Grisons took place in the years 1524 and 1525, when the inhabitants of the valley of St Anthony, of Flesch, and of Malantz, in the high jurisdiction of Mayenfeld, though surrounded by powerful neighbours addicted to Popery, embraced with one consent the Protestant doctrine and abolished the mass.[1] This produced so great an effect, that within a short time the new doctrine began to be preached by some of the priests, and was eagerly listened to by the people, in various places throughout the three leagues. Among these preachers, the most distinguished were Andrew Sigfrid and Andrew Fabritz, at Davos, the chief town in the League of the Ten Jurisdictions; and in the League of God's House, James Tutschet or Biveron, in Upper Engadina; Philip Salutz or Gallitz, in Lower Engadina; and John Dorfman or Comander, who, in consequence of the late regulations of the diet, had been chosen parson of St Martin's church in the town of Coire.[2] The two last afterwards became colleagues at Coire, and they may with propriety be designed the joint reformers of the Grisons, having contributed beyond all others to the advancement of knowledge and religion in their native country. Comander was a man of learning, sound judgment, and warm piety. To these qualities Gallitz added great dexterity in the management of public business, an invincible command of temper, and uncommon eloquence both in his native tongue and in Latin.[3] The conversion of John Frick, parish priest of Mayenfeld, was brought about in a singular manner. Being a zealous Catholic, and of great note among his brethren, he had warmly resisted the new opinions when they first made their appearance. Filled with chagrin and alarm at the progress of innovation in his immediate neighbourhood, he repaired to Rome to implore the assistance of his holiness, and to consult on the best method of preventing his native country from being overrun with heresy. But he was so struck with the irreligion which he observed in the court of Rome, and the ignorance and vice prevailing in Italy, that, returning home, he joined the party which he had opposed, and became the reformer of Mayenfeld. In his old age, he used to say to his friends pleasantly that he learned his Gospel at Rome.[4]

In the mean time the clergy, aroused from the slumbers into which they had sunk through indolence and the absence of all opposition, had recourse to every means within their power to check the progress of the new opinions. Bonds of adherence to the Catholic faith were exacted from the parish priests. The most odious and horrid represen-

[1] De Porta, tom, i. p. 57—68.
[2] Ibid. pp. 58, 59, 76—78. Ruchat, Hist. de la Reform. de la Suisse, i. 273, 274.
[3] De Porta, tom. i. pp. 67. 79; tom. ii. p. 278.
[4] Schelhorn, Amœn. Hist. Eccl. tom. ii. p. 237. Ruchat, tom. i. p. 275.

tations of the reformers and their tenets were circulated among the people. Individuals belonging to the Anabaptists who had been banished from Switzerland came to the Grisons, and laboured to make proselytes among the reformed by pretending to preach a purer and more spiritual religion than was taught by Luther and Zuingle, whom they put on a level with the pope. The popish clergy secretly encouraged these enthusiasts,[1] at the same time that they made use of their excesses to excite prejudice against the cause of the Reformation.[2] When the general diet of the republic met at Coire in the year 1525, the bishop and clergy presented a formal accusation against Comander and the other reforming preachers, praying that they might be punished by the secular arm, for propagating impious, scandalous, and seditious heresies, contrary to the faith of the Catholic church during fifteen centuries, and tending to produce that rebellion and outrage which had lately been witnessed at Münster and other places. Comander having, in the name of his brethren, declared their readiness to vindicate the doctrine which they held against these criminations, a day was appointed for a conference or dispute between the two parties at Ilantz, in the presence of certain members of the diet. The dispute which ensued added seven to the number of the reformed preachers, who were previously above forty; while the articles which formed the subject of dispute, having been printed and circulated throughout the valleys, multiplied converts among the laity.[3]

In the mean time an event occurred which had well-nigh proved fatal to the reformed party. Irritated by the assistance which the Grisons had given to Francis I., the Emperor and the Duke of Milan encouraged the turbulent John de Medicis, Marquis of Muss, to attack their southern territories. Having possessed himself of the castle and town of Chiavenna, he threatened to attack the Valteline. This obliged the republic to recall their troops from Italy before the famous battle of Pavia; but having failed, after all, in recovering the castle, they had recourse to the mediation of the Swiss cantons. The deputies sent by the Swiss were keen Roman Catholics, and asserted that they had it in charge from their constituents to obtain a pledge that heresy should not be permitted to spread in the Grisons, without which they could not co-

[1] Their leader, who went by the name of Blaurok, in allusion to the colour of his cloak, was an ex-monk of the Grisons, who had made a great noise in Switzerland. At Zurich he said "he would undertake to prove that Zuinglius had offered greater violence to the Scriptures than the Roman pontiff himself." Acta Senat. Tigur. apud De Porta, tom. ii. p. 86. The following is an extract from one of his letters: "I am the door, he that entereth in by me shall find pasture; he that entereth by any other way is a thief and a robber. As it is written: 'I am the good Shepherd, the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep,' so I give my life and my spirit for my sheep, my body to the tower, my life to the sword, or the fire, or the winepress, to squeeze out the blood and flesh, as Christ gave his on the cross. I am the restorer of the baptism of Christ, and the bread of the Lord. I and my beloved brethren, Conrad Grebel and Felix Manx. Therefore the pope, along with his followers, is a thief and a robber; and so also are Luther with his followers, and Zuinglius and Leo Juda with theirs." De Porta, tom. ii. p. 89. Blaurok and his associates were banished from the Grisons in the year 1525.

[2] De Porta, p. 87—92.

[3] Ruchat, tom. i. p. 408—416. De Porta, tom. i. pp. 96—100, 102—130.

operate in bringing the negotiations to a favourable issue. The marquis covered his ambitious project with the pretext of zeal for the church, and was besides under the influence of his brother, then an ecclesiastic in the Valteline, and afterwards raised to the pontifical chair under the designation of Pius IV. Availing himself of these circumstances, the Bishop of Coire prevailed on the deputies to insert in the treaty an article which provided for the maintenance of the ancient religion, and the punishment of all who refused conformity to it. An extraordinary diet was called to deliberate on this affair; and so great was the influence of the bishop and mediators, together with the anxiety of the nation to put an end to the war, that a majority voted for the article respecting religion. It was, however, warmly opposed by the representatives of several districts, including the city of Coire, which refused to affix its seal to the decree. The manner in which the decree was expressed seems to intimate that it partook of the nature of an understood compromise and temporary measure, for while it provided that the mass, auricular confession, and other rites, should be observed, it added, that "along with these the Gospel and word of God should be preached;" and in declaring that non-conformists should be subjected to an arbitrary punishment, the diet "reserved to itself the liberty of altering its measures, upon being better informed by disputations, councils, or any other way."[1] The first effect of this law was the banishment of Gallitz, whose talents and success rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the abettors of Popery. Several of his brethren were also obliged to retire from the country, to avoid the processes intended against them. But the city of Coire, in spite of their bishop, maintained Comander in his situation. Their example was followed in other places; and though the clergy endeavoured to push the advantage which they had gained, they found that a spirit was abroad in the nation too powerful for all their efforts, even when supported by legislative enactments. The subject was brought before the next national diet by the report of the commissioners appointed to attend the dispute at Ilantz, and after consultation it was moved and agreed to, "That it shall be free to all persons of both sexes, and of whatever condition or rank, within the territories of the Grison confederation, to choose, embrace, and profess either the Roman Catholic or the Evangelical religion; and that no one shall, publicly or privately, harass another with reproaches or odious speeches on account of his religion, under an arbitrary penalty." To this was added the renovation of a former law, "That the ministers of religion shall teach nothing to the people but what is contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and what they can prove by them; and that parish priests shall be enjoined to give themselves assiduously to the study of the Scriptures as the only rule of faith and manners."[2]

[1] De Porta, tom. i. p. 131—134.

[2] Ruchat, i. 416. De Porta, i. 146. Anabaptists, and those of other sects, if they retained and propagated their errors after due information and admonition, were subjected to banishment.

This remarkable statute, which, whatever infractions it may have suffered, and whatever attempts may have been made to overthrow it, remains to this day the charter of religious liberty in the Grisons, was formally sealed and solemnly confirmed by the oaths of all the deputies at Ilantz, on the 26th of June 1526, along with a number of other regulations of great importance. The power of appointing magistrates and judges was taken from the Bishop of Coire and his ecclesiastics, and given to the people in their several communities. Where persons had bequeathed sums of money to churches and convents for offering anniversary masses and prayers for their souls, both they and their heirs were declared free from any obligation to make such payments for the future, "because no good ground could be shown for believing that this was of any benefit to the deceased." It was decreed that no new members, male or female, should henceforth be admitted into monasteries; that the existing monks should be restrained from begging; and that, after appropriating a certain sum for their support during life, the remainder of the funds should be returned to the heirs of those who originally bestowed them, and, failing them, be disposed of as each League thought best. The power of choosing and dismissing their respective ministers was given to parishes.[1] All appeals from secular courts to the jurisdiction of the bishop were strictly prohibited; annats and small tithes were abolished, and the great tithes reduced to a fifth part.[2]

It thus appears that a great deal more was done on this occasion by the authorities of the Grisons than merely recognising and sanctioning religious liberty. A national reformation was introduced, which, so far as it went, must have been attended with the most beneficial consequences to the State and to individuals, whether Popish or Protestant. The grand principle of the Protestant reformation was, in fact, recognised by the legislature, when it declared the sacred Scriptures to be the only rule of religion. Some of the grossest abuses of Popery, and those which draw many others after them, were abolished; and the liberties of the Roman Catholics were secured, not only against attacks from the Protestants, but also against the more dangerous encroachments and demands of their own clergy, and of a foreign priest who claimed dominion over both. It is impossible to read the document on which we are commenting without being convinced that the Grisons possessed at this period statesmen of enlightened minds and liberal principles. The historians of that country have gratefully preserved the names of the men by whom the deed was drawn up, and through whose influence chiefly it was adopted by the supreme council of the republic. Two of them were distinguished above their brethren—John

[1] The words of this article are—"Ad hinc etiam penes singulas parochias esto suos pastores omni tempore eligendi, conducendi atque rursus quando lubitum fuerit, dimittendi." De Porta, i. 150. Formerly the Bishop of Coire had the power of appointing and removing the parish priests throughout the whole of his diocese.

[2] De Porta, tom. i. p. 148—151. Ruchat, tom. i. pp. 416, 417.

Guler, whose name often occurs in the history of his country, and John Travers, neither of whom had at that time joined the reformers. The latter, who belonged to a noble and ancient family of Zuts in Upper Engadina, had received his education at Munich, and improved his mind by travelling in different parts of Europe. His abilities and learning, adorned by the most unimpeachable integrity, secured the confidence of his countrymen, who intrusted him with the highest offices of the State and the management of their most delicate affairs. He was equally distinguished as a soldier and a scholar, a politician and a divine. The first book ever written in the Grison language came from his pen,[1] being a poem on the war against the Marquis of Muss, in which he had himself commanded the forces of his country. The late period at which he renounced the communion of the Church of Rome was beneficial to the evangelical cause, as his colleagues in the senate and his countrymen at large entertained on that account the less jealousy of the measures which he proposed in favour of religious liberty. After joining himself to the reformed church, he promoted its interests with the utmost zeal. The Protestant minister settled in his native city being a young man, and meeting with great opposition from the principal families of the place, Travers asked and readily obtained from the ministers permission to act as his assistant. The whole country was struck with astonishment to see a man of rank, and renowned for his services in the senate, the field, and foreign courts, mount the pulpit. The Roman Catholics tried to conceal the chagrin and alarm which they felt, by circulating the report that he was mad or in dotage; but his performances soon put to silence their invidious and artful allegations.[2]

The publication of the edict in favour of religious liberty was followed by the rapid spread of the new opinions; but the formation of churches was much slower. This proceeded partly from the plan pursued by the first reformers, who, to use their own expression, "sought to remove idols from the hearts of the people before they removed them from the churches;" and partly from the democratical nature of the government, which required the unanimous or at least general concurrence of each community previously to any change on the public worship. In the year 1527, the mass was abolished, images removed, and the sacrament of the Supper celebrated after the reformed mode, in St Martin's church at Coire, under the direction of Comander. The same thing was done at Lavin in Lower Engadina, under the direction of Gallitz; at Davos, in the Ten Jurisdictions, under the direction of Fabritz; and at Ilantz, in the Grey League, under the direction of

[1] It does not appear that this work was printed.

[2] De Porta, i. 229, 233—241. Coxe's Travels in Switzerland, iii. 295—298. A fine letter which Gallitz addressed to Travers, on his application for liberty to preach, has been preserved. "O felicem terram quæ tales nanciscitur doctores et magistros!—Sed quæ modestia est ista explodenda, imo quod facimus hoc, quod permittis tibi petere a nobis auctoritatem, quum fecerit opus concionandi? Tu, inquam, qui Rhætiæ nostræ primoribus auctor fuisti, veniam nobis concedendi ut prædicemus evangelium," &c.

Christian Hartman. The example set by these places was soon imitated by others. The reformed religion was embraced earliest in the League of the Ten Jurisdictions, where it soon became almost universal. Within the League of God's House it prevailed generally in the neighbourhood of Coire, but made little progress in Engadina and other places to the south until 1542, when the Italian exiles arrived. In the High or Grey League the number of its adherents was still smaller.[1]

Had the Reformation continued to move forward with the same rapidity which marked its progress during the six years which succeeded the declaration of religious liberty, the ancient religion must soon have disappeared before it. Various causes, however, contributed to arrest its progress. One of these is to be found in the languages of the country. The Rhetian, Italian, and German tongues were all spoken in the Grisons, so that the inhabitants of two adjacent valleys were often incapable of understanding one another. This of itself must have proved a great hinderance to the communication of knowledge, especially as the number of teachers was small. But this was not all. The Rhetian or Grison tongue is divided into two dialects, the Romansh and the Ladin, and there was not a single book in either of them at the time of the Reformation. Nobody had ever seen a word written in that tongue, and it was the common opinion that it could not be committed to writing.[2] There can be little doubt that the rapid and extensive spread of the reformed doctrine among the inhabitants of the Ten Jurisdictions was owing, in a great degree, to their speaking the German tongue, and consequently having access to the Scriptures and other books in their native language. The same remark applies to the citizens of Coire and of some other places. But the inhabitants of those districts where nothing was spoken but the original language of the country, were long confined to oral instruction. The reformed ministers laboured assiduously in supplying this defect, and they at last practically demonstrated the fallacy of the ignorant prejudice which the priests had fostered in the minds of the people. In this respect, their country is under unspeakable obligations to them. Other nations owe their literature to the Reformation: the Grisons are indebted to it for their alphabet. But a number of years elapsed before the preachers, occupied with other labours and straitened in their finances, could bring their writings from the press; and, by that time, the desire for knowledge which the first promulgation of the reformed doctrines had excited must have been in some degree worn off from the minds of the people. A translation of Comander's German Catechism into the Ladin, by James Tutchet or Biveroni,

[1] De Porta, tom. i. cap. 8. Ruchat. i. 274, 417, 418. Coxe's Travels in Switzerland, iii. 250—253.

[2] De Porta, i. 19; ii. 403. Coxe, iii. 294. In addition to a collection of words and phrases in Romansh, Ebel has inserted a dissertation on the history of that language (which he calls "la langue Hétrusco-Rhéticnne"), by Placidus a Specha, capitular of Disentis. From this it would appear that a number of old MSS., written in that language during the middle ages, were preserved, the greater part of which, however, were destroyed when the French burnt the monastry of Disentis in 1799. Manuel du Voyageur en Suisse, tom. i. p. 318—337.

printed at Puschiavo in the year 1552, was the first work which had appeared in the Rhetian language. "At the sight of this work," says a historian then alive, "the Grisons stood amazed, like the Israelites of old at the sight of the manna." Biveroni printed, in 1560, his translation of the New Testament into the same language, which was followed in 1562 by a metrical version of the Psalms, and a collection of hymns, composed by Ulrich Campel.[1]

Another cause was the poverty of the pastors, which inflicted a lasting injury on the reformed church.[2] While the popish priests possessed the tithes, in addition to what they gained by private masses and confessions, the Protestant ministers received a small stipend from their congregations, and, in many cases, were reduced to the necessity of supporting themselves by manual labour. Gallitz, a man of liberal education, states in one of his familiar letters that he and his family had been for two years in great straits, were obliged to sleep during the night in the clothes which they wore through the day, seldom tasted flesh, were often without bread, and, for weeks together, lived solely on vegetables seasoned with salt. Yet he trained his son for the church; and when the young man had an advantageous offer made him during his attendance at the academy of Basle, his father declared it would be impiety in him to accept it, when there were so few persons capable of preaching to his countrymen in their native language.[3] But it was not to be expected that the first reformers would be succeeded by men of the same nobleness of mind. The consequence was that the people, in many parts of the country, remained destitute of pastors, or were induced to receive illiterate persons of low character, who disgraced the office by their meanness or their vices. "Assuredly," says the excellent man last mentioned, "covetous persons are most cruel to themselves, while they choose rather to be without good pastors than to be at the expense of maintaining them. Oh! the ingratitude of men, who, a little ago, cheerfully gave a hundred crowns for teaching lies, and now grudge to give twenty for preaching the truth!"[4] Another radical defect of the Grison reformation consisted in neglecting entirely to provide the means of education for youth. This the reformed ministers exerted themselves to remedy, and they succeeded at last in providing parochial teachers for the chief towns, and in persuading the legislature to appropriate the residuary funds of such monasteries as were suppressed to the establishment of a national seminary at Coire.[5] These evils were aggravated by

[1] De Porta, ii. 404—407. The Bible was published in the Ladin of Lower Engadina, for the first time, in 1679; and in the Romansh of the Grey League so late as 1718. Coxe, iii. 301—304.

[2] In Travellers' Guides through the Grisons it is to this day a common direction, "If the town to which you come be Catholic, call for the curé of the parish, who will entertain you hospitably: if it be Protestant, you may ask for the pastor, who will direct you to the best inn; for the salaries of the pastors are so sorry, and their houses so bad, that, however willing, they cannot show hospitality."

[3] De Porta, i. 181, 186, 187.

[4] Gallicius ad Henr. Bullingerum, 6 Mart. 1553: De Porta, i. 180.

[5] This academy was opened in the year 1542; and the individual first placed at the head of it was John Pontisella, a native of Pregalia, for whom Bullinger, at the request of the Grison reformers, had obtained a gratuitous education at Zurich. Ibid. i. 187, 192—197.

the political state of the country. Proud of their liberty, the natives of the Grisons were weakly jealous of those common measures which were in fact necessary to preserve it: while they roamed about their valleys without control, they forgot that savages are free; and, pleased to hear their mountains re-echo the votes which they gave at the election of a municipal *landamman* or of a deputy to the diet, they did not perceive that their voices were in reality at the command of a few men of superior intelligence, many of whom had sold themselves, and were prepared to sell them, to the highest bidder. Foreign princes had their pensioners resident in the Grisons; the chief statesmen were secretly in the interest either of the Emperor or of the King of France; and between the two factions, the country was at once distracted, corrupted, and betrayed. Next to his labours in reforming religion, Zuingle is entitled to immortal praise for denouncing, at the expense of incurring the odium of his countrymen, the practice of hiring themselves out as mercenaries to fight the battles of foreign princes. The Grison reformers imitated his example, and they met his reward: their countrymen, imagining that they were hirelings like themselves, punished them by reducing their stipends![1]

In respect to government, as well as doctrine and worship, the churches in the Grisons were organised after the manner of those in the Protestant cantons of Switzerland. From the beginning, congregations had their consistories. To these were added, probably at a later period, colloquies or presbyteries, of which there were two in each league. The pastors were accustomed to meet together occasionally for consultation about the common interests of the reformed body, for examining and ordaining candidates for the ministry, and for rectifying the disorders which occurred. But these meetings were voluntary, and their determinations were given out in the form of advices. The report having gone abroad that a great scarcity of preaching was felt in the Grisons, numbers flocked into the country from Switzerland and Germany, pretending to be preachers, although they were both illiterate and disreputable in character. Repairing to the valleys, they insinuated themselves into the affections of the country people; and having clandestinely concluded a bargain with them to serve their churches for a small sum of money, they behaved in such a manner as to open the mouths of the Roman Catholics, and bring great discredit on the evangelical cause. To remedy this evil, the ministers applied to the diet of the republic for their sanction to the holding of a national synod, which should have power to call to account those who had come from foreign parts, inquire

[1] In answer to a letter from Bullinger (Feb. 18, 1544), dissuading him from leaving his station at Coire, Comander writes: "Another reason is, that, six years ago, when I opposed myself to the worthless pensioners in a sermon, as I was in duty bound to do, I excited their rage against me, and they took away thirty-three florins from my stipend, which was before sufficiently small. Hitherto I have digested this injury, and have supplied the deficiency from my own and my wife's fortune; but if I continue to do this much longer, my children must be reduced to beggary after my death." De Porta, tom. i. p. 183: conf. p. 256.

into their qualifications, and exact from them certificates of character; to examine all who should afterwards be admitted to the ministry, watch over their conduct, censure the disorderly, and, in general, preserve the order and promote the edification of the whole reformed body. This petition was granted by the diet on the 14th of January 1537, and from that time the synod was held regularly every year in the month of June, when the passage across the mountains was easiest.[1]

Such was the state of the reformed churches in the Grisons, when the exiles from Italy first made their appearance in that country. The encouragement presented to them, in a worldly point of view, was certainly far from flattering; but they had come seeking a refuge, not a fortune. They had left a land flowing with milk and honey: what they wanted was a land of religious liberty, and in which there was not a famine of hearing the word of God. Accordingly, they were received in a very different manner from the vagrants formerly mentioned: the tale of their distress had arrived before them, and their sufferings were held to be sufficient testimonials.

Their first arrival in the country produced an impression highly favourable to the interests of the Reformation. The very sight of so many persons, some of them illustrious for birth, learning, and rank, civil and ecclesiastical, who had voluntarily renounced their honours and estates, left their dearest friends,[2] and encountered poverty, with all the other hardships attendant on exile, rather than do violence to their consciences, while it established the Protestants in the doctrine which they had embraced, struck the minds of their adversaries with astonishment, and forced on the most reluctant the suspicion that such sacrifices could not have been made on slight grounds. No sooner did the exiles find themselves safe than they detailed the cruelties of the Inquisition, and laid open the arts of the Court of Rome, with the ignorance, superstition, and vice which reigned in it. They dwelt with enthusiasm on the liberty of conscience and the pure preaching of the Gospel enjoyed in the Grisons. They grudged no labour in communicating instruction, privately and publicly, wherever an opportunity offered, by which means they gained many souls to Christ, especially among those who spoke Italian. Some of them made themselves masters of the language of the country, so as to be able, within a short time, to preach to the inhabitants. They made attempts, and often successfully, to preach in parts of the country from which the native ministers deemed it prudent to abstain; and in every place in which they remained for any time, new churches were sure to spring up.[3]

[1] De Porta, i. 188—192.

[2] Julio de Milano, writing to Bullinger from Tirano, in the Valteline, 23d June 1552, says: "The circumstances of the person who will deliver you this letter are as follows:—God has permitted his two sons to be thrown into prison for confessing Christ, and they will soon either suffer martyrdom or be condemned to the galleys for life. They have wives and thirteen children, the eldest of whom, who may be about thirteen years of age, accompanies the unfortunate old man. Do something to prevent this family from perishing by want." De Porta, tom. ii. p. 145.

[3] De Porta, ii. 36, 37.

Bartolommeo Maturo arrived in the Grisons at a much earlier period than any of his countrymen. He had been prior of a Dominican convent at Cremona, and being disgusted at the lives of the monks and the fictitious miracles by which they deluded the people, he threw off the cowl and left Italy. Having preached the reformed doctrines in the Valteline, he was accused to the diet which met at Ilantz in 1529, and had sentence of banishment passed against him. But he was taken under the protection of one of the deputies, and conducted to Pregalia, where he commenced preaching with success. From that place he went into the neighbouring district of Engadina, where Gallitz had hitherto gained very little ground, on account of the determined hostility of the most powerful inhabitants. The first appearance of Maturo threatened a tumult, but he persevered; and the matter being referred to the suffrages of the community, he obtained a majority in his favour, and preached openly before the eyes of those who in the late diet had voted for his banishment.[1] Returning to Pregalia, he undertook the pastoral charge of Vico Soprano and Stampa, where he continued until 1547, and died a pastor in the valley of Tomliasco.[2]

Soon after Maturo's removal, Vico Soprano obtained for its pastor the celebrated Vergerio. It is true the bishop did not distinguish himself by observing the law of residence, having frequently visited the Valteline, besides the journeys which he undertook into Switzerland and Germany, during the period in which he held this cure.[3] Some allowance must, however, be made for the habits of a man who had been accustomed all his life to a change of scene and employment. Besides, he was never idle; and, considering the state of the country at that time, he perhaps did more good by his itinerant labours than he could have done by confining himself to a parish. The stateliness of his figure, his eloquence, and the rank which he had lately held in the papal church, conspired in fixing the eyes of the public upon him; and persons of all classes were anxious to see and hear a man who had repeatedly sustained the office of ambassador from the Court of Rome, was supposed to be acquainted with all its secrets, and was not scrupulous about divulging what he knew. In returning from one of his visits to the Valteline, he passed a night at Pontresina, a town situate on the northern base of Mount Bernino. It happened that the parish priest had died that day, and the inhabitants were assembled in the evening at the inn to converse with the landlord, who was judge of the village, about choosing a successor. After engaging their attention by conversing on the subject which had called them together, Vergerio asked them if they would not hear a sermon from him. The greater part objecting to this, "Come," said the judge, "let us hear what this new-come Italian will say." So highly were the people gratified with his sermon, that

[1] Ruchat, ii. 458, 459.
[2] De Porta, i. 158; ii. 14, 27—30.
[3] De Porta says that, at this time, Vergerio drew the yearly stipend of one hundred and fifty crowns, as ordinary pastor of Vico Soprano.—ii. 46.

they insisted on his preaching to them again before his departure. Accordingly he preached next day to a crowded audience on the merits of Christ's death and on justification, with such effect, that the inhabitants soon after agreed harmoniously in abolishing the mass and giving a call to a Protestant minister. Having preached, during one of his short excursions, in the town of Casauccia, at the foot of Mount Maloggia, all the images in the church of St Gaudentius were thrown down during the following night; and the same thing happened after a visit which he paid to Samada. An accusation was brought against him for instigating these disorderly practices, but he was acquitted.[1] His countrymen were no less diligent in planting and watering churches in that part of the country. In general, it appears that the greater part of the important districts of Upper and Lower Engadina, and the whole of Pregalia, a district lying on the southern declivity of the Alps, were reformed by means of Italian refugees. This took place between 1542 and 1552; and, from that time, the Protestants became decidedly the majority, comprehending the greater part of the population as well as the wealth of the republic.[2]

But the principal scene of the labours of the refugees was in the provinces subject to the republic, and situate between the Alps and Italy. These consisted of the Valteline, a rich, beautiful, and populous valley, fifty miles long, and from twelve to fifteen broad; the county of Chiavenna, which forms the point of communication for the trade between Italy and Germany; and the county of Bormio. To these may be added the valley of Puschiavo, a jurisdiction or community within the republic, and lying to the north of the Valteline. In all these districts the language spoken by the inhabitants was Italian. From the time that the new opinions began to prevail in the Grisons, the attention of the Court of Rome was directed to this quarter, and precautionary measures were adopted to prevent them from spreading into Italy. As early as 1523, the Bishop of Como sent a friar named Modesta into the Valteline to make inquisition after heretics; but the inhabitants were so incensed at the extortion of which he was guilty that they forced him to depart, and a decree was passed that no inquisitor should afterwards be allowed to enter that territory. The reformed opinions were brought across the Alps by inhabitants of the Grisons who came to reside in the Valteline for the purpose of trade, or on account of the mildness of the climate; and subsequently to the declaration of religious liberty by the diet, it was natural for them to think that they had a right to profess in the subject-states that religion which had been authorised within the

[1] De Porta, i. 231, 232; ii. 46, 47.

[2] Castanet was reformed by Jeronimo Ferlino, a Sicilian, who was succeeded as pastor by Agostino, a Venetian, Giovanni Batista, a native of Vicenza, &c. Jeronimo Turriano of Cremona was the first minister of Bondo, which enjoyed a succession of Italian ministers. Bevers was reformed by Pietro Parisotti of Bergamo, and Siglio by Giovanni Francesco, who had for his successor Antonio Cortesio of Brescia. Bartolommeo Sylvio of Cremona was pastor at Pontresina; and Leonardo Eremita and several of his countrymen were successively pastors in Casauccia. Vettan was reformed by an Italian named Evandro, who was succeeded by Francesco Calabro. De Porta, i. 226, 232, 233; ii. 46—48.

bounds of the governing country.[1] The increase of their numbers, particularly at Chiavenna, where they were joined by some of the principal families, alarmed the priests. They durst not attack the persons or property of the objects of their hatred, for fear of being called to account by the public authorities, but everything short of force was employed to intimidate and distress them. The minds of the people were inflamed by the most violent invectives from the pulpit against the Lutheran heresies; and recourse was had to arts of a still worse description. A simple maid was decoyed into the belief that the Virgin Mary had appeared to her, and given her a charge to acquaint the inhabitants of Chiavenna that heaven, provoked by the encouragement given to heresy, was about to visit the place with an awful calamity, unless the heretics were speedily exterminated. Processions, accompanied with fasting and prayers, were immediately proclaimed and observed with great solemnity in the town and surrounding villages, and everything portended some violent explosion of popular hatred against the Protestants; but, in consequence of a judicial investigation, it was found that the whole affair had originated in the wicked device of a parish priest to gratify his lust, under the hypocritical covert of zeal for the Catholic faith.[2] The detection of this imposture, under a governor who was unsuspected of any leaning to the new opinions, together with the subsequent conviction of some other priests of notorious crimes, silenced the clergy, and contributed to open the eyes of the people to the fanatical delusion under which they had fallen.[3]

A great part of the learned Italians who fled to the Valteline between 1540 and 1543, after refreshing themselves from the fatigues of their journey, crossed the Alps. But a considerable number of them were induced to remain, by the pleasantness of the country, the importunity of some of the principal inhabitants, who were anxious to have the benefit of their private instructions, and the prospect which they had of being useful among a people who were entirely destitute of the means of religious knowledge. Among these was Agostino Mainardi, a Piedmontese, and an Augustinian monk. Having been thrown into prison in the town of Asti, for maintaining certain propositions contrary to the received faith, he was liberated upon the explications which he gave, and went to Italy. At Pavia and other places he acquired great reputation by preaching and disputing in behalf of the truth; and after escaping repeatedly the snares laid for his life, was obliged at last to betake himself to flight. His learning, mildness, and prudence, qualified him for the difficult situation in which he was now placed.[4] Julio da Milano, a secular priest and doctor of theology, who had escaped from the imprisonment into which he had been thrown at Venice,[5] proved a zealous and able coadjutor to Mainardi. They

[1] De Porta, tom. ii. p. 4.
[2] Ibid. tom ii. p. 15—20.
[3] Ibid. tom. ii. pp. 20, 21.
[4] Raynaldi Annales, ad ann. 1535. Celio Secundo Curio, De amplitudine regni Dei, p. 15. Museum Helveticum: Gerdesii Ital. Reform. p. 300. Schelhorn. Ergötz. tom. ii. p. 16.
[5] Gerdes (Italia Ref. pp. 279, 280) has con-

were joined by Camillo, a native of Sicily, who, on embracing the Protestant doctrine, took the name of Renato; and by Francesco Negri of Bassano, who is known as the author of several books against the Church of Rome, which had an extensive circulation at the time of their publication.[1] The two last were not preachers, as has been erroneously stated by some writers,[2] but confined themselves to the teaching of youth. Camillo had under his charge the sons of several of the principal gentry, and took up his residence at Caspan, in the Valteline, while Negri fixed his abode at Chiavenna.[3] To them may be added Francesco Stancari, a native of Mantua, who remained some time in the Valteline, and commenced teaching the Hebrew language, of which, before he left his native country, he had been professor at Terra di Spilimbergo, in the province of Friuli.[4]

Among the distinguished citizens of the Grisons who resided in Chiavenna, was Hercules de Salice or Salis, the descendant of a noble family, who had already gained great reputation as a soldier, and afterwards rose to the first employments in the republic. He entertained Mainardi, who pleased him and the friends who frequented his house so highly, that they determined to have the obstacles which stood in the way of his remaining with them removed. The zealous Roman Catholics insisted that it was a fundamental law of the democracy, that no religious service could be set up in any community, town or village, without the formal permission of the majority of the inhabitants. The Protestants, on the other hand, pleaded the liberty which had been granted to use the reformed worship within the republic. De Salis brought the affair before the national diet held at Davos in the year 1544, which determined that it should be lawful to such as embraced the evangelical religion in the Valteline, Chiavenna, and other places within the dominions of the Grisons, to entertain and keep privately teachers and schoolmasters for the spiritual instruction of

founded this person with Julio Terenziano. They were different individuals. Fueslin has published a letter from *Julius Terentianus*, and another from *Julius Mediolanensis*. Epistolæ Ref. p. 304, 353. The former, according to Simler, continued with Martyr from the time he left Italy till his death. Vita Martyris, sig. b iiij. He was with him in England in 1548 and 1553, retired with him to Strasburg in the end of that year, and was still with him in 1558 at Zurich. Scrin. Antiq. iv. 664, 667, 674. Fueslin, pp. 313, 318. In 1565, Bishop Jewel sent to Zurich twenty crowns, "being an annual pension to *Julius*, who was his dear friend, Peter Martyr's constant servant and assistant." Strype's Annals, i. 505. But *Julius Mediolanensis* was in the neighbourhood of Chiavenna during all that period. Fueslin, p. 359. De Porta, ii. 30, 40. Argelati, in his Bibl. Script. Mediol. as quoted by Tiraboschi (Storia, vii. 383) says, that some sermons by "Giulio Terenziano da Milano" were printed at Venice; but I suspect that these learned writers have mistaken the real author, and that the sermons, as well as the work which appeared under the concealed name of *Girolamo Savonese*, was the production, not of Giulio Terenziano, but of Giulio da Milano.

[1] Bock, Hist. Antitrin. ii. 482. Besides the work formerly mentioned (p. 168) Negri was the author of *Tragedia di Libero Arbitrio*, which Fontanini characterises as "empia e diabolica," and from which Schelhorn has given extracts. Ergötzlichkeiten, tom. ii. p. 29—31. Verci has given an account of his writings; and the documents which he has produced refute the opinion of Quadrio and others, that Negri was a native of Lovero, in the Valteline. Scrittori Bassan. i. 60: Tiraboschi, vii. 383. "Antonius Nigrus, medicus," is mentioned by Melanchthon as having come from Italy (Epist. col. 749); and "Theobaldus Nigrus" is spoken of by Martyr as at Strasburg in 1551. Loc. Commun. p. 763.

[2] Fueslin, Epist. Ref. p. 254. Gerdesii Italia Ref. p. 307.

[3] De Porta, i. 197; ii. 45.

[4] Ibid. p. 127. Tiraboschi, vii. 1087.

their families; and that those who had fled from their native country on account of that religion should be permitted to settle in any part of the Grison territory, upon subscribing the received Protestant Confession, and giving such other securities as the laws required.[1] In consequence of this law, Mainardi was established as pastor of the flock which had already been gathered by his private instructions at Chiavenna; and to this congregation de Salis gave his chapel, called Santa Maria del Paterino, together with a house, garden, and salary, to the minister. It increased rapidly, and great care was afterwards taken to provide Chiavenna with able pastors.[2]

About the same time, Julio da Milano, after preaching with great success in Lower Engadina, founded a congregation at Puschiavo, which enjoyed his ministry for nearly thirty years, and continued long to be one of the most flourishing churches in the republic. He also laid the foundation of a number of churches in his neighbourhood.[3] About the time of his death, which happened soon after 1571, an able successor was provided for him by the opportune arrival of Cesare Gaffori, a native of Piacenza, who had been guardian of the Franciscans.[4] The first printing-press in the Grisons was erected in the town of Puschiavo by Rodolfino Landolfo, the descendant of a noble family in that place, who expended a large sum on the undertaking. It contributed greatly to the illumination of the country, but was very annoying to the Roman Catholics; and in 1561 the Pope and the King of Spain made a formal demand for its suppression as a nuisance, with which, however, the diet did not comply.[5]

The Church of Caspan was the first fruits of the Valteline, having, as early as the year 1546, met for worship in a house provided by the Paravicini, one of the most ancient families in that country. It was, however, nearly ruined by the imprudence of an individual belonging to the family to which it owed its erection. A crucifix having been found broken in one of the churches, the clergy directed the suspicions of the inflamed populace against the Protestant minister, who, on being arraigned and put to the rack, was made to confess that he had committed the sacrilegious deed. On being liberated from confinement he repaired to Coire, and, protesting that the extremity of the torture had wrung from him the confession of a crime in which he had no participation, demanded a fair trial. On examination it was found that the outrage on the crucifix had been committed by Bartolommeo

[1] De Porta, ii. 37, 38.

[2] Mainardi was succeeded by the celebrated Jeronimo Zanchi, who had Simone Florillo, a Neapolitan, for his colleague; after whom Scipione Lentulo of Naples, and Ottaviano Meio of Lucca, successively occupied this important post. Zanchii Epist. lib. ii. p. 376. De Porta, ii. 49—54.

[3] Brusio, Ponteilla, Prada, Meschin, and Piuri or Plurs, were all in a short time provided with pastors from among the Italian refugees. Schelhorn, Dissert. de Mino Celso Senensi, pp. 34, 46. De Porta, tom. ii. part ii. p. 179. The village of Plurs was overwhelmed, in the year 1618, by the falling of Mount Conto; on which occasion, all the inhabitants, to the number of more than 2000, were buried in the ruins, with the exception of three individuals, who happened at the time to be in the fields. Ebel, Manuel du Voyageur en Suisse, tom. ii. pp. 390, 391.

[4] De Porta, ii. 40, 41.

[5] Ebel, tom. iv. p. 53.

Paravicino, a boy of thirteen, on the night before he set out for the university of Zurich. But though the innocence of the minister was cleared, so strong were the prejudices of the Roman Catholics, that it was not judged prudent to permit him to return to Caspan, and the congregation was directed to choose another pastor in his room.[1] Teglio, the chief town of the most populous district in the Valteline, obtained for its pastor the pious and learned Paolo Gaddio, a native of the Cremonese, who, after visiting Geneva, had acted as a temporary assistant to the venerable pastor of Puschiavo.[2] Sondrio, which was the seat of the government, enjoyed for some time the labours of Scipione Lentulo, a learned Neapolitan, who had devoted himself to the service of the Waldensian churches in the valleys of Lucerna and Angrogna, and been exposed to the severe persecution which they suffered, in 1560 and 1561, from Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy.[3] His talents and learning were of the greatest utility to the reformed cause during his residence at Sondrio, and afterwards at Chiavenna.[4] Churches were also erected in a number of other places in the Valteline;[5] and they spread subsequently into the county of Bormio.[6] Upon the whole, the number of Protestant churches to the south of the Alps appears to have exceeded twenty, which were all served, and continued till the end of the sixteenth century to be for the most part served, by exiles from Italy.

I have brought into one view what concerns the formation of Italian churches in this part of the country; but it was after considerable intervals, and amidst the most violent opposition, that permission was obtained to erect the greater part of them. No sooner did the priests perceive the success of the reformed doctrine at Chiavenna and Caspan, than they began to exclaim against the edict of 1544. Not being able, with any decency, to object to the first part of it, they directed their invectives against the liberty which it granted to the Italian exiles to settle among them, exclaiming that it was disgraceful to the republic of the Grisons to give entertainment to *banditti* (as they called them) whom other Christian princes and states had expelled from their dominions. The popular mind was still farther inflamed by a crowd of monks who came from the Milanese, and especially by capuchins sent by the Bishop of Como, who, in the fanatical harangues which they delivered during the time of Lent, did all but exhort the people to rebel against their rulers. Failing in their applications to the diet for a repeal of the obnoxious edict, the opponents of the Reformation had recourse to the local government, to which, in the year 1551, they presented a petition, demanding that it should be declared, agreeably

[1] De Porta, ii. 41—44.

[2] Fueslin, p. 359. Zanchii Opera, tom. vii. p. 4.

[3] Leger has inserted an account of the deliverance of the Waldenses, in a letter from Lentulus to an illustrious person at Geneva. Hist. des Eglises Vaudoises, ii. 34—36.

[4] Gerdesii Ital. Ref. p. 281—284. De Porta, ii. 335, 495—500.

[5] Those of Tirano, Rovoledo, Mellio, Morbegno, and Dubino, are particularly mentioned.

[6] Coxe, iii. 102. De Porta, ii. 286, 287.

to the spirit of an ancient law, that no exile should be permitted to remain above three days in the Valteline. Anthony de Planta, the governor, was a Protestant; but dreading, from the irritated feelings of the populace, a massacre of the refugees, he gave his consent to the measure. In consequence of this, the preachers were obliged to conceal themselves for a time; and several distinguished individuals, both male and female, among whom were Count Celso Martinengho and Isabella Manricha, prepared to remove into Switzerland.[1] The diet was highly offended at these illegal and disorderly proceedings, but contented itself with renewing, in 1552, its former edict, and charging the governor and vicar of the Valteline to see it strictly observed.

The firmness of the government repressed, without allaying, the hostility of those who had gained the command over the passions of the Roman Catholics, which burst forth, on the slightest occasions, in acts of violence against the Protestant preachers. They felt a strong hatred and dread of Vergerio; and during a visit which he paid to the Valteline in 1553, a deputation waited on the governor and insisted on the instant banishment of the bishop, adding, that if their demand was not complied with, "they would not be answerable for the scandals which might ensue." Understanding the meaning of this threat, Vergerio agreed voluntarily to retire; "for," says he, "they meant to oppose me with the dagger, and pistol, and poison." One of the basest methods adopted by the monkish trumpeters of sedition, was to impress on the minds of their hearers that it was unlawful for true Catholics to hold civil intercourse with heretics, or to live with them as masters and servants, husbands and wives; by which means they disturbed the peace and broke up the harmony of some of the principal families in the country. A Dominican monk of Cremona, named Fra Angelo, declaiming from the pulpit at Teglio during the festival of Easter 1556, accused the rulers of the Grisons of listening to heretical teachers, and gave a formal challenge to any of the evangelical party, offering to prove from the Scriptures that those who refused the mass were diabolical heretics, and that their spouses were not legitimate wives, but worse than strumpets. On leaving the church the infuriated audience rushed to the Protestant place of worship, attacked Gaddio the pastor, and wounded several of his hearers who attempted to defend him. Instead of calling Angelo to account for instigating this tumult, the Grison government invited him to Coire to maintain the dispute which he had provoked; but, although offered a safe conduct, he refused to make his appearance, and orders being afterwards issued to apprehend him, he made his escape into

[1] De Porta, ii. 50. Frederic de Salis writes, June 20, 1559, that Isabella Manricha (see before, p. 99) was still at Chiavenna, waiting for her household, and uncertain whether to remain in that place or to remove elsewhere. Ibid. p. 343: conf. p. 170. Annibale Caro addressed a letter from Rome, April 27, 1548, to this lady, who was then at Naples. There are four letters by the same learned man to her son, George Manricha, from the last of which it appears that this young man was at Milan on the 18th of June 1562. Lettere Famil. del Commendatore Annibal Caro, i. 269, 270, 293; ii. 16, 279, edit. 1572.

Italy. The procurator who appeared for those who had been active in the riot, did not deny that it was caused by the monks, and had the effrontery to declare, before the judges appointed to examine the affair, "that there would never be quietness in the republic until that religion of the devil (the Protestant) was exterminated." Yet so forbearing was the government, that it not only passed over the tumult with impunity, but sacrificing private interests, and in some degree the character of the innocent sufferers, to public peace, agreed that Gaddio should remove to another place, although his congregation earnestly petitioned for his being allowed to continue with them.[1]

This lenity was entirely thrown away on the enemies of the Protestants, both within and without the republic. At the very time that the government was labouring to allay animosities, two brothers, Francesco and Allessandro Bellinchetti, were seized in Italy. They were natives of Bergamo, who, on embracing the reformed religion, had retired into the Grisons and settled in the village of Bergun, at the foot of Mount Albula, where they wrought an iron mine. Having paid a visit to their native place, they were thrown into the Inquisition, and proceeded against on a charge of heresy. On hearing of this, the authorities of the Grisons immediately sent an ambassador to demand their liberation as citizens of the republic; and being referred, by the magistrates of Bergamo and the senate of Venice, to the inquisitors, they wrote to the prior of the Dominican monastery at Morbegno, in the Valteline, to use his influence with his brethren to obtain the release of the prisoners; but he paid no regard to the application. Upon this the diet met and came to a peremptory resolution, that if the two brothers were not released within the space of a month, all the Dominicans within the territories of the three leagues should be banished, and the property of the monastery of Morbegno, movable and immovable, forfeited and applied to the relief of the poor and other pious uses. An extract of this deed having been sent to the prior, the prisoners were immediately set at liberty.[2]

In the mean time, the foreign monks who had invaded the Valteline, confiding in the support of their governments, became every day bolder in their invectives and in plotting against the public peace. Through their influence, persons of the first respectability for birth, probity, and talents, were not only excluded from civil offices, but denied the rites of sepulture, prevented from building places of worship, and exposed to every species of insult. Seeing no end to this illegal and degrading oppression, they at last resolved on laying their grievances formally before the government. Aware of the justice of their complaints, impressed with the equity of extending to the subject-states that religious liberty which had been found so advantageous to the governing country, perceiving that the threats of strangers were heard above the voice of the law in their southern dominions, and convinced that it was high

[1] De Porta, ii. 147—149, 264—272. [2] Ibid. ii. 272, 273.

time to adopt decisive measures unless they chose to allow their authority to sink into absolute contempt, the diet, which met at Ilantz in the beginning of the year 1557, unanimously adopted the following decree, which, being ratified by the several communities, was enrolled among the fundamental and standing laws of the republic. It was declared that it should be lawful to preach the sacred word of God and the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ in all places belonging to the Valteline, and to the counties of Chiavenna, Bormio, and Teglio; that in those villages in which there were a plurality of churches, the Roman Catholics should have their choice of one, and the other should be given to the Protestants; that in any village in which there was only one church, the Roman Catholics should have the privilege of using it in the former part of the day, and the Protestants in the latter; that each party should be allowed to perform all the parts of their worship, and to bury their dead, without opposition from the other; that the professors of the Protestant faith should enjoy all honours and be admissible to all offices equally with their fellow-subjects; that no foreign monk or presbyter, of whatever religious persuasion, should be admitted to reside within these territories, unless he had been previously examined and approved by the ordinary authorities in the church to which he belonged — the ministers by the Protestant synod in the three leagues, and the priests by the bishop and chapter of Coire; and that none should be admitted unless he declared his intention to reside at least for a year, and give security for his good behaviour. In the course of the same year an act was passed, freeing the Protestants from penalties for not observing the popish holidays; and in the following year two statutes were enacted, one for extending to the subject-provinces the law which prevented the admission of new members into monasteries, and the other making stated provision for the pastors of the Protestant churches. The former was not executed. In pursuance of the latter, a third part of the ecclesiastic rents of Chiavenna was allotted to the minister of the reformed church in that village, which, by this time, included the half of the population. To the pastors in other places forty crowns a-year were assigned, to be taken, in the first instance, from the benefices of absentees and pluralists; and failing these, from the revenues which the Bishop of Coire drew from the Valteline, from the funds of the abbacy of Abundio; or, as the last resource, from the common funds of each parish.[1]

This was the only legislative enactment by which positive encouragement was given to the reformed religion in the Valteline; but the Protestant ministers derived little from it except envy, the clergy contriving, by concealment, litigation, and violence, to retain nearly the whole of the funds. It was granted in consequence of a representation from the Protestants, who pleaded that, though the minority in point of numbers, they contributed the largest proportion to the funds of the

[1] De Porta, ii. 273—276, 283—287.

clergy, many of whom performed no duty, and the rest confined themselves chiefly to the saying of mass. As is usual on such occasions, those of the laity who contributed next to nothing were loudest in exclaiming "that they were taxed for upholding an heretical religion;" while the clergy called upon "the Italian deserters of monasteries" to imitate the example of the Apostle Paul, who laboured with his hands that he might not be burdensome to the churches, and of the Egyptian anchorites, with Peter the Hermit at their head; and insisted that they could not be the followers of Christ and his apostles, inasmuch as they did not work miracles nor live on alms.[1] It may be proper to mention here another act, though passed at a later period, which gave great offence to the Roman Catholics. The diet of the Grison republic agreed to erect a college at Sondrio, in the Valteline.[2] It did not partake of the nature of a theological seminary, but was confined to the teaching of languages and philosophy. The children of Papists and Protestants were equally admissible to it, and provision was made for teachers of both persuasions. But notwithstanding the liberal principles on which it was founded, the clergy cried out against it as a Lutheran seminary; formal representations were made against it by the popish cantons of Switzerland and by the Court of Milan; and the republic was obliged to send back the Principal, a learned and moderate man, whom they had brought from Zurich, and to remove the institution, after it had subsisted for only one year, to the city of Coire.[3]

The Italian exiles were elated by the laws passed in their favour, and looked forward with sanguine hopes to the speedy triumph of the reformed cause in the Valteline; but their ultramontane brethren, who were better acquainted with the genius of the inhabitants, and more indifferent judges of the opposition which might be expected from foreign powers, repressed their fervour, and wisely urged upon them the propriety of trusting for success to the gradual illumination of the people, rather than to legislative decrees, which required external force to carry them into execution.[4] The Court of Rome had been, from the beginning, highly displeased at the reception given to the Italian exiles in the Grisons; but its displeasure was converted into a mingled feeling of indignation and alarm when it saw the standard of evangelical truth planted in one of the suburbs of Italy, from which, if not speedily dislodged, it might be carried into the interior, and in process of time might insult the head of the church in his capital. The extirpation of the colony was resolved on; and to accomplish it, the popes exerted themselves in securing the co-operation of the neighbouring Catholic

[1] De Porta, ii. 287, 289, 560, 561.

[2] Though not erected till 1584, this college was planned so early as 1563. Zanchii Epist. lib. ii. p. 376.

[3] De Porta, tom. ii. part ii. 32, 37, 48, 53, 57, 58, 332. The erection of a similar seminary in 1614, but on a smaller scale, and without deriving any support from the funds of the Valteline, excited equal hostility, and was made one pretext for the rebellion which followed soon after. Ibid. pp. 252—254, 322.

[4] Ibid. ii. 280, 281.

powers, especially the Spanish monarch, who had lately obtained the sovereignty of Milan. It is difficult to say whether ambition or bigotry had the ascendant in the character of Philip II., but both principles led him to embark in this scheme with the utmost cordiality. The Valteline bordered on the Milanese, and had formerly belonged to that duchy. Philip, as well as the dukes who preceded him, had ratified the cession of it to the republic of the Grisons; but that did not prevent him from cherishing the idea of recovering a territory which was the key to the communication between Milan and Germany, and the command of which would enable him at all times with safety to convey troops from Austria to his dominions in the north of Italy. For interfering with the affairs of the Valteline, he found a pretext in the plea that it was necessary to prevent heresy from spreading in the Milanese, which had already been to no inconsiderable extent tainted by that pestilential malady.

In the year 1559 the government of Milan erected forts on the confines of the Valteline. Under the cover of these the inquisitors entered the country, and as they durst not seize the persons of the inhabitants, collected a large quantity of heretical books, which they burnt with great solemnity. They were followed by a swarm of foreign monks, who, trusting to the garrisons as places of retreat, despised the edict which prohibited them from entering the country, and went about inflaming the minds of the people against the Protestant preachers, and even the local rulers by whom they were protected.[1] A college of Jesuits was established at Ponte, and maintained itself in spite of repeated orders issued by the diet for its removal.[2] These strangers kept up a regular correspondence with the heads of their respective orders at Como, Milan, Rome, and other places in Italy, the effects of which soon became apparent. It has been already mentioned that Pius IV., who filled the papal throne between 1559 and 1566, had been a priest in the Valteline; a circumstance which at once disposed him to take a deep interest in the affairs of that country, and made his interposition the more effective. In 1561 his legate Bianchi, Provost of Santa Maria della Scala at Milan, appeared at Coire. Supported by the presence and influence of Ritzio the Milanese ambassador, the legate made a formal demand on the diet, in the name of his holiness, that they should banish the Italian exiles from the Valteline and Chiavenna; allow free ingress and egress to foreign monks; make no opposition to the Jesuit college at Ponte; prevent the issuing of books derogatory to the Church of Rome from the press at Puschiavo; and, in general, overturn all that they had done in regard to religion in that part of their dominions.[3] But the influence of Pius, who had not left behind him the odour of sanctity in the Grisons, was small compared with that of his nephew the celebrated Cardinal Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan. Though this prelate owed his canonisation more to his zeal for catholicism than to

[1] De Porta, ii. 297—299. [2] Ibid. p. 302—304. [3] Ibid. ii. 364—371.

his piety, yet his talents and the decorum of his private character rendered him by far the most formidable adversary who had yet appeared against the Protestant interest. It was the great object of his ambition, from an early period of life, to oppose an effectual barrier to the progress of heresy, and to repair and prop the fabric of popery, which he saw tottering on its base. With this view he applied himself to the removal of abuses in Italy; introduced reforms into the morals of the clergy, particularly of the monastic orders; and erected seminaries in which young persons of talents might obtain such an education as should qualify them for entering the lists with the Protestants, and fighting them with their own weapons. Hitherto those who had appeared as the champions of the Church of Rome, though often not destitute of talents, were almost always deficient in learning, and could do little more than ring changes, and that for the most part rudely, on the popular prejudices against innovation and in favour of the Catholic church. But men of learning now came forward, who could "make the worse appear the better reason"—who, if they did not convince by the solidity of their arguments, entangled the minds of their readers by their subtlety or dazzled them by the splendour of their eloquence, and contrived artfully to withdraw attention from the real image of the church as she existed, to one which was the pure creation of their own fancy. All the celebrated champions of the Catholic faith, from Bellarmine to Bossuet, proceeded from the school of Borromeo. It would have been well if the cardinal had confined himself to methods of this kind; but, besides abetting the most violent measures for suppressing the reformed opinions within his own diocese, he industriously fomented dissensions in foreign countries, leagued with men who were capable of the most desperate attempts, and busied himself in providing arms for subjects who were ready to rebel against their lawful rulers, and to shed the blood of their peaceable fellow-citizens.[1]

It is only a general account which I can here give of the course pursued for disturbing the peace of the Grisons, and expelling the refugees from the settlement which they had obtained in the Valteline. The goods belonging to citizens of the republic who traded with the Milanese were seized by the inquisitors, and applications for restitution and redress were almost in every instance refused or evaded. Merchants who visited that country were apprehended on a charge of heresy, detained in prison, forced to purchase their liberty with large sums of money, or condemned to different kinds of punishment. Borromeo was not afraid to incarcerate the chief magistrate of the jurisdiction of Mayenfeld.[2] At last a new species of outrage, unheard of among civilised nations, was resorted to. Bands of armed men haunted the roads of the Valteline, seized the Protestants unawares, and carried them into

[1] The most serious of these charges is supported by the cardinal's letter of the 24th May 1584 to the nuncio Spezzani, published by Quadrio, the Catholic historian of the Valteline, and reprinted by De Porta. Tom. ii. part. ii. p. 33—35: Conf. part. i. p. 454, 482.

[2] De Porta, ii. 455, 461, 482.

Italy. Francesco Cellario, the Protestant minister at Morbegno, was returning in 1568 from a meeting of the synod held at Zutz in Upper Engadina. He had scarcely left the town of Chiavenna when some villains rushed from a thicket on the margin of the lake Lario, forced him into a boat which they had ready, and carrying him first to Como and afterwards to Milan, delivered him to the Inquisition. Ambassadors were sent to demand the prisoner, but they found that he had been conveyed to Rome, and were told by the Duke de Terranova, the governor, that his abduction was the work of the inquisitors, over whom he had no control.[1] After being detained nearly a year in prison, Cellario was tried by the Inquisition at Rome, and committed to the flames on the 20th of May 1569.[2] The practice of man-stealing now became a constant traffic in the Valteline; and at every meeting of the diet, for a course of years, complaints were made that some persons had been carried off, including not only exiles from Italy, but native citizens of the Grison republic.[3] The investigations into these acts of violence implicated, in most instances, the monks of Morbegno, who were in the habit of regularly giving such information to the inquisitors as enabled them to seize their prey.[4] Nor did they confine themselves to this service. After the abduction of Cellario, Ulixio Martinengho, Count de Barcho, a learned and pious nobleman who had resided for a number of years in the Valteline, officiated in his room until the admission of Scipione Calandrino, a native of Lucca, whom the congregation had chosen for their pastor. The monks, who had looked forward to the dispersion of that flock, were greatly irritated at their disappointment; and two of them entering one day the church at Mellio, fired a pistol at Calandrino, while he was in the act of preaching. An old man observed them levelling the piece, and gave warning to Calandrino, who evaded the shot; upon which the ruffians stabbed the old man mortally, rushed forward to the pulpit, and having wounded the preacher, made their escape amidst the confusion into which the congregation was thrown by this unexpected and disgraceful assault.[5]

The most humiliating circumstance in the whole of this affair is the timidity and irresolution with which the Grison government acted. They sent ambassadors, they craved redress, they ordered investigations, and, on making discoveries, they passed threatening votes; but they

[1] Gabutius, in his Life of Pius IV., gives the duke's answer in these words: "That the pope has an absolute and lawful power over all parts of the world to seize, as often as he pleases, and inflict merited punishment on heretics." Laderchii Annal. tom. xxxiii. 6, 198.

[2] Laderchius, *ut supra*. De Porta, ii. 464—476. The first of these writers gives, from the records of the Inquisition, the sentence condemning Cellario to be burnt alive. Gabutius says he recanted when he came in sight of the fire. De Porta, on the contrary, states that a native of the Grisons, who was in Rome and witnessed the execution, deposed that the martyr, on being taken from the fiery stake, refused to confess, and was again thrown into the flames. Cellario had been a Minorite monk of the order *De Observantia*, and was twice imprisoned at Pavia. The first time he was released on making some acknowledgments; the second time he broke his chains and made his escape to the Grisons in the year 1558.

[3] De Porta, ii. 477, 478, 480, 482; part ii. 7—9, 50, 88, 95.

[4] Ibid. ii. 455, 457, 465, 483.

[5] Ibid. ii. 483, 484.

took no step becoming the character of a free people in defence of their violated independence and insulted honour. Their neighbours showed them an example worthy of their imitation. Cardinal Borromeo, in one of his archiepiscopal visitations, entered the territories of Switzerland. The Swiss government, not relishing the visit, despatched an envoy to request the Governor of the Milanese to recall him. No sooner had the envoy arrived at Milan than he was seized by the inquisitor and thrown into prison; but the governor, as soon as he learned the fact, ordered his release, and treated him with marks of great respect. On being informed of what had happened, the Swiss authorities sent a message to the governor, signifying that, if the same post which brought the news of the imprisonment of their envoy had not acquainted them with his enlargement, they would instantly have seized the cardinal and detained him as a hostage; upon hearing which, his eminence retired from the Swiss territories with less ceremony than he had entered them.[1] If the authorities of the Grisons had acted in this manner—if they had, as they were advised, confiscated the property belonging to the inhabitants of Milan and Como, and retained it until their own merchants were indemnified for the losses which they had sustained—and, above all, if they had issued peremptory orders to level the monastery of Morbegno with the ground, as a watch-tower of spies and a den of thieves—the boldness of the measure, supported by its justice, while it gave courage to the loyal and checked the disaffected among their own subjects, would have secured the respect and forbearance of foreign powers. But the counsels of the republic were distracted by dissensions, and its arm palsied by corruption. The Grey League, which was composed chiefly of Roman Catholics, refused its consent to any vigorous measure. Spanish gold had found its way into the other leagues; and a Protestant ambassador returned from Milan, bearing the insignia of an order of knighthood conferred on him by a papal brief, instead of bringing the prisoner whose liberty he was sent to demand. France, on whose aid the party opposed to Spain placed its chief dependence, had fallen under the rule of the house of Guise, which was secretly engaged in the league for the extirpation of Protestantism; and the report of the massacre of St Bartholomew, while it blasted the hopes entertained from the north, gave dreadful note of a similar explosion in the south which was soon to shake the Grisons to its centre. The proper season of applying the remedy being neglected, the evil became inveterate, and all attempts to cure it served only to inflame and exasperate. Provoked by persevering injuries, alarmed by repeated conspiracies, and betrayed without being able to discover or convict the traitors, the authorities had recourse to violent measures; and courts of justice, composed chiefly of Protestants, were erected, by which arbitrary and heavy punishments were inflicted, and individuals condemned on slight or suspicious evidence. These severities were artfully heightened by the representa-

[1] Fra Paolo, Discorso dell' Inquisitione di Venetia, p. 47.

tions of foreign agents, and ministered fresh fuel to the existing disaffection. The joint influence of these causes led to the catastrophe of 1620, of which no person acquainted with the general history of Europe is ignorant—the indiscriminate and barbarous massacre of the Protestants in the Valteline, the revolt of all the southern dependencies of the republic, and the temporary subjugation of the Grisons by the combined arms of Austria and Spain. Writers professing to have formed an impartial judgment[1] impute these disastrous events in a great measure to the impolitic zeal with which the government attempted to introduce the Reformation into the Valteline. There can be no question that, if the Reformation had not been admitted into the Grisons, the republic would not have been exposed to that hostility which they actually encountered from neighbouring powers. But ought they on that ground to have prevented its reception? And having allowed it in the governing country, would they have been warranted in prohibiting it within the subject states? Or, are they greatly to be blamed for having given encouragement to those who were their best subjects, and on whom they could rely for an entire and undivided allegiance? If the subject be impartially considered, it will be found, I apprehend, that the radical and main cause of the disturbances was the retaining of the southern provinces in a state of vassalage, together with the oppression and peculation to which this led on the part of those to whom the administration of their affairs was committed—evils which are almost inseparable from the government of colonies and dependent provinces, whether they belong to monarchies or republics. Had the Valteline and the adjoining districts been received at first into the confederation as a fourth league, and admitted to all its privileges, the inhabitants would have turned a deaf ear to the insidious proposals made to them from Milan and Innspruck, and the obstacles to the Reformation would not have been greater in the Cisalpine than they were in the Transalpine departments of the republic.

Before leaving the Grisons, it may be proper to give some account of the internal dissensions which prevailed among the Italian exiles. Though the greater part of them were distinguished for their learning, zeal, and piety, and by their services amply repaid the kindness of the country which afforded them an asylum, it was soon found that others cherished in their breasts a variety of subtle and dangerous opinions, which they at first insinuated in private, and afterwards taught and maintained with such factious pertinacity as to bring scandal on the whole body of the exiles, and to give great offence and uneasiness to those who had been most active in procuring them a hospitable reception. It is impossible to give such an account of the opinions of this party as will apply to all the individuals who composed it. While they agreed in refusing their assent to the received creed, some of them cavilled at one of its articles, and others at another. The leaders cau-

[1] Coxe's Travels in Switzerland, vol. iii. p. 96.

tiously abstained from disclosing their system, and contented themselves with imparting privately, to the initiated, such of their views as they knew to be most offensive and startling to the minds of serious Christians. The more forward, who were usually the most unlearned, advanced crude and contradictory notions; and, their minds being unhinged and tossed to and fro with every wind of doctrine, they veered suddenly to opposite extremes, so that it was not uncommon to find individuals maintaining one day that God was the author of sinful actions and that holiness had no connection with salvation, and the next day inveighing against the doctrine of predestination as leading to these odious consequences. In general, however, they were disciples of Servetus, whose creed was a compound of Anabaptism and Antitrinitarianism, and had, as we have seen, been embraced by a number of the Protestants in Italy.[1]

Francesco, a Calabrian, and Jeronimo, a Mantuan, were the first who excited a noise by venting these opinions. They had not been long settled as pastors in the district of Engadina, when the report arose that they were inculcating that infants ought not to be baptised; that God is the author of sinful actions; that the body, flesh, or death of Christ, can be of no avail for the salvation of men; and that the souls of the just sleep till the resurrection. The church of Lavin dismissed Jeronimo as soon as they ascertained his sentiments; but the Calabrian, by his address and eloquence, had so fascinated his flock at Vettan, that they clung to him and regarded all his sayings as oracular. This encouraged him to persevere in the course which he had begun, and to despise the admonitions of his brethren. Loud complaints being made that his doctrine was corrupting the morals of the people, a public disputation, according to the mode of those times, was held in the year 1544 at Zutz, which was attended by Roman Catholic priests as well as Protestant ministers. Francesco, having appeared before this assembly, was convicted of the chief errors imputed to him, and was afterwards expelled the country.[2]

But it was in the Italian churches erected on the south of the Alps that these opinions were most industriously propagated, and excited the greatest disturbances. The author and chief fomenter of these was Camillo Renato, a man of considerable acuteness and learning, but addicted to novelties, captious yet cool, opinionative yet artful and insinuating. As long as he remained at Caspan he had little opportunity of making disciples, though he tainted the mind of Paravicino, in whose house he lived as tutor. But on his coming to Chiavenna, where the Protestants were numerous, he found a more extensive field for propagating his peculiar notions. Mainardi, the minister of the Protestant church in that town, perceiving that the minds of some of his flock were corrupted and others scandalised by the opinions which were secretly

[1] See before, p. 94—99.
[2] Bock, Hist. Antitrin. tom. ii. p. 410. De Porta, ii. 67—75.

sown among them, remonstrated with Camillo on his conduct, and endeavoured, by friendly conferences, to effect a change on his views, or, at least, to prevail on him to retain them within his own breast. Failing to accomplish this, he first gave warning to his people from the pulpit of the danger to which they were exposed, and afterwards drew up, in the name of his congregation, a confession of faith, in which, without mentioning the name of Camillo, he explicitly condemned his errors. Upon this Camillo and his followers withdrew from the ministry of Mainardi, and began to meet by themselves.

The following are the opinions which are said to have been held by Camillo: That the soul dies with the body, or sleeps until the resurrection; that the same body substantially shall not be raised at the last day; that there shall be no resurrection of the wicked; that man was created mortal, and would have died though he had not sinned; that there is no natural law by which men can know what to do or avoid; that unregenerate men are irrational creatures like the brutes; that the decalogue is useless to believers, who have no law but the Spirit; that the Scripture says nothing of the merit of Christ; that the Saviour had concupiscence residing in him, was capable of sinning, though he did not actually sin, and is said to have been made a curse because he was conceived in original sin, and not because he offered a sacrifice for sin, or suffered the death of the cross for sinners; that justifying faith has no need of being confirmed by sacraments; that there is no resemblance between baptism and circumcision; and that baptism and the Lord's Supper are merely signs of what is past, do not seal any blessing, and have no promise annexed to them.[1] It is not difficult to perceive in these propositions the elements which were afterwards formed into a system by Faustus Socinus. It is true Camillo did not profess his disbelief of the doctrine of the Trinity, but some of his disciples who enjoyed a large share of his confidence made no scruple of openly disavowing it. He was also wary as to what he advanced on the immortality of the soul, and, when pushed on that point by his opponents, was wont to reply: "Camillo is ignorant whether the soul be immortal or not; he does not affirm that the soul dies with the body, he only says so for the sake of dispute."

Irritated at the detection of his scheme before he had time to mature and propagate it, Camillo complained loudly of the conduct of Mainardi. He drew up several writings, in which, confining himself to the subject of the sacraments, he endeavoured to hold up his opponent as at once ignorant and intolerant, and the true cause of all the discord which had arisen. In this he was encouraged by Stancari and Negri. The former, who at a subsequent period excited great contentions in Poland

[1] Mainardi's Confession, which contained these articles, is lost; but Pietro Leonis, a disciple of Camillo, inserted them in a book which he published at Milan, from which they were extracted by De Porta; ii. 83—86. That Camillo carried his scepticism into philosophy as well as divinity, appears from the following article: "Quod memoria rei alicujus non fiat, ut is qui illam facit, rei vel facti certior fiat."

and in Germany, fomented the schism in the congregation of Chiavenna, although in his sentiments respecting the sacraments he went to the opposite extreme from Camillo. Negri, a good but weak man, vacillated between the views of Camillo and Stancari, and lent his aid to the faction.[1] The consequence of all this was, that Mainardi incurred the censures of some of his countrymen who occasionally visited the place, such as Vergerio and Altieri ; and received letters from the Grisons and Switzerland admonishing him to conduct himself with greater moderation. Knowing that he had good grounds for all that he had done, and that the prejudices raised against him would give way as soon as the cause came to be investigated, Mainardi did not relax in his vigilance. "The favourers of Camillo," says he in a letter to Bullinger, "tear my sermons in pieces. If I hold my peace, the truth is exposed to imminent danger ; if I speak, I am a morose old man, and intolerant. Write to Blasio and Comander not to listen to the statements of one party, but to come and examine the matter before the whole congregation. I purposed to retire into England, but Providence has kept me from deserting this little flock. Yet I wish they could obtain a better pastor, and one of greater fortitude than I." From the time that he came to the Valteline, Camillo had kept up a correspondence with Bullinger by letters, in which he endeavoured to ingratiate himself with him by professing his agreement with the Church of Zurich ; but when his opponent offered to submit the controversy between them to the judgment of that venerable divine, he declined the proposal. The Grison synod, which met in 1547, called the parties before them, but Camillo neither attended nor sent a letter of excuse ; upon which they enjoined him to desist from opposing his minister and disturbing the peace of the church. As he disregarded this injunction, and continued his former practices, a deputation, consisting of four of the principal ministers in the Grisons, was sent to Chiavenna in the close of the year 1549, to inquire into the affair, and put an end to a dissension which now began to make a great noise, and caused no small scandal both among Roman Catholics and Protestants.[2] The deputation found all the charges brought against Camillo proved, and declared that Mainardi had acted the part of a faithful and vigilant minister ; but, without censuring the former, they, with the view of restoring harmony, drew up certain articles upon the subjects which had been controverted, to which they required both parties to agree. But although Camillo subscribed this agreement, the deputies had scarcely

[1] Museum Helveticum, tom. xix. p. 481—487 ; where extracts are given from the letters of Altieri and other distinguished persons at Venice, describing the turbulent temper of Stancari.

[2] On this occasion a correspondence of a rather singular kind took place. The Protestant deputies, on their arrival, addressed a letter to the Roman Catholic chapter of Chiavenna, intimating the design on which they had come, and inviting them to meet with them, and "confer on those common articles of Christianity about which they were both agreed." The chapter returned a polite answer, but declined the meeting, "because there was a great gulf between them ;" adding a number of exhortations to unity and against divisions, the drift of which it was not difficult to perceive.

left the place when he resumed his former practices ; in consequence of which the consistory of Chiavenna, agreeably to the advice which had been given them, suspended him from church privileges, and on his proving contumacious, publicly pronounced the sentence of excommunication against him.[1] After this we hear little of Camillo.[2] I have been the more particular in my account of him, because there is every reason to think he had great influence in forming the opinions of Lelius Socinus. By their contemporaries, the former is usually spoken of as the master and the latter as the disciple. It is certain that Socinus had interviews with Camillo at Chiavenna; and the resemblance between their opinions, and the cautious and artful manner in which they uttered them, is very striking.[3]

Finding themselves baffled in their attempts to propagate their peculiar tenets, the innovators had recourse to a device which had nearly proved successful. They got Celso Martinengho, Vergerio, and some other respectable persons, to subscribe a petition for liberty to the Italian ministers to hold a synod of their own, distinct from that which met in the Grisons. In support of this proposal, they pleaded the difficulty of the journey across the Alps, the difference of languages, and certain rites practised in the Grisons which the Italians disliked, and which other reformed churches had laid aside.[4] But the measure was quashed by the wiser part, who saw that the preservation of the Italian churches, both from the arts of internal agitators and from the attacks of their popish adversaries, depended on their maintaining their union with the churches of the Grisons inviolate.[5] "Our churches in the Valteline," says Julio da Milano, "which are planted at Puschiavo, Tirano, Teglio, and Sondrio, continue harmonious in their adherence to the ancient and simple doctrine transmitted from the times of the apostles, and at this day taught without controversy in your churches of Switzerland and ours of the Grisons."[6]

The noted Antitrinitarians, Alciati and Blandrata, stirred the ashes of the late controversy during a visit which they paid to the Grisons in 1553, on their way from Italy to Switzerland. After this, Michael Angelo Florio, minister of Soglio, and Jeronimo Turriano of Plurs,

[1] Hottinger, Helvetische Kirchengeschichte, tom. iii. 762, 791 : De Porta, tom. ii. cap. 4.

[2] That he was alive and in Chiavenna or the neighbourhood of it in 1555, appears from a letter of Julio da Milano to Bullinger, in which he speaks of him as requiring still to be narrowly watched. Fueslin, p. 357.

[3] Illgen, Vita Lælii Socini, pp. 17, 44. Bock, ii. 581, 582. Hottinger, iii. 791. Fueslin, p. 356.

[4] These rites were the use of unleavened bread in the eucharist, the pronouncing of the angelical salutation (commonly called *Salve Regina*) after the Lord's Prayer, and the admitting of godfathers in baptism. In this last character Roman Catholics were sometimes admitted; and Paul Iter, the popish Bishop of Coire, occasionally presented the child for baptism to Comander. The ministers of the Grisons were not rigidly attached to any of these rites, and they disapproved of the last-mentioned practice, though they scrupled to prohibit it (especially after the violence manifested by the priests of the Valteline), lest it should interrupt the friendly intercourse which subsisted between Popish and Protestant families. The Italians exclaimed against everything of this kind as symbolising with Antichrist. De Porta, ii. 66, 226.

[5] Bock, ii. 466.

[6] Epistola ad Bullingerum, an. 1555: Fueslin, Epist. Helvet. n. 81.

began to undermine the faith of their hearers in the doctrine of the atonement, by ascribing salvation solely to the grace of God; while the divinity of Christ was directly attacked by others, particularly by Ludovico Fieri, a Bolognese, and member of the church of Chiavenna. In 1561, the synod summoned these persons before them, and drew up certain articles condemnatory of their opinions, which Florio and Turriano subscribed; but Fieri, avowing his sentiments, was excommunicated, and retired to Moravia.[1] There were, however, still individuals secretly attached to Antitrinitarianism, who continued to correspond with their friends in other countries; and in 1570 the controversy was revived, in consequence of the arrival of some distinguished persons belonging to the sect, who found it dangerous to remain any longer in Switzerland. Among these were Camillo Soccini, the brother of Lelius Socinus, Marcello Squarcialupo, a physician of Piombino, and Niccolo Camulio, an opulent merchant, who liberally patronised persons of this persuasion.[2] Their presence encouraged Turriano to resume his former course, in which he was joined by Sylvio,[3] the minister of Trahona, and some other individuals. But the proceedings of the synod which met at Coire in the year 1571 induced the visitors to withdraw from the Grisons. Turriano and the other ministers were deposed, but subsequently restored to their churches on making acknowledgments for their offensive behaviour.[4] Alciati and Blandrata visited the Grisons a second time in the beginning of 1579, but were ordered by the magistrates instantly to depart, after which the country does not appear to have been disturbed with these controversies.[5] When we consider that the Italians were strangers, that they had obtained an asylum on condition of their joining themselves to the Protestant church already settled in the country, and submitting to its discipline, and that the republic was subjected to great odium on account of the harbour and protection which it afforded them, we will be cautious in condemning the magistrates for expelling individuals who fomented discord, and endangered the existence of the whole colony, by propagating sentiments equally shocking to the ears of Papists and Protestants. Expulsion was the highest punishment which they inflicted; and in one instance in which they threatened to proceed farther against an individual, named Titiano, who had provoked them, the ministers interposed, and prevailed on them to desist from their intention.[6] I cannot, however, speak so favourably of the sentiments entertained by many of the ministers respecting the punishment of heretics. This question was keenly agitated after the execution of Servetus at Geneva. Gantner, one of the ministers of Coire, maintained that heresy ought not to be punished by the civil magistrate, and was warmly opposed by Eglin, his

[1] De Porta, ii. 397, 497.

[2] Schelhorn, Dissert. de Mino Celso, p. 35. Bock, Hist. Antitrin. tom. ii. pp. 483, 554, 576: Conf. i. 907—910. De Porta, tom. ii. pp. 508, 543, 544.

[3] Bartolommeo Sylvio was the author of a tract on the Eucharist, printed in 1551.

[4] De Mino Celso, p. 35—37. De Porta, ii. 497—502, 543, 555.

[5] Ibid. ii. 632.

[6] Ibid. ii. 76.

colleague. The question was brought under the consideration of the synod in 1571, which decided in favour of Eglin. It is true the proposition adopted by the synod refers to seditious heretics; but several of the arguments on which it appears to have been grounded, and by which it was afterwards defended, would (if they have any force) justify the punishment, and even the capital punishment, of persons who are chargeable with simple heresy, and consequently must have tended to betray those who held them into measures of persecution.[1]

Though it appears, from what has been stated, that a number of the Italian exiles were tainted with Arianism, yet several individuals among them have been suspected of this without the slightest reason. Even Zanchi, who succeeded Mainardi,[2] has not escaped the suspicion with some writers,[3] although he was the person selected by his brethren as most fit for opposing this heresy, a task which he performed with distinguished ability. His assertion that he was "neither Lutheran, Zuinglian, nor Calvinian, but a Christian," is what every person may adopt whose faith is founded on the word of God, and not on the wisdom and authority of men. The suspicions against Celso Martinengho and Vergerio[4] appear to have originated entirely in their having at first taken part with Camillo against Mainardi, before they discovered the real sentiments of the former. Martinengho afterwards enjoyed the confidence of Calvin during all the time that he was pastor of the Italian church at Geneva. Vergerio declared himself openly against the Anabaptists, and gave early warning of the defection of his countrymen, Socinus and Gribaldi, to the opinions of Servetus.[5] The fate of this distinguished man was in some respects hard. He forfeited the high character which he had held in the Church of Rome,[6] without gaining the confidence of the Protestants. By wavering between the sentiments of the Lutherans and Zuinglians, he incurred the displeasure of both. He excited the jealousy of the ministers in the Grisons by affecting a species of episcopal authority as superintendent or visitor of the Italian churches; and they complained that he had not laid aside the mitre, nor forgotten the arts which he had learned in courts.[7] It is not improbable that, in addition to the finesse which has been supposed to enter into the Italian character, Vergerio had acquired, from his employments, the habit of using policy to accomplish his ends, and that

[1] De Porta, ii. 533—540. Diss. de Mino Celso, p. 37—44. J. Jac. Simler, Samlung alter und neuer Urkunden zur Belenchtung der Kirchengeschichte, tom. ii. p. 805.

[2] Mainardi died in the end of July 1563, in the eighty-first year of his age. Zanchii Opera, tom. vii. p. 35. He was the author of the following works: (1.) Trattato dell' unica et perfetta sattisfattione di Christo, a. 1551. (2.) Uno pio et utile Sermone della Gratia di Dio contra li meriti humani, a. 1552. (3.) L'Anatomia della Messa. The question concerning the real author of this last work, which Bayle has discussed at great length, but unsatisfactorily (Dict., art. Vergerio) had been previously settled by Zanchi. *Ut supra.* I may add here, that Alessandro Trissino, a native of Vicenza, wrote a long letter to Count Leonardo Tiene exhorting him and his fellow-citizens to embrace the reformed opinions. It was dated from Chiavenna, July 20, 1570, and printed two years after. Tiraboschi, vii. 383.

[3] Bock, ii. 426, 563.

[4] Ibid. ii. 410, 551—553. De Porta, ii. 63, 154—156.

[5] De Porta, ii. 158, 159.

[6] Bembo, Lettere, tomo iii. p. 389.

[7] De Porta, ii. 154, 160—166.

he felt some difficulty in reconciling himself to the simple life of a Protestant pastor after the splendour and opulence to which he had been accustomed. But if he had not been sincerely attached to the Reformation, he would have listened to the proposals made to him by the Court of Rome, which, though it would have preferred seizing his person, was not unwilling to purchase his faith. Though his writings were not profound, and his conduct was marked with versatility, Protestants might have treated with a little more tenderness the memory of a man whose name lent at least a temporary credit to their cause, and who gave the rare example of sacrificing worldly honours and affluence to religious principle. He died on the 4th of October 1565, at Tubingen, in the duchy of Wirtemburg, where he had resided since the year 1553, although he repeatedly visited the Grisons during that interval.[1]

Ludovico Castelvetro, of whom we have already spoken, was among the learned men who found a refuge from persecution in the Grisons. After his flight from Rome,[2] he concealed himself in Ferrara; but hearing that the officers of the Inquisition were in eager search for him, left his native country, and retired to Chiavenna, where he found his old friend Franciscus Portus. The removal of Portus, who was called to Geneva, gave him an opportunity of being useful in teaching the Greek language, which served to relieve the languor of his exile. Application was made in his behalf to the Council of Trent, but the fathers would not interfere in a cause which was already before the tribunal of the Inquisition. Through the interest of his friend Foscarari, Bishop of Modena, hopes were given him of a favourable issue to his process, provided he would return to Italy; but he declined this, as well as the proposal made by the nuncio Delfino, who was sent into Switzerland to treat with him, Vergerio, and Zanchi. It was most probably the fears which he entertained for his safety, at a time when many of his countrymen were surprised and carried off into Italy, that induced him to leave Chiavenna and repair to Lyons. But finding himself exposed to new dangers from the civil war which then raged in Franc between the Catholics and Huguenots, he retired to Geneva, and soon after returned to Chiavenna, where he opened a private school, at the desire of some young men, to whom he read daily two lectures, one on Homer and another on the Rhetorica ad Herennium. Encouraged by the reception which his brother had met with at the Court of Vienna, he went there in 1567, and put to press his celebrated Commentary on Aristotle's Art of Poetry, which he dedicated to the Emperor Maximilian II. But the plague breaking out in that place, he returned again to Chiavenna, where he continued till his death, on the 21st of February 1571, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. Previous to his last illness, some of his

[1] Salig. Hist. Auspurg. Confes. tom. ii. p. 1180. Bayle, Dict., art. Vergerio. De Porta, lib. ii. cap. v. Gerdesii Ital. Ref. p. 346—350. The first volume of a collection of his works was printed in 1563. The *Apologia pro Vergerio adversus Casam*, by Schelhorn, I have not seen.

[2] See before, p 130.

countrymen, who had settled at Basle, requested him to take up his residence with them; an invitation with which he seemed willing to comply. Castelvetro was one of the great literary ornaments of his country; an acute and ingenious critic, and extensively acquainted with Italian and Provençal poetry, as well as with the classics of Greece and Rome, to which he added the knowledge of Hebrew.[1]

It is now time that we should quit the Alps, and take a rapid survey of the Italian churches formed in Switzerland and other countries to the north.

At Zurich the exiles from Locarno obtained from the senate the use of a church, with liberty to celebrate public worship in their own language. They enjoyed at first the instructions of their townsman Beccaria; but as he had come merely to supply their present necessities, after labouring among them for a few months he resigned his place to a person of superior talents.[2] Returning to the Grisons, he took up his residence in the valley of Misocco, a part of the country which remained in a state of gross ignorance, and in which he was extremely useful, in the double capacity of schoolmaster and preacher, until 1561, when he was expelled through the agency of Cardinal Borromeo; after which he retired to Chiavenna.[3]

Ochino was the person chosen to succeed Beccaria at Zurich. After leaving his native country,[4] he had remained for some time at Geneva, where he acquired the esteem of Calvin;[5] but finding himself shut out from employment there, as the only language of which he was master was the Italian, and none of his countrymen had as yet come to that place, he repaired to Basle for the purpose of printing some of his works, and from that went to Augsburg. The magistrates of this city appointed him Italian preacher, with an annual salary of two hundred florins, partly to provide for his support and partly to gratify the merchants and other inhabitants who knew his native language.[6] He accordingly commenced preaching on the Epistles of Paul, in the church of St Anne, to numbers, attracted by curiosity and by the report of his eloquence. For

[1] Muratori, Vita del Castelvetro; Opere Critiche, p. 33—49. Tiraboschi, Della Letter. Ital. vii. 1170—1173. Bibl. Modenese, tom. i. p. 456—467. Freytag, Analect. Libr. Rar. p. 219. Jacopo, the son of Gianmaria Castelvetro, who accompanied his father and uncle in their exile, took up his abode finally in London, where in 1591 he published an edition of the Pastor fido of Guarino, and the Aminte of Tasso. Having been induced to go to Venice, probably by the dissension which arose between that republic and the Court of Rome, an accusation was brought against him as a heretic, and he was thrown into prison, from which he escaped by the assistance of Sir Henry Wotton, the English ambassador. Bibl. Modenese, tom i. p. 432—434. He was in Edinburgh in the year 1592. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. A. 4. 18.

[2] Schelhorn, Ergötzlichkeiten, iii. 1162.

[3] Beccaria, who also went by the name of Canesa, continued to visit his flock in Misocco down to the year 1571. Tempe Helvetica, tom. iv. p. 200—202. De Porta, ii. p. 344—350: Conf. p. 169.

[4] See before, p. 117.

[5] Burmanni Sylloge Epist. tom. ii. p. 230. Lettres de Calvin à Jaque de Bourgogne, pp. 36, 108.

[6] Schelhorn, in his interesting collections relating to the life and writings of Ochino, has published two decrees of the senate of Augsburg, in one of which, dated October 20, 1545, they give permission to "Frater Bernhardin Ochinus," along with his brother-in-law and sister, to reside in the city; and in the other, dated December 3, 1545, they assign him the salary mentioned in the text as "Welscher Predicant." Ergötzlichkeiten, tom. iii. pp. 1141, 1142.

the sake of those who could not understand him, his discourses were translated into German and printed. But the Emperor Charles V. having come to Augsburg with his army in July 1547, demanded that Ochino should be delivered up to him, upon which he fled, along with his countryman Stancari, to Constance, whence he went by Basle to Strasburg.[1] Here he found several Italian refugees, and particularly his intimate friend Martyr, with whom he repaired, in the end of that year, to England, upon the invitation of Archbishop Cranmer. Martyr obtained a professor's chair in the university of Oxford,[2] while Ochino exercised his talent of preaching in the metropolis. But in consequence of the change of religion produced by the death of Edward VI., both of them retired in 1554, the former to Strasburg and the latter to Basle.[3] From this place Ochino was called to be minister of the Locarnese congregation at Zurich, to the charge of which he was solemnly admitted on the 13th of June 1555, after making an orthodox confession of his faith, and swearing to observe the rites of the Helvetic Church and the ordinances of its synods.[4]

Soon after the settlement of Ochino, his countryman Martyr came to Zurich, to fill the chair of theology and Hebrew, which had become vacant in the university by the death of the learned Conrad Pellican.[5] This was of great advantage to the Locarnese congregation. His interest with the magistrates and pastors of the city was exerted in its behalf; it had the benefit of his sound advice in the management of its internal affairs; and he preached to it as often as Ochino was unwell or absent.[6] It must, therefore, have sustained a severe loss by his death, which happened on the 12th of November 1562, after an illness of a few days. Of all the Italian exiles, none left behind him a fairer and better earned fame than Peter Martyr. He possessed eminently the good qualities of his countrymen, without the vices which have been ascribed to them; acuteness without subtlety, dexterity without cunning, and ardour without enthusiasm. In Italy he gave great offence by deserting the religion of his ancestors and violating the monastic vow; in England he was opposed to the champions of the Catholic faith, after the government had declared itself decidedly in their favour; at the conference of Poissi he appeared in support of the Protestant doctrine, at a crisis when its adversaries trembled at the prospect of its success within the kingdom of France; and at Strasburg he was involved in a

[1] Schelhorn, pp. 994—998, 1142, 1143. Salig, tom. ii. p. 419. Seckendorf, lib. iii. p. 613; et Supplem. num. lvi.

[2] "Peter Martyr, doctor of divinity of the university of Padua," was incorporated into the university of Oxford in February 1547. Wood's Fasti Oxon. p. 126.

[3] Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 189. Burnet's Hist. of the Ref. vol. ii. pp. 53, 250. Sanders, De Schism. Anglic. p. 349. During his residence in England Martyr lost his wife. On the restoration of popery, her body was, by the orders of Cardinal Pole (once the intimate friend of Martyr), disinterred and thrown into a dunghill: but, after the accession of Elizabeth, it was removed, under the direction of Archbishop Parker, and again honourably buried. Historia Vera, De Vita, &c. Martini Buceri et Pauli Fagii; item Historia Catharinæ Vermiliæ, D. Petri Martyris conjugis, f. 196—202. Argent. 1562.

[4] Schelhorn, Ergötz. tom. iii. p. 1162.

[5] He came to Zurich in July 1556. Melch. Adam, Vitæ Exter. Theolog. p. 49. De Porta, ii. 228.

[6] Zanchii Epist. lib. ii. p. 284.

dispute with those who maintained the peculiar sentiments of Luther on the eucharist with more violence than their master had ever shown. But in none of these places did prejudice, strong as it then was, and loud as it often lifted its voice, whisper anything unfavourable to the personal character of Martyr.[1] His piety and learning were recommended by modesty, candour, and gentleness of manners. As an author his talents were allowed by his adversaries ; and in the reformed church his writings were, by general agreement, placed next to those of Calvin, for judiciousness and perspicuity. His last years were spent happily in the most uninterrupted harmony and cordial friendship with his colleagues in Zurich. Bullinger, who loved him as a brother, closed his eyes, and Conrad Gesner spread the cloth over his face, while the pastor and elders of the Locarnian church wept around his bed.[2]

The year in which Martyr died was remarkable for the death of one of his countrymen, whose name obtained still greater notoriety than his, though on different grounds. This was Lelius Socinus, who had, for a number of years, been a member of the Locarnese congregation.[3] He was born at Sienna in 1525, and educated under the eye of his father, Mariano Soccini the younger, a celebrated professor of law. Having testified a decided partiality to the Reformation, he left Italy in 1548,[4] partly from regard to his safety and partly from a desire to see and confer with the leading divines of the Protestant Church, whose writings he had read with delight. He came to Zurich at an early period, and lodged with Pellican, under whom he commenced the study of the Hebrew language. Between 1549 and 1551 he resided at Wittenberg, after which he returned to Zurich, where he spent the remainder of his life, with the exception of what was devoted to short excursions into France, Poland, and Italy. I have already given my reasons for thinking that, before leaving his native country, he had not adopted the creed which has obtained from him and his nephew the name of Socinian, and that his interviews with Camillo Renato at Chiavenna had great influence in leading his mind into that train of thinking.[5] Soon after his arrival in Switzerland he began, in his conversations and epistolary correspondence with learned men, to start doubts as to the commonly

[1] Speaking of Bucer and Martyr, Walter Haddon exclaims: "O aureum par senum felicissimæ memoriæ, quorum doctrinæ testes libri sunt ab illis confecti, morum tot habuerunt approbatores quot unquam convictores invenire potuerunt!" Haddoni Lucubrationes, p. 224.

[2] Josias Simler, who had been appointed his colleague in the theological chair, drew up his life in the *Oratio de Vita et Obitu D. Petri Martyris Vermilii*, to which we have repeatedly referred. There is a beautiful letter in commendation of him, written soon after his death, by Wolfgang Haller to Zanchi. Zanchii Epist. *ut supra*. Besides the collection of epistles appended to his *Loci Communes*, a number of Martyr's letters were published by Gerdes, in his *Scrinium Antiquarium*, tom. iv.

[3] Illgen, Vita Lælii Socini, p. 48. Fueslin, pp. 356, 358.

[4] Cornelio, Camillo, and Celso, three of the brothers of Lelius, embraced the same sentiments, and followed him at a later period, into Switzerland, as did also his nephew Faustus. Schelhorn, De Mino Celso, p. 35. Bock, ii. 576, 577, 624.

[5] The reader may compare the opinions of Camillo, as already stated, with the doubts started by Socinus, in his correspondence with Calvin. The letters of Socinus, indeed, are not extant, but the substance of them is preserved in Calvin's replies. Calvini Epist. pp. 52, 57 ; Opera, tom. ix.

received opinions concerning the sacraments and the resurrection, and afterwards concerning redemption and the Trinity; but he uniformly proposed these in the character of a learner, not of a teacher or disputant, as difficulties which he was anxious to have solved, and not as sentiments which he held or wished to support. The modesty with which he propounded his doubts, together with the eager desire he showed for knowledge, his courteousness, and the correctness of his morals, gained him the esteem not only of Melanchthon and Bullinger, but also of Calvin and Beza. If, at any time, he gave offence or alarm by the boldness with which he pushed his speculations into high and inscrutable mysteries, or by pertinaciousness in urging his objections, he knew how to allay these feelings by prudent concession and ample apologies; and Calvin, after declining farther correspondence with him, was induced to renew it and to return a friendly answer to his doubts respecting the doctrine of the Trinity.[1] In adopting this method toward the more learned reformers, it was probably the object of Socinus to ascertain what they could say against his opinions; but, in other instances, he exerted himself in secretly making proselytes, and not without success.[2] He carefully concealed his sentiments respecting the Trinity from the divines of Zurich.[3] On receiving warning of them from the Grisons, Bullinger, whose affections he had gained, laid the matter before him, and in a very friendly manner advised him to remove the suspicions which had arisen as to his orthodoxy. Socinus protested that he agreed in all points with the Church of Zurich, and complained of the reports circulated to his prejudice; but, on being dealt with more closely, he owned that he had indulged too much in abstruse and vain speculations, promised that he would guard against this for the future, and subscribed a declaration of his faith, which was satisfactory to Bullinger.[4] Julio da Milano, who was one of those from whom the information had come, and knew the correspondence which Socinus held with the Antitrinitarians in the Valteline, was suspicious of the sincerity of his professions; and though he promised to use his influence to induce his brethren to accept of the pledge which had been given, implored Bullinger to watch over the purity of the Locarnese congregation.[5] After this Socinus was more circumspect: we find no more noise made about his opinions during his lifetime; and there is every reason to think that he continued to communicate, as he had formerly done, with the Italian Church in Zurich. But after his death, the Antitrinitarians who had enjoyed his confidence, thinking themselves no longer bound to secresy, proclaimed that he was of their sentiments; and as a proof of this, circulated such of his writings as were in their

[1] Colomesii Opera, p. 502. Conf. Calvini Epist. p. 57; Opera, tom. ix.
[2] Zanchii Præf. in. Libr. de Tribus Elohim; Opera, tom. i.
[3] Simler, Assertio Orthod. Doctrinæ de duabus naturis Christi, præf. p. 4.
[4] Illgen, p. 46—55. Bock, ii. 597—602.
[5] Fueslin, p. 353—359.

possession.[1] On hearing of his death, his nephew, Faustus Socinus, came from Lyons to Zurich, and took possession of his papers, which he afterwards made use of in composing his own works. To this, however, he applied himself at a period much later; for he went immediately to Florence, where he spent twelve years in the service of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, not in preparing his mind for the task of illuminating the world (as the Polish knight who wrote his life has asserted), but in the idleness and amusements of a court, as he himself has acknowledged.[2]

The Locarnese exiles were surprised and distressed at learning that so respectable a member of their church as Socinus had made defection from the evangelical faith; but their painful feelings were heightened by the report, which soon after became current, that their pastor had followed his example. Socinus had failed in his attempts to warp the judgment of his countryman Zanchi;[3] but his subtlety and address were too powerful for one who was now advanced in years, and who, though possessed of good talents, had read but little on theology, in consequence of his imperfect knowledge of ancient and foreign languages. Without supposing him to have been the slave of popularity, Ochino could scarcely have failed to be flattered with the crowds which flocked to his preaching in Italy; and he must have felt the change, when, on coming to a foreign country, his hearers were necessarily few, from the circumstance of their being confined to those who understood his native tongue. He had, besides, taken up the idea that the divines of Zurich despised him for his want of learning; and though this suspicion appears to have been groundless, we have his own authority for saying that it soured his mind.[4] In this state of his feelings, he was more ready to listen to the objections of his artful townsman, though they struck at the root of sentiments which had been the favourite topics of his

[1] Bock has given an account of his writings. Hist. Antitrin. tom. ii. p. 635—654. But Illgen has shown greater discrimination in distinguishing his genuine works from those which are supposititious or were written by others. Vita Lælii Socini, p. 74—85. His work composed on occasion of the punishment of Servetus, and entitled "Martini Bellii Farrago de hæreticis, an sint prosequendi, et omnino quomodo sit cum eis agendum," was first printed at Basle in 1553. The edition which I have examined wants the words "Martini Bellii Farrago" in the title, and was printed "Magdeburgi 1554." The following is a specimen of the style of reasoning in that work:—"Suppose one accused of disloyalty at Tubingen, who makes this defence for himself: 'I believe that Christopher is my prince, and I desire to obey him in all things; but as to what you say about his coming in a chariot, this I do not believe, but believe he will come on horseback; and whereas you say that he is clothed in scarlet, I believe that he is clothed in white; and as to his ordering us to wash in this river, I believe that this ought to be done in the afternoon, and you believe it ought to be done in the forenoon.' I ask of you, prince, if you would wish your subject to be condemned for this! I think not: and if you were present, you would rather praise the candour and obedience of the man than blame his ignorance; and if any should put him to death on this ground, you would punish them. So is it in the question under consideration. A certain citizen of Christ says, "I believe in God the Father and Jesus Christ his Son," &c. De Hæreticis, &c. p. 8. No copy has, for a long time, been seen of his "Paraphrasis in Initium Evangelii S. Johannis, scripta in 1561," which contained the famed interpretation of the first verse of that gospel. "In *Evangelii* principio erat Dei sermo," &c. This paraphrase must not be confounded with the "Explicatio Initii Evangelii Johannis," which was the work of his nephew Faustus.

[2] Bock, tom. ii. pp. 663, 664.

[3] Zanchii Opera, tom. i. præf. ad finem.

[4] Ochino, Dialogo, in Schelhorn, Ergötz., tom. iii. p. 2030.

sermons, and in which he had gloried most when he left the Church of Rome.

It appears that surmises unfavourable to the orthodoxy of Ochino had arisen soon after his arrival in Switzerland. We learn this fact from a letter of Calvin, which reflects honour on the heart of that great reformer, and shows that he was far from being of that suspicious and intolerant disposition which many, through ignorance or prejudice, have ascribed to him. "There is another thing of which I must write you, at the request of our friend Bernardin. I understand that it has been reported, through the foolishness of a certain brother, who was one of his companions, that he was somewhat suspected here as not altogether sound on the doctrine of the Trinity and person of Christ. I shall say nothing in his exculpation, except simply to state the truth of what happened. As I have not great confidence in the genius of many of the Italians, when he first imparted to me his design of taking up his residence here, I conferred with him freely on the several articles of faith, in such a manner that if he had differed on anything from us he could scarcely have concealed it. It appeared to me that I discovered, and, if I have any judgment, I can safely attest, that he agreed with us entirely on the article referred to, as well as on all other points. The only thing I perceived was, that he felt displeased with the over-curious discussion of these questions which is common among the schoolmen; and really, when it is considered how much the airy speculations of these sophists differ from the sober and modest doctrine of the ancients, I cannot be of a different opinion. I think it proper to bear this testimony to a pious and holy man, lest the slightest suspicion should unjustly be attached to his character among us; for he is unquestionably a person distinguished for genius, learning, and sanctity."[1] Calvin retained the same favourable opinion of him at a subsequent period,[2] and there is no reason to think that the divines of Zurich were of a different mind. But in 1558 Martyr received a letter from Chiavenna, stating that Ochino and the brothers of Lelius Socinus were secretly undermining the doctrine of the merit and satisfaction of Christ. Even according to his own explanation, Ochino had forsaken his former views on that point; but the matter was accommodated by the friendship and prudence of Martyr.[3] About the same time he gave offence to some of the divines of Switzerland by one of his books; and on this occasion also, though the work was printed without their knowledge, and was far from pleasing them, the ministers of Zurich interposed in his favour.[4] But he forfeited their protection and exhausted their forbearance by a work which he published in the course of the year after his countryman Martyr died. It was printed privately, not at Zurich

[1] Calvinus ad Pellicanum, Genevæ, 14 Calend. Maias 1543: Calvini Epistolæ MSS. vol. i. no. 60, in Bibl. Genev.

[2] Calvin. ad Viretum, 6 April. 1547: MS. in Bibl. Genev.

[3] A letter which Ochino wrote on this occasion has been preserved by De Porta, tom. ii. pp. 392, 393.

[4] Schelhorn, Ergötzlichkeiten, tom. iii. p. 2164. The book referred to was his *Labyrinthi*, in which he discusses the questions respecting free-will and predestination.

but at Basle, and consisted of thirty dialogues, divided into two parts.[1] In the first part he proves, in opposition to a Jew, that Jesus is the true Messiah, and, on the general argument, his proofs are strong; but when he comes to defend the sacrifice and satisfaction of Christ, he argues feebly and inconclusively. It was, however, the second part of the work, in which he treats of polygamy and the Trinity, which chiefly gave offence. The first of these questions is discussed in a dialogue between Telipoligamus, an advocate of polygamy, and Ochinus. Every argument which had been urged in favour of the practice, or which the ingenuity of the author could devise, is put into the mouth of the former, who reasons at great length and with much eloquence; while Ochinus replies at once with brevity and feebleness, and in the end materially, though not in so many words, yields the point in dispute to his supposed antagonist. The dialogues on the Trinity are conducted in the same manner. Some writers insist that Ochino cannot be charged with maintaining polygamy and Antitrinitarianism; but it will be difficult for any person to read the dialogues impartially without conceiving strong suspicions of the author's heterodoxy.[2]

Certain citizens of Zurich, on a visit to Basle, were told in a public company that their town would soon become a sink of vile heresies, as their ministers had already begun to write in favour of polygamy; and on their resenting this as a calumny, they were silenced by the production of the work of Ochino, which had been lately published. Returning home, they gave information to the ministers of the city, and implored them to wipe off a disgrace which had fallen upon their order and upon the whole city.[3] The divines of Zurich had, at a former period, been greatly displeased at the conduct of such of the German reformers as had countenanced the bigamy of the Landgrave of Hesse,[4] which brought so much scandal on the whole evangelical body; and they now felt both grieved and indignant at the conduct of their colleague. Having communicated the fact to the chief magistrate, they, at his desire, translated the dialogue on polygamy into German, and laid it, with remarks on the other dialogues, before the senate, which came to the resolution of banishing him from the territories of the canton. Being unable to prevent this sentence, he petitioned for liberty to remain during the winter; but this was refused, and he was ordered to depart within three weeks.[5]

The banishment of an old man of seventy-six, with four young chil-

[1] Bernardini Ochini Senensis Dialogi XXX. Basileæ 1563. The work was printed from a translation into Latin made by Castalio. It was afterwards disputed whether the work had undergone the examination which the laws prescribed before its being printed. It appeared, on investigation, that the Italian original, in manuscript, had been put into the hands of Amerbachius, the rector of the university, by whom, as he did not understand the language, it was committed to Celio Secundo Curio, who denied that he had ever given it his approbation. Schelhorn, Ergötz. tom. iii. p. 1185—1188.

[2] The dialogue on polygamy has been republished and translated into our own language (among others) by the friends of that practice.

[3] Schelhorn, Ergötzlichkeiten, iii. 2160, 2161.

[4] Fueslin, Epist. Ref. pp. 198—200, 205.

[5] Schelhorn, Ergötz. iii. 2022, 2161, 2166, 2174—2179. Bock, ii. 501—504.

dren, in the depth of winter, was a severe measure, calculated to excite compassion for the sufferer; and had Ochino left this feeling to its own operation, it is probable that the magistrates and ministers of Zurich would have incurred public odium. But he published an apology for himself, which was answered by the ministers, and injured instead of helping his cause.[1] Besides the charges brought against the senate and pastors in general, he made a personal attack on Bullinger, whom he represented as one who disliked all foreigners, especially Italians, wished to ruin the Locarnese congregation, had opposed his election to be their pastor, and persecuted him because he would not worship him as a pope and a god.[2] Now, all this was quite contrary to the character of that divine; and his kindness to exiles, his care about the Italian church,[3] the tenderness with which he had treated Socinus, and the respect which he had shown for Ochino himself, were all so well known, that the ministers scarcely needed to use their "sponge" to wipe off aspersions which served only to throw suspicion on the writer who had vented them. Nor was the author happier in the defence of his book. His chief apology for the manner in which he had conducted the argument was, that "truth does not stand in need of many words like falsehood, for it can defend itself."[4] As if we were warranted to strip truth, and then place her on the pillory, to be insulted and pelted by the mob, while we stood by and contented ourselves with crying out, "Great is the truth, and will prevail!" Ochino alleges that one chief reason of the keenness with which the ministers of Zurich had persecuted him was, that in the obnoxious dialogues he had exposed their errors and pointed out the defects of their boasted Reformation. But as anything of this kind was put into the mouth of the interlocutor whom he opposed, he virtually acknowledged by this allegation the deception which he had practised, and deprived himself of his principal defence.[5]

On coming to Basle, Ochino was given to understand by the magistrates that his continuing there would be offensive. After residing for some time at Mulhausen, he set out to join his countrymen of the Antitrinitarian persuasion who had gone to Poland. But Cardinal Borromeo, by express orders from the pope, wrote to Cardinal Hosius to

[1] His apology, entitled "Dialogo, Favellatori—Prudenza humana e Ochino," and the reply to it, entitled "Spongia adversus aspergines Bernardini Ochini," are both published by Schelhorn in the third volume of his Ergötzlichkeiten. It would appear, from the reply, that Ochino's apology was printed at that time, though Schelhorn thinks it was only circulated in manuscript.

[2] Dialogo, *ut supra*, pp. 2021, 2029, 2030.

[3] There is an excellent letter by him to the Protestants suffering persecution in Italy, dated 6th January 1561, and published by Fueslin. Epist. Ref. p. 445—456.

[4] "La verità non ha bisogno di molte parole, sicome il mendacio; imperochè la verità per se stessa si difendi, resiste, supera e trionfa; ma il contrario è del mendacio." Dialogo, *ut supra*, p. 2018.

[5] Dialogo, *ut supra*, p. 2030—2034. Schelhorn is of opinion that Ochino's Dialogue on Polygamy is not original, and that the greater part of it was borrowed from a dialogue on the same subject, written in defence of Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, and published in 1541, under the fictitious name of Hulderichus Neobulus. Ergötzlichkeiten, tom. i. p. 631—636; iii. 2136—2156. There is certainly a striking coincidence between the extracts he has produced from this dialogue and that of Ochino. The charge of plagiarism is, however, weakened by the fact that Ochino was ignorant of German.

to keep his eye upon him and prevent his settlement in that country, a service which was also given in charge to the nuncio Commendone. In consequence of this he was obliged to retire into Moravia, and died at Slacovia in the end of the year 1564, after having lost two sons and a daughter by the plague, which then raged in that country.[1] Whatever the faults of Ochino were, it is impossible to contemplate this termination of the career of a man who had been held in such high estimation, and enjoyed so large a share of popular applause, without feelings of the deepest regret and humiliation. The narrative affords a useful lesson both to preachers and hearers: it admonishes the latter not to allow their admiration to usurp the place of their judgment, if it were from no other motive than pity to the gods whom their breath creates; and it warns the former not to trust themselves to the intoxicating gale of popularity, which, after deceiving them, leaves in their breasts a painful restlessness, prompting them to make undefined and perilous efforts to regain what they have lost. The Roman Catholics had felt great mortification when Ochino deserted their communion; their triumph was now proportionately great; and his versatility and melancholy fate furnished them with a popular argument against all change in religion and every attempt at reform.

The Locarnese congregation, however, continued to flourish, and enjoyed a succession of pastors until the emigration ceased, and it was no longer necessary to have the public service performed in the language of Italy.[2] Some of the most distinguished families at this day in Zurich are descended from Italian exiles, who first introduced into it the art of manufacturing silk, set up mills and dye-houses, and so enriched the city by their industry and ingenuity, that within a short time it became celebrated beyond the limits of Switzerland.[3]

Basle had long been distinguished as a resort of learned men, which induced many of the Italian Protestants to select it as the place of their residence. I can only name a few of them. Paolo di Colli, the father of Hippolytus a Collibus, a celebrated lawyer and counsellor of the Elector Palatine Frederic IV., was a native of Alexandria in the Milanese, from which he fled in consequence of the discovery of a Protestant conventicle which was kept in his house.[4] Guglielmo Grataroli, a physician of Bergamo, was equally distinguished by his piety, his classical learning, and his skill in his own art, on which he published several works.[5] Alfonso Corrado, a Mantuan, and said to have been the instructor of the wife of Alfonso, Duke of Ferrara, preached for some time in the Grisons, and published at Basle a commentary on the Apocalypse, "filled," says Tiraboschi, "with invectives and reproaches against the

[1] Bock, tom. ii. p. 504—508.

[2] Hottinger, Helvetische Kirchengeschichte, tom. iii. p. 762—763: Gerdesii Ital. Ref. p. 40.

[3] Zschokke, Schweizerlands Geschichte, p. 258. Tempe Helvetica, tom. iv. p. 173.

[4] Adami Vitæ Jurcconsult. p. 207. Tonjolæ Monument. Basil. p. 124.

[5] Thuani Hist. ad ann. 1568. Bezæ Epistolæ, p. 218. 231. Speaking of Grataroli, Zanchi says: "In his native country he enjoyed an honourable rank and riches: his piety alone has impoverished him." Epist. lib. ii. p. 390.

Roman pontiff."[1] Silvestro Teglio, and Francesco Betti, a Roman knight, were both learned men.[2] Mino Celso, a native of Sienna, is praised by Claudio Tolomeo, and an edition of the letters of that learned man was dedicated to him by Fabio Benvoglienti.[3] Having left his native country from love to the reformed religion, he became corrector of the press to Petrus Perna, a Lucchese, and long a celebrated printer at Basle, "whose memory," says Tiraboschi, "would have been still more deserving of honour if he had not tarnished it by apostasy from the Catholic religion."[4] Mino Celso was the author of a rare work against the capital punishment of heretics, in which he has treated the question with great solidity and learning.[5] But the most learned person among the refugees who resided in this city was Curio, whom we have already met with repeatedly in the course of this History. At his first coming from Italy, the senate of Berne placed him at the head of the college of Lausanne, from which he was translated in 1547 to the chair of Roman Eloquence in the university of Basle. On that occasion the degree of doctor of laws was conferred on him sitting, a mark of respect which had been shown to none but Bucer. But greater honour was done him by the numbers who came from all parts of Europe to attend his lectures. He received an invitation from the Emperor Maximilian to the university of Vienna, from Vaivod, King of Transylvania, to Weissemburg, and from the Duke of Savoy to Turin; while the pope employed the Bishop of Terracino to persuade him to return to Italy, by the promise of an ample salary, with provision for his daughters, and on no other condition than that of his abstaining from inculcating his religious opinions. But he rejected these offers, and remained at Basle till his death in 1569.[6] Besides his writings on religious subjects, he published various works on grammar, and editions of the Latin classics accompanied with notes, by which he did great service to Roman literature and education. Of all the refugees, the loss of none has been more regretted by Italian writers than that of Curio.[7] The testimonies which they have borne to him deserve the more attention for this reason, among others, that some of the most important facts relating to the

[1] Gerdesii Ital. Ref. p. 231—234. De Porta, ii. 35. Tiraboschi, vii. 383. "Exsecretur me Papa, quærant me principes ad necem, qui sub mentito Inquisitorum hæreticæ pravitatis nomine hæresin pessimam defendunt, &c." Alph. Conradus, Comment. in Apocalypsin, Dedic. sig. ii. Bas. 1574.

[2] Teglio translated into Latin the Principe of Macchiavelli. Betti was the author of a letter to the Marchioness of Pescaro, and afterwards became intimate with Faustus Socinus. Schelhorn, Dissert. de Mino Celso, p. 62. Bock, ii. pp. 665, 817.

[3] De Mino Celso Senensi, p. 14—18.

[4] Storia, vii. 1763. A life of Perna was published at Lucca in 1763, by Domenica Maria Manni.

[5] It is entitled, "Mini Celsi Senensis de Hereticis capitali supplicio non afficiendis. Anno 1584." This is the edition I have consulted, but the work was first printed in 1577. The author mentions that he was led to treat the question in consequence of his finding it disputed among the Protestants when he passed through the Grisons in 1569. In the work, he points out the distinction between the kingdom of Christ and secular kingdoms, examines the doctrine of Scripture on the subject, produces testimonies from the fathers and reformers in favour of the opinion which he maintains, and shows that it is not inconsistent with the exercise of civil authority in reforming and supporting religion. His reasoning is not confined to capital punishment.

[6] Stupani Oratio de Cælio Secundo Curione, *ut supra*, p. 347—349.

[7] Tiraboschi, Storia, tomo vii. p. 1559—1561. Ginguene, Hist. Littér. d'Italie, tome vii. p. 233—236.

progress and suppression of the Reformation in Italy have been attested by him; and the greater part of the narratives of Italian martyrs proceeded from his pen, or were submitted to his revision before they were published by his friend Pantaleon. The children of Curio, female as well as male, were distinguished for their talents and learning, and among his descendants we find some of the most eminent names in the Protestant church.[1]

In taking leave of Curio, I am reminded of his interesting friend Olympia Morata. On retiring into Germany,[2] she and her husband were kindly entertained by George Hermann, the enlightened minister of Ferdinand, King of the Romans, through whose influence they were offered an advantageous situation in the Austrian dominions, which they declined, as being incompatible with the free exercise of the reformed religion. Olympia felt herself happy in the affection of the worthy young man to whom she had given her heart along with her hand; and the recollection of the ease and splendour in which she had spent the most of her life was lost in the liberty of conscience and Christian society which she now enjoyed. The letters which she wrote at this time to her female acquaintance in Italy, and to her fellow-exiles, testify that she was in possession of the richest of heritages, "godliness with contentment." In Schweinfurt, an imperial town of Franconia, and the native place of her husband, she resumed her favourite studies, and her friends congratulated themselves on the prospect of her adding to the literary fame which she had already acquired in her native country; but the muses were soon put to flight by the trumpet of war. The turbulent Albert, Marquis of Brandenburg, who had been engaged in a predatory warfare with his neighbours, threw himself into the city of Schweinfurt, where he was besieged by the German princes.[3] During the siege, which was tedious and severe, Olympia was obliged to live in a cellar; and when the town was taken, she with great difficulty escaped in disguise from the fury of the soldiers, and reached the neighbouring village of Hammelburg in a state of exhaustion. "If you had seen me," she writes to Curio, "with my feet bare and bleeding, my hair dishevelled, and my borrowed clothes all torn, you would have pronounced me the queen of beggars."[4] Her library, which she valued above all her property, including her own manuscripts, was entirely destroyed in the sack of the town. Under this calamity she experienced the polite attention of the Counts of Erbach; the Elector Palatine provided her husband with a place in the university of Heidelberg; and her literary friends united in sending her books to furnish a new library. Their sympathy and kindness soothed her spirits, but could not restore her to health, or prolong a life which was fast hastening to

[1] It is sufficient to mention here the names of Buxtorf, Grynæus, Freyus, and Werenfels. Stupani Oratio, pp. 363, 381, 398. Ryhinerus, Vita Sam. Werenfelsii, in Tempe Helvetica, tom. vi. p. 47.

[2] See before, p. 131.

[3] Sleidan, tom. iii. pp. 410, 449, 468.

[4] Olympiæ Moratæ Opera, p. 160—162. Nolten, Vita Olympiæ Moratæ, p. 138—147.

a close. Her delicate constitution had received an irrecoverable shock from the agitation and fatigue which she had undergone ; the symptoms of consumption became decided ; and after a lingering illness, during which the sweetness of her temper and the strength of her faith displayed themselves in such a manner as to console even her husband who doted upon her, she expired on the 26th of October 1555, in the twenty-ninth year of her age.[1] Who would not drop a tear over the untimely grave of the amiable and accomplished Olympia Morata ! She ceased not to the last to remember her ungrateful but beloved Italy, though every desire to return to it had been quenched in her breast from the time she saw the apathy with which her countrymen allowed the standard of truth to fall, and the blood of its friends to be shed like water in their streets. Before she was confined to bed, she employed her leisure time in transcribing from memory some of her poems, which she bequeathed to her friend Curio, by whom her works were published after her death. They consist of confidential letters, dialogues in Latin and Italian, and Greek poems, chiefly paraphrases of the Psalms, in heroic and sapphic verse ; all of them the productions of a pious and highly cultivated mind.[2]

Strasburg, one of the free cities of Germany, opened its gates to the Italian refugees. Paola Lacisio of Verona, highly praised by Robortello for his skill in the three learned languages, came to it along with Martyr, and obtained the situation of Professor of Greek in the academy.[3] Jeronimo Massario of Vicenza was about the same time admitted Professor of Medicine. This learned man, besides what he wrote on the subject of his own science, was the author of a description of the mode of procedure in the tribunal of the Inquisition at Rome. In this work he describes the trial of a fictitious prisoner, whom he calls Eusebius Uranius, and puts into his mouth, during an examination which lasted three days, the principal arguments from Scripture and the fathers against the Church of Rome. Though it contains several facts, yet it is rather a controversial than an historical work, and much inferior in usefulness to the account of the Spanish Inquisition by Gonsalvo.[4] The Italians were not so numerous in Strasburg as to require the use of a church, but they met in private, and enjoyed for some time the instructions of Jerome Zanchi.[5] This celebrated divine was a native of Alzano

[1] Olympiæ Moratæ Opera, pp. 167, 177, 185—192. Nolten, p. 148—163.

[2] Her works were published in 1553, and went through four editions in the course of twenty-two years. The first edition was dedicated to Isabella Manricha, and the subsequent ones to Queen Elizabeth of England. Two of her letters will be found in the Appendix.

[3] Simler, Vita Martyris, sig. b iiij. Gerdes, Scrinium Antiq. tom. iii. p. 17. Colomesii Italia Orientalis, pp. 67, 688.

[4] It is entitled, " Eusebius Captivus, sive modus procedendi in curia Romana contra Lutheranos—per Hieronymum Marium. Basileæ. The dedication is dated, " Basileæ iiii. Nonas Novembris, Anno 1553." Colomiés says that Hieronymus Marius is the disguised name of Cælius Secundus Curio. Des Maizeaux, Colomesiana, tom. ii. p. 594. But Zanchi, in a letter to Musculus, says expressly that Massario had gone to Basle to get the work printed. Zanchii Epist. lib. ii. pp. 312, 317. He died of the plague at Strasburg in 1564. Wolfii Notæ in Colomesii Ital. Orient. pp. 74, 75. Sturmii Institutiones Literatæ, p. 140. Torun. Boruss. 1586.

[5] Zanchii Epist. lib. i. p. 131.

in the Bergamasco, and descended from a family distinguished in the republic of letters.[1] He was persuaded by his relation Basilio to enter a convent of canons regular, where he formed an intimate acquaintance with Celso Martinengho. They were associated in their studies in reading the works of Melanchthon, Bullinger, Musculus, and other reformers, and in attending the lectures of Martyr. They left Italy about the same time, and their friendship continued uninterrupted till the death of Martinengho. Having come to Geneva in 1553, by the way of the Grisons, Zanchi agreed to accompany Martyr into England; but when about to set out for this country, he received an invitation to be professor of divinity in the college of St Thomas at Strasburg. This situation he filled with great credit and comfort, for several years, until, after the death of James Sturmius, the great patron of the academy, who had been his steady friend, he was involved in controversy with some of the keen Lutherans, led on by John Marbach, who took offence at him for opposing their novel notion of the omnipresence of the human nature of Christ, and for teaching the doctrines of predestination and the perseverance of the saints.[2] In the midst of the uneasiness which this quarrel gave him, he rejected the proposals made to him by the papal nuncio,[3] but accepted, in the end of the year 1563, a call from the Italian Church at Chiavenna.[4] In the beginning of 1568 he came to the university of Heidelberg, where he taught during ten years; but finding that the prejudice which he had encountered at Strasburg followed him to this place, he gave way to it a second time, and removed to Neustadt, where Count John Casimir, the administrator of the Electorate Palatine, had recently endowed an academy. He died in 1590, during a visit which he paid to his friends at Heidelberg, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.[5] The moderation of Zanchi has been praised by writers of the Roman Catholic Church, though his love of peace did not lead him to sacrifice or compromise the truth. His celebrity as a teacher procured him invitations from the academies of Zurich, Lausanne, and Leyden. John Sturmius, called the German Cicero, was wont to say that he would not be afraid to trust Zanchi alone in a dispute against all the fathers assembled at Trent. Nor was he less esteemed as an author

[1] His father, Francesco, is enumerated among the historians of Italy. Tiraboschi, tom. vii. p. 369. His second cousins Dionigi, Grisostomo, and Basilio Zanchi, were all learned men. The last was reckoned one of the finest Latin poets in Italy, and a mystery hangs over the manner and cause of his death. It is supposed that he died in prison, into which he had been thrown by Pope Paul IV. Ibid. p. 1182—1184: comp. p. 387—389; and Roscoe's Leo X., vol. i. p. 76.

[2] He gives an account of this dispute in his letter to the Landgrave of Hesse. Opera, tom. vii. p. 1—46; tom. iii. epist. dedicat. Conf. Melch. Adami Vitæ Exter. Theolog. p. 149. John Sturmius, who was Rector of the Academy of Strasburg, and celebrated for the elegance of his Latin style, wrote a philippic against the adversaries of Zanchi, to which Melchior Specer replied in a letter published by Schelhorn. In this letter he says: "Alterum caput criminationis tuæ—Zanchium, suavissimas tuas delicias, vitam tuam, et animulam tuam continet. Ergötzlichkeiten, tom. iii. p. 1136. In a letter to Bullinger, Sturmius praises the learning, piety, courteousness, and placability of Zanchi. Zanchii Epist. lib. ii. p. 287.

[3] Tiraboschi, vii. 369.

[4] De Porta, ii. 412—421.

[5] Thuani Hist. ad annum 1590. Teissier, Eloges, tom. iv. p. 99—103. Melch. Adami Vitæ Exteror. Theolog. 148—153. A life of Zanchi, by Sig. Conte Cav. Giambatista Gallizioli, a patrician of Bergamasco, was printed at Bergamo in 1785. Tiraboschi, vii. 369.

after his death. His writings, consisting of commentaries on Scripture and treatises on almost all questions in theology, abound with proofs of learning; but they are too ponderous for the arms of a modern divine.[1]

Lyons, in the sixteenth century, was a place of resort for merchants from all parts of Europe. The Italian Protestants in that city were so numerous, that the popes reckoned it necessary to keep agents among them to labour in their conversion. But so far were they from succeeding in this work, that Lyons came to be regarded at Rome as "the chief seat of heresy," and all who visited it fell under suspicion.[2] Several editions of the New Testament, and other religious books, in the Italian language, proceeded from the Lyonese press.[3] In the beginning of 1562, the Italians obtained permission to hold meetings for worship, and called Zanchi to be their minister. The magistrates of Strasburg having refused to part with him, he received another pressing invitation in the following year from the celebrated Viret, in the name of the Protestant consistory at Lyons; but he had previously engaged himself to the church of Chiavenna. When afterwards deprived of the preacher whom they had chosen, Zanchi received a third call from his countrymen in Lyons, who were again disappointed.[4]

Antwerp was, in that age, the emporium of the world, and frequented by men of all nations. The reformed doctrine had been early introduced into it, and continued to spread among the inhabitants in spite of the severities employed for its suppression.[5] For many years the Italian Protestants satisfied themselves with meeting for worship along with the French Church, which was erected in that city after the Netherlands threw off the Spanish yoke; but as their numbers had increased,[6] they resolved, in the year 1580, to form themselves into a separate church, and invited their countryman Zanchi to be their pastor. With this invitation, though warmly seconded by letters from the senate and ministers, he did not think it prudent to comply.[7] It is, however, probable that they obtained Ulixio Martinengho[8] for their minister; for we find Zanchi about this time writing his opinion of that nobleman, at the desire of one of the ministers of Antwerp. "I know him well,"

[1] His works were collected and printed in eight volumes folio at Geneva, in 1613. Fridericus Sylburgius, celebrated as the author of several learned works, and the editor of many of the Greek and Roman classics which came from the presses of Wechel and Commelin, was for some time the servant of Zanchi, to whom he was indebted for his education. Zanchii Epist. lib. ii. pp. 440, 442.

[2] Fontanini Biblioteca Italiana, i. 119.

[3] Besides the translation of the New Testament by Massimo Teofilo in 1551, an edition of Brucioli's was printed at Lyons in 1553, and an anonymous translation in 1558. This last had been published, with a French version, in 1555, by Ludovico Paschali the martyr, but the place of printing is unknown. Schelhorn, Ergötzlichkeiten, tom. i. p. 417—419.

[4] Zanchii Epist. lib. ii. pp. 287, 375—378, 390.

[5] Gerdesii Hist. Reform. tom. iii. pp. 217, 243.

[6] The Italian version of the New Testament by Brucioli was printed at Antwerp in the year 1538, accompanied with two prefaces, in which the advantages of reading the Scriptures, and the propriety of translating them into the vulgar language of every people, are urged with great force. Ergötzlichkeiten, tom. i. p. 408.

[7] Zanchii Epist. lib. ii. p. 409—414, 424.

[8] See before, p. 212.

says he, "and can, with a good conscience, and in presence of the Lord, attest that he is incorrupt and well grounded as to doctrine, possesses no common share of learning, is unblameable in his life as a Christian, zealous toward God, charitable toward his brethren, and distinguished for prudence and dexterity in the management of business, which, as you well know, is a qualification very necessary in the rulers of churches. The only thing of which I cannot speak is his gift of preaching, for I never heard him from the pulpit; but he speaks Italian well. O that I could spend what remains of my life in the company of this excellent servant of God! Believe me, you will find him, on acquaintance, still better than he appears to be; sincere, frank, kind, obliging, courteous, and one who adds lustre to the nobility of his birth by the correctness of his morals as a Christian. I am sure he will greatly please your illustrious prince."[1]

Of all the Italian churches planted in foreign countries, those established in Geneva and in London were most distinguished. But as their affairs were intimately connected with those of the Spanish refugees who settled in these cities, I shall speak of them in the account which I propose to give of the struggle for reformation in Spain.[2] For that work I shall also reserve the remarks I have to make on the influence which the suppression of the reformed opinions had on the national literature and character of the Italians remarks which are applicable, with little variation, to the case of the Spaniards.

[1] Zanchius Joanni Taffino: Epist. lib. ii. p. 411; Conf. p. 366.
[2] See History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain, chap. viii.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Specimens of the Sermons of Savonarola.

[See p. 15.]

In 1540 were printed at Venice a collection of the sermons of this famous preacher, under the following title: "Prediche del Reverendo Padre Fra Gieronimo da Ferrara, per tuto l'anno nuovamente con somma diligentia ricorette." They had been taken originally from the mouth of the preacher, and were printed from a collation of different manuscripts. The following short epistle to the reader, which is prefixed to them, is given here for the sake of the writer, as well as the testimony which it bears to the work:—

"Accept, then, this small gift—small I call it, in respect of the small hand which I have had in it, though in itself great and very rich, being filled with the most sacred Christian instructions, in which your Christian soul may be comforted, while you see this Christian writer with great energy prophesying a universal renovation of the Church, which is now at hand and just about to appear, and which may God perfect, that so all people may give praise to the Creator of the universe, and to his Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour, to whom be honour and glory for ever, Amen.

"Antonio Brucioli."

The following extracts will give an idea of the talents and manner of the preacher, and are sufficient to show that he was not that ignorant fanatic which some writers have represented him to be. The sermon from which the last extract is taken was preached at the time when he was lying under a papal interdict.

"I showed, a little before, how necessary and natural a thing it is that bodies, which are perishable in their constitution, should either wholly corrupt and disappear, or else pass into some other condition, according to the maxim of philosophy, *Omne contrarium est corruptibile.* It follows, of necessity, that there is nothing in a state of union under heaven which does not either corrupt and resolve into its first principles, or make its appearance again under a new form. And so it is with spiritual things. The Church is so set together in its different parts as to resemble a body, the form of which is the grace of the Holy Ghost, and the uniformity of which, as upheld by this same grace, is simplicity of heart; and no sooner does this fail, than the Church falls, since the harmony which preserved its union is departed. It was in the first stage of the Christian church that this Christian simplicity was peculiarly exemplified, and, accordingly, she stood fast, and was full both of spirit and of life; but now as this simplicity is lost, so purity is departed from us. The Church has lost her primitive and proper form; and if you would find purity of heart in our days, you must go seek it in the hearts of simple young children. The Church is now well-nigh extinguished, and so we tell you that she must either fall back into her first elements, and altogether evanish, or otherwise be renewed and reformed. It is impossible that she can again revert to heathenism, out of which she came at first, nor can she altogether disappear from the face of the earth. Antichrist is not yet so very near; and, therefore, we de-

clare it to be much more probable that she shall again be renovated and restored to her pristine form."—

"When contrary planets come into contact with each other, bad effects are sure to ensue to the world in natural things. You will say, 'Oh! but God can bring good even out of such untoward accidents as these if he pleases, and it is not inconceivable that disunion should continue to prevail among the stars.' And you say rightly; God could do so; but there are many things which it is in his power to do, and which yet he never does. He goes upon a fixed and regular system, which his wisdom has firmly established from the first, and by which it is a settled law that the stars should preserve a mutual harmony and union, before they can exercise their different influences upon our lower world. He has in the same way established a set plan of procedure in the management of his Church, by which it may continue to be regulated to the end of the world, since he has instituted in it, as in the heavens, a certain presiding and governing order of angels, who co-operate in bringing forth the elect of God within it. And as all the stars in the firmament stand in their own places, according as the divine wisdom has disposed them, so these servants of God, whom he has ordained for the good of his Church, have an appointed order, which is good and profitable for the bringing forth of the elect of God in his Church. Now, there are various kinds of prelates or spiritual planets, and their conflicting together is attended with as bad effects to the Church as that of the stars would be to the material world. Here you may say again, 'Oh! but God, if he choose, can prevent any injurious consequence of this kind.' True; he could do it now, if he chose, for every thing is in his power; but it so happens that he is never accustomed to do it. For the present he has, by his wisdom, established a certain order, according to which the things which are lower in degree never fail to be influenced by the causes which act above them. Accordingly, at such a time as this, when the higher planets or prelates of the Church are thrown into disorder and confusion, how can we look for a reformation, knowing, as we do, that it can be expected only from the outpouring and blessing of the Holy Spirit. Only observe in what a deplorable state the generality of the prelates now are, and you may safely say, that those who are placed under their charge are in no better state, and that any attempt to reform would just increase the evil; but let those in the higher stations be first brought into a right condition, and then there will be less difficulty in restoring those below them to the same. Bad rulers, especially when found in the Church of Christ, are the greatest of all scourges, and an evil which points most clearly to a coming judgment. To assure yourselves of this, you need only look into the Old Testament, where you will see that when God would chastise a people for their sins, he gave them bad kings, bad princes and leaders, whom he allowed to give full rein to their wickedness. There also you will find that when he wished to punish his people, he allowed David to fall into sin. So also did he permit that bad king Zedekiah to reign in Jerusalem, at the time when his anger was kindled against her, and he was about to send her into her long captivity. And can the abuse which spiritual rulers make of their power be otherwise than productive of bad effects? What wilt thou then, if the Holy Ghost come and himself commence the work of reformation? This, at least, I make bold to say, that so long as the present misgovernment and disunion continues, there can be no change whatever expected. The sword then must come forth. Therefore have I threatened Italy, and once again threaten her, with her rulers, that she may repent. I have told her that the sword will come. Repent, I say, and delay not your repentance till the sword come."—

"My chief reason for appearing here to-day, is that I may prove myself obedient. But to whom? Their Lordships? No, indeed. Excuse me, I am not bound to obey what is evil. Well, hast thou come to be persuaded by the people? By no means; it is not to be believed that I would allow myself to be persuaded in this matter by any man. Art thou minded then to obey the higher prelates? Not a word has been spoken to me by any of the prelates. But know, that I have come here to obey one who is Prelate of prelates and Pope of popes. Wouldst thou have me to act contrary to my nature? I would very willingly remain silent, but it is impossible—I cannot do otherwise than speak: I must obey. I do not appear here this day, as on former occasions, to gain honour and respect, but to expose myself to persecution. I must tell you that these interdicts are grievous. Whoever disobeys them is punished; and I not the least, since, as you well see, I encounter

nothing but hatred, and wrath, and shame, and bodily danger, and reproaches on the right hand and the left. In truth, I know not what to say; but I betake myself to God, and exclaim, Thou hast made me for a reproach to all people. I speak of things which are to come to pass: straightway one cries out that I am a fool. I change the subject and speak of other things: every one contradicts me. But the more I perceive their contradiction, the more I believe the truth of what I have said. Tell me, ye enemies of the truth, when have ye ever in our days witnessed such a storm of opposition? When have you ever seen, that one preached in a city, and his voice was heard throughout all Italy, and beyond it? Everybody contradicts me. One has thereby pocketed six thousand ducats; another says that I have slandered the pope and the cardinals; but nobody thinks of saying that others have done the same thing and that publicly. Yes; some who, in public, and indeed from this very pulpit, in presence of the assembled people, have themselves launched out into invectives against the pope, and distinctly mentioned him by name too, have yet blackened my character to him by circulating that I have spoken contemptuously of him. Thus it is that they succeed in bringing me into odium, and themselves into favour. Now may you see how things go. Some there are who write to Rome; and did you but know who they are, and what insipid stuff it is which they write, truly you would wonder! They are a set of shameless men, who, like bugs, smell vilely within and without: at no time do they sleep—through the whole night are they swarming and running about, paying their visit now here, now there; now to this friend, and now to that. When one of these wicked men is converted, the rest cry out—He has become one of the fools! Here I must tell you, that you too easily get alarmed, and allow your spirits to sink when these base men are slandering you. Know you not that the devil is their head, and that God is the head of the good? Which of these, think you, will overcome, God or the devil? Surely you must believe that God will gain the victory."

No. II.

Letter written from Rome in 1521 concerning Luther.[1]

[See p. 28.]

You ask me, among other things, to tell you what we think of Martin and his doctrine; but you do not consider what a dangerous topic this is, especially to beneficed persons. For who would willingly and without necessity expose himself to the indignation of the Roman pontiff and cardinals? I shall, however, comply with your request, on condition that you conceal my name, and thus screen me from danger.

Know, then, that there is not an intelligent person in Rome who is not perfectly convinced that Martin has spoken the truth in most things; but good men dissemble from dread of the tyrant, and bad men are enraged, because they are forced to hear the truth. Indignation is mixed with fear in the minds of the latter class, for they are in great alarm lest the affair spread farther. This is the reason why such a furious bull has been issued, in opposition to the remonstrances of many good and wise men, who advised that the matter should be deliberately weighed, and that Martin should be dealt with mildly and by reasoning, instead of being run down by violence and execrations. But indignation and fear prevailed; for the heads of the faction asserted that it was unbecoming the Roman pontiff to treat with so mean a person, and that force should be employed against the obstinate, lest others should be encouraged to use similar freedoms. In support of this opinion, they referred to John Huss and his disciple Jerome, by whose punishment, they said, many were deterred from the like temerity.

[1] This interesting document, relating to the early history of the Reformation, and the light in which it was viewed by some persons residing in Rome, was found, in Latin, among the papers of Bilibald Pirkheimer, one of the most distinguished restorers of letters in Germany. It was in the handwriting of that scholar, who had translated it from the original Italian, probably to screen the author from detection. He had marked it with the inscription, *Litere cuiusdam e Roma.* The year in which it was written is ascertained from internal evidence. It is translated here from a copy published by Riederer, Nachrichten zur Kirchen-Gelehrten-und Bücher-Geschichte, band i. p. 178—184, Altdorf, 1764.

One of the chief authors of this advice was Cardinal Cajetan, who is unfavourable to the Germans, because, as he thinks, he was not so honourably received and rewarded by them as he should have been, for he returned to Rome disappointed and poor. He had discovered, he said, that nothing but fire and sword would keep the Germans from throwing off the Roman yoke. To him were joined Silvester Prierias and the whole faction of the Dominicans, especially the enemies of Capnio, who accused the pope of too great gentleness, asserting that if he had repressed at the beginning the attempts of Capnio by forcible measures, Martin would never have dared such things; and, on that occasion, they extorted a sentence against Capnio's book, although, a little before, the pope had encouraged some persons to print the Talmud, and granted them a privilege for that purpose. Many good men felt very indignant at this, as unjust in itself and derogatory to the dignity and character of the pope; but the worst part prevailed. We are of opinion, however, that the Dominicans are carried headlong, by the divine displeasure and their own vices, to the extreme of wickedness. The divines of Cologne and Louvain, and many others in Germany, clandestinely urged the measure, promising certain victory as soon as the Roman ensigns (that is, the terrible leaden bulls) were displayed; and it is also said that certain German princes, whose names, though I knew them, should be secret, were active in the same cause, more from hatred to their neighbours than zeal for the faith.

Above all, the merchant Fücker, who has great influence at Rome through his money, and whom we commonly call the King of Coins, irritated the pope and those of his faction, not only from hatred, but also for the sake of gain and the traffic in benefices, promising the support of many princes to his holiness, provided he would use force against Martin. For this purpose, he sent to Rome the man of his choice, Eckius, a not unapt instrument of the Court of Rome, if you except his sottishness; for he excels in temerity, audacity, lying, dissimulation, adulation, and other courtly vices. The only objection to him was his drunkenness, which, you know, is odious to the Italians; but the favour and power of Fücker reconciled them even to this, nay, turned it into a virtue, so that they applauded the choice, saying that nothing could be fitter than to send the drunken Germans a drunken ambassador, and that temerity was to be met by temerity. As it was necessary to find a colleague to him, Aleander was at last pitched on—an illustrious couple of orators! every way suited to the cause, and resembling one another in impudence, rashness, and profligacy. No good man, no person of sane mind, belonging to the German nation, would have undertaken such a task; or if there had, perhaps, been one willing, fear and the greatness of the danger would have deterred him from undertaking it. At first, the Jewish extraction of Aleander appeared to be an obstacle to his disappointment, but it was thought that this would be compensated by the drunkenness of Eckius. Thus the purpose, the bulls, and the ambassadors, were completely of a kind; for what need was there for reason, where rashness and dishonesty only were required?

War being thus declared, Eckius was furnished with instructions, promises, and bulls; and being charged to execute his task vigorously, promised his ready service, and offered his life for glory, or rather for reward. But you are deceived if you believe that money was given him by the pope, for his holiness is not accustomed to give but to receive money. If Eckius received any money, it was not from the pope but from Fücker, though I do not believe even this. The friends of Fücker say that Eckius was furnished with money; but it is the custom with courts and proud persons to promise much and pay little, and to make you own that you received what you never touched, to avoid the disgrace of appearing to have been cheated.

Nor are you to believe that Eckius has authority to cite and summons whomsoever he pleases. If he has anything of that kind, it is unquestionably surreptitious; for what madness would it be to cite the innocent? No doubt, if he were to cite those who openly defend Martin, the pope and his friends would not be greatly displeased, but, as you write, that would be an ocean. If, among the persons cited, you find any of the friends of Capnio, you will easily understand whence the information has proceeded.

No wonder, then, that these bulls displease many among us, since there are few here who approve them, though they are forced to mutter their dislike; for they know that this is not the way of truth. For what—(to pass by other things, for it does not belong to me to search narrowly into each, I wish they were not too mani-

fest to all)—what can be more unjust than to involve those things which Martin has written piously and truly in the same sentence of condemnation with things which are bad? Such procedure savours more of Jewish perfidy and Mahometan impiety than of Christian religion; for the Turks, knowing that their faith is false, and cannot be proved by reason, will not permit it to be brought into dispute, but defend it by the sword; and the Jews were accustomed to stone to death those who accused their impiety and wickedness, saying that they had blasphemed God and the lawgiver. God never commanded the Christian faith, which is true, and reasonable, and pious, to be defended by fire and sword; a practice which came from that old deceiver, who, from the beginning, abode not in the truth, for it is not truth, but a lie, cloaked with the appearance of truth and a sophistical garb, that seeks to be defended with such weapons.

Although the friends of Luther could have wished that he had shown greater moderation in some things, yet they know that his adversaries have provoked him to write and teach many things which otherwise he would not have uttered; not that the truth should be concealed, but that we should avoid giving offence. Further, it is universally well known that all who have written against Luther, or impugned his doctrine, are persons of bad life and immoral character. What wonder, then, that these writings should savour more of their vices than of Christ and integrity? I speak of Roman writers; what the character of those of Germany is you know better than I, for I do not pretend to be acquainted with them.

The pope and his supporters will therefore strain every nerve to destroy Luther, and to extinguish his doctrine as pernicious, not to Christians, but to the Court of Rome; and, if I do not mistake, the chief thing that will be treated at your ensuing royal diet[1] will be what relates to Luther, who is looked upon as a greater enemy to us than the Turk. The young Emperor will be urged with threats, entreaties, and flatteries. The Germans will be tempted with the praises of their ancestors, gifts, and promises; the Spaniards will be threatened with the dangers of the sedition which rages in their native country, and flattered with the promise of investiture in the kingdom of Naples. We will not neglect to besiege the nobility and others about the Emperor's court; for we are familiar with such arts, which seldom fail us. But if we do not succeed in this way, we will depose the Emperor, free the people from their allegiance to him, choose one in his place who will favour our cause, raise a tumult in Germany similar to that which prevails in Spain, summon France, England, and other kingdoms to arms, and neglect none of those means which our predecessors so successfully adopted against kings and emperors; in fine, that we may accomplish our purpose and perpetuate our tyranny, we will set at nought Christianity, faith, piety, and common honesty; we will stand in awe of no power, be it of emperors, kings, princes, or states; the only fear we have is lest God should visit us with a punishment, the heavier that it has been so long delayed, and set his flock free from mercenary shepherds—an issue which so many predictions and omens have announced, and which our vices deserve and loudly demand.

No. III.

Account of an Italian book, entitled, A Summary of the Sacred Scriptures.[2]

[See p. 51.]

Chap. 1. Of faith and baptism, and what baptism signifies. 2. Additional information as to the meaning of baptism. 3. What we profess in baptism, and what

[1] The Diet of Worms.

[2] The reader will be able to form a tolerably correct idea of the nature of this work, and of the extent of the information which it conveys, from the table of contents, and the extract here given from the prologue. Gerdes, by mistake, calls it *Seminarium Scripturæ*. Ital. Reform. p. 82. It was published at least fifteen years before 1549, when Casa included it in his list of prohibited books. Giberti, Bishop of Verona, was so much pleased with its form, as to point it out as a pattern to those who composed works for the instruction of such as could not read Latin. Ergötzl. ii. 29. It is reviewed by Riederer. Nachrichten, iv. 121, 241—243.

kind of profession we make. 4. Of the Christian faith, and what a Christian ought to believe in order to salvation. 5. Of the sure joy of obtaining one's salvation. 6. How we are saved by grace alone, and not in any other way. 7. To whom the grace of God is given. 8. How faith produces charity, and charity good works. 9. How we should not serve God for reward. 10. How we have disinherited ourselves by our disobedience. 11. Of the two kinds of people living in the world. 12. Of good works, and in what way they are pleasing to God. 13. Of four kinds of faith according to the sacred Scripture, and what Christian faith is. 14. In what Christianity consists. 15. How a man should not be afflicted at death. 16. Of the monkish life, as it was in times past. 17. If the life of a monk is preferable to that of a common citizen. 18. Whence it is that monks do not make progress in the spiritual life, but often become worse. 19. Of parents who wish to enter their children into the religious orders. 20. Of the life of nuns. 21. Of the cloisters of sisters, and their life. 22. How husband and wife should live according to the doctrine of the Gospel. 23. How parents should instruct and rule their children according to the Gospel. 24. Of the life of common citizens, artisans, and labourers. 25. How the rich ought to live according to the Gospel. 26. Of the two kinds of government, secular and spiritual. 27. Information, according to the Gospel, concerning governors, judges, and other powers. 28. The Christian doctrine of paying taxes and tribute to rulers, according to the Gospel. 29. Of soldiers, and whether Christians can carry on war without sin, an information according to the Gospel. 30. How servants and domestics ought to live, a doctrine according to the Gospel. 31. Of the life of widows, a brief information according to the Gospel.

Because all cannot read or understand every book, in order that they may understand the grounds of Scripture, and what it teaches us, I have comprehended in this little book the grounds and sum of divine Scripture, of which the head and chief is faith, from which proceed hope and charity. Thus every one may know what he ought to believe, what he ought to hope for, why he ought to love God, and how God is our father, and we are the children and heirs of the kingdom of God, as St Paul teaches in all his epistles. Thus also he may know how we are justified without our own merits, so that we should not put our confidence in our good works, as the Jews did. In fine, it teaches that we must not neglect good works, but need to know how and why we should perform them, hoping for our salvation, not from them, but solely from the grace and mercy of God through Christ, by which I have written this tract.—Such is the matter treated of in the first part of this little book. In the second part, I show how persons of every state should live according to the Gospel. By this I intend to convince all, how far removed from the doctrine of Christ their life is, to the end that, through the grace of God, they may amend the same. I do not teach that subjects should not be obedient to their princes, nor that monks should fly from their monasteries; but I show them how they ought to live, and to know their errors and correct them; otherwise it avails more before God to be an humble publican than a holy hypocrite, because God does not look at your external works, but at your internal, and at the intentions and secrets of the heart.

No. IV.

Extracts from a Treatise by Gabriele Valliculi, entitled, De liberali Dei Gratia, et Servo hominis Arbitrio.[1]

[See p. 113.]

To the very reverend father in Christ and worthy Bishop of Luna, Doctor Sylves-

[1] Nothing is known concerning the author of this book. It was printed at Nurenberg in the year 1536; but it had most probably been previously published in Italy. Melanchthon, in a letter to Veit Dietrich, written in 1530, says: "In Italy there has arisen a new Luther, whose propositions I send you." Epistolæ, p. 432, edit. Lugd. But we have no decisive evidence that he refers to the author of this book. Valliculi appears not to have been a man of talents, but of warm piety; and most probably wrote this treatise after reading Luther's celebrated work *De Servo Arbitrio*. Silvestro Benetto, to whom it is dedicated, was the nephew of Thomas Benettus or de Benedictis, Bishop of Sarsina and Luna, succeeded his uncle in that bishopric in 1497, and died in 1537. Ughelli Italia Sacra, tom. i. p. 556. The extracts are taken from Riederer, Nachrichten, tom. iv. p. 112, &c.

tro Benedetto of Sarsina, with the greatest respect and veneration, Gabriele Valliculi, in Jesus the only son of the Virgin, wishes grace, by which we are freely justified, and peace, according to what the angels announced at the nativity of Christ, peace on earth and goodwill towards men.

I am placed in a strait betwixt two, being doubtful whether I should keep silence respecting the free grace of God and the enslaved will of man, in which case death awaits me; or whether I should treat of them, and run the risk of falling into the hands of the wicked. But the Holy Spirit teaches me that I should choose to fall into the hands of the wicked rather than to sin in the sight of God. Help me, O Lord, Thou who art my hope, my refuge, my leader, my justification, my protector, and defender. All my safety and confidence are placed in Thee, not in human aid, much less in the enslaved will of man. In Thee alone, O God, have I hoped, and on this account shall never be moved. But why am I not confounded when the Holy Spirit cries in my ear, What fruit hast thou of those things whereof thou art now ashamed? It is because I come to Thee, my Christ (not to the enslaved will of man), and my countenance is enlightened and not covered with shame. When I am confounded by the enslaved will of sin in Adam, I will, by the free grace of God, fly from him to Jesus Christ my Saviour, and then I shall not be confounded * * * * * Free and deliver me for Thy righteousness' sake, not for mine, but for Thine: if I should say for mine, then I would belong to the number of those of whom the Holy Spirit has said, Being ignorant of God's righteousness, they go about to establish a righteousness of their own. Being wholly depraved, I am not justified by my own, but by Thy righteousness, and if not by mine but by Thine, then is righteousness imputed to me by Thy sovereign grace. * * * * * In the first place, then, we are of opinion that the human understanding, from its very nature, is incapable of comprehending anything but what is carnal, or of distinguishing between good and evil except by a carnal discernment. Poverty, want, ignominy, temporal losses, disease, death, and worldly misfortunes, it judges to be evil: but wealth, glory, reputation, health, long life, and all worldly blessings, it reckons to be good. It knows nothing of a God merciful, angry, avenging, prescient, predestinating and producing all things: and this the apostle testifies when he says, For we have not received the spirit of this world, nor of reason, intellect, and will, but of the free grace of God, that we may know the things which are given us by God, and not by the understanding and the will—given, saith the apostle, on account of no preceding merit. If they be given, then they must be free: if free, what merit is there in them? These things I have said, not in the learned words of human wisdom, or of the dreams of the sophists, but by the teaching of the Spirit, comparing spiritual things with spiritual. * * * * Observe to what length this blindness of heart and foolishness of understanding have proceeded. Men have adulterated the majesty of the immortal God, by shadowing out the image of perishing man, and not of man only, but of brute creatures also; they have become corrupt in their own enslaved will and stupidity of heart, and abominable in their pursuits, because human reason is wholly ignorant of God, and neither comprehends nor seeks after him; and, accordingly, they have turned aside to unprofitable things, not perceiving the things of God. But as, by the enslaved will of man, sin has abounded, so the free grace of God hath abounded much more; and as, by the enslaved will of man, sin reigned to eternal punishment, so, by the free grace of God, the King of Salem reigns to life everlasting. Who is it then that reigns? Not the understanding or will of man, but our Lord Jesus Christ the Saviour, who has given us grace without any merit on our part. The plain truth is, that, in respect of spiritual judgment, the human understanding is entirely ignorant of God; and though it were, by day and by night, incessantly employed in examining, perusing, and ruminating upon the whole Talmud, the Holy Scriptures, and the books of philosophers and divines, both ancient and modern, it could never, without the assistance of the Spirit, comprehend truly his omnipotence, prescience, providence, mercy, or anger. It listens to discourses, professes to believe them, and hypocritically imitates them, though, in reality, it is quite unacquainted with God, and looks upon heavenly things as fabulous. Oh the profound blindness of man! as Jeremiah testifies, saying, The human heart is depraved and unsearchable; who can understand it? The Lord searches the heart and reins; but the reason of man is incapable of discerning the things of heaven.

No. V.

Letter from Tolomei to Ochino.[1]

[See p. 117.]

On my return, a few days ago, from the villa to Rome, I was unexpectedly told a piece of intelligence, which seemed to me not only new, but foolish, incredible, and shocking. I was informed that you, under the influence of some strange advice, had gone over from the camp of the Catholics to the tents of the Lutherans, and devoted yourself to that heretical and wicked sect. On hearing this, I was struck with sudden astonishment, and, as we say, made the sign of the cross. Finding the report confirmed by numerous witnesses, and indeed by every one I met, I was obliged, in spite of myself, to believe it, though the news appeared to me as extravagant as if I had been told that doves had been transformed into serpents, and kids into tigers. But when I considered that Lucifer, from being a fair angel, became a devil, I began to perceive how easily the horrible transformation might happen in your case. For some days I was in doubt whether I ought to write you, or whether it might not be more advisable to keep silence, and retain within my own breast the grief I felt and still feel on account of the extraordinary and dreadful change which you have made. For, on the one hand, it appeared to me that nothing was to be gained by writing, as you have fixed your affections on this new sect, and shown to the world, not only by your words but your actions, that your mind is completely resolved; and then I was afraid, lest, while I hoped to reclaim you from the path you have chosen, my own mind should be disturbed by your answer; for well I know the extent of your learning, and the splendour of your eloquence, by whose attractions I might be beguiled and drawn into danger. But, on the other hand, I was afraid that by keeping silence, I should be forced to form an unfavourable opinion of you, and that being ignorant of your reasons and motives for departing, I had it not in my power to make a sufficient apology for you to numbers who condemn your conduct, and would be under the necessity of making the commonplace excuse, by saying, that I could not believe that a person of so much prudence, such singular goodness and exalted piety as Frate Bernardino Occhino, would make so great a change in his sentiments and mode of life without good reasons. This excuse, I am afraid, would not be sustained, and it would be said, that to make innovations in matters of faith, to disobey our superiors, and to pass from the Catholics to the heretics, is no proof of prudence or religion; and, in fine, that to depart from that most holy truth which has been handed down from the first apostles to our times, and preserved in the Roman Church, is not lawful or permissible in any case; but that, on the contrary, we should endure everything in confessing and defending it, counting pain to be pleasure, imprisonment liberty, torments joy, poverty riches, and death true and eternal life, as so many ancient martyrs did, who never would be removed from the articles confessed by the Catholic church, which (as St Paul says) is the pillar and ground of truth. When I perceived the manner in which they spoke of you, I was so distracted and grieved, that at last I resolved to write, and to beg you earnestly to answer me, and endeavour to dissipate the darkness which hangs over this unexpected change of yours; for if I obtain no other light, I cannot believe that this is the light of God.

Perhaps it may be said that you left Italy because you was persecuted, and that you have only imitated the example of Christ and of Paul and other holy men, who fled from the hands and the claws of their persecutors; and I may be told, that those who are accused by the world are excused by God, and that those who are despised by the world are honoured by God. But in the first place, I know not that it is lawful for a person to flee contrary to the commandment and orders of his superiors, to whom he has submitted himself, and whom he is bound to obey, as is the case with you. Besides, I do not understand what was the persecution,

[1] Delle Lettere di M. Claudio Tolomei, p. 237—241, in Vinegia, 1573.

what was the accusation, or what the dishonour, to which you were exposed, and which made it necessary for you to flee. I remember well, that in Italy you were esteemed, honoured, revered, and, as it were, adored like something divine; and when you preached the sacred name and true doctrine of Christ, you were listened to with such devotion by all Italy, that you could not desire more favour nor she a better spirit. Nor by being so much honoured and revered by the world, were you (as I believe) in less favour with God, but rather in proportion to the greater fruit which you produced by inspiring the minds of Christians with the love of God; like your first father and master, St Francis, who was highly revered by the people and by princes, and yet was so dear a servant of God as to be marked with the sacred scars which the Lord Jesus Christ received on the cross. But, perhaps, I will be told, that in your last sermons, some things spoken by you were marked, informed against, and accused, as containing unsound and uncatholic doctrine. To this I would say, either the accusation was just or it was unjust. If unjust, what reason had you to fear? Why did not you the rather, when called, come to Rome? Before a just prince who loved you greatly, the opinion which he had of your goodness and virtue would have been refined like gold in the fire. If San Bernardino had come to Rome and cleared himself of the charges laid against him, the sanctity of his life would have shone forth the brighter, to the great edification of the people. The malice of your accusers could not have prevailed over the force of truth, sustained and defended by the favour which you enjoyed, not only in Rome, but through all Italy. But if the accusation brought against you was just and well-founded, I know nothing that can be said, but that, either through ignorance or through malice, you had spread these doctrines among the people. Now, to speak the truth, the one appears to me difficult, and the other impossible to believe. But be it so, that it is either by the one or the other. If it was through ignorance, then you are under great obligation to your accusers, who had reason for their charges; and you ought to renounce the darkness of error and return to the light of truth, which is nothing else but to return to Christ, the fountain and author of all truth. If it was through malice, the very thought is so wicked that no defence can be set up for such conduct: it is to be blamed in a man, abhorred in a Christian, censured in a monk, anathematized in a preacher of the word of God; and the person guilty of this is no longer a man, but is transformed into a demon. I do not forget that the compassionate God does not abandon any who have recourse to him, and that the fruits of the holy sacrament of penance are sweet, so that there is not a better remedy than, like Peter, to weep bitterly for sin.

But, perhaps, it will be said that it was neither ignorance nor malice that led to this change, but a greater illumination in the things of God; and that Christ has laid open much truth which remained hid to this time, as he was formerly pleased to illuminate the mind of Paul, and to convert him from Judaism to the true faith. Did Christ then teach and reveal the contrary to what he had taught the apostles? Did he teach them false doctrine; and is the truth turned into a lie? Were Clement, Anaclet, Evarist, Anicet, and other great spirits of God, deceived; and did they deceive others along with themselves? Did Ignatius, on whose heart was found written the name of Christ, not know the true doctrine of Christ? What shall I say of the successors of these men? Shall I believe that Irenæus, Origen, Cyprian—shall I believe that Athanasius, Didymus, Damascene—shall I believe that the two great lights of Capadocia, Gregory and Basil—shall I believe that Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Bernard, and a multitude of other most holy men and renowned doctors of the Christian faith—were all in error? that instead of holding forth the light, they were involved in darkness; and, in place of teaching us the truth, they have delivered us over to a lie? No person of sane mind will believe this falsehood, especially as Christ our Saviour hath said—"Wheresoever the body is, thither the eagles shall be gathered together." What shall I say more? Has Christ then, for a long time, forsaken his Church? For, seeing the catholic verity was believed by all until the time of the impious Luther, he who believes that it is not true says that Christ has entirely forsaken the Church; a thing horrible to think of, Christ having said, "Lo! I am with you always to the end of the world." It is necessary, believe me, that in this turbid and tempestuous sea of conflicting opinions, there should be one fixed star by which to steer our course in the true way of God; and this, as all holy and learned men have taught,

is and can be no other than the Roman Church, begun by Peter, upon whom Christ first founded his Church, and which, through uninterrupted succession of the popes, has come down to the present times. In opposition to this, it is of no avail with me that you quote places of Scripture, understood and interpreted in your way, for it is enough for me to recollect the good and faithful counsel of Origen Adamantius, that though one should show canonical Scripture in opposition to what the Church observes and uses, we must not believe him nor depart from the traditions of the Fathers. In fine, I say that no good man will leave the Catholic Church, and that none who leaves it is to be esteemed good; of which I could give such substantial reasons as would show that perhaps no truth in any doctrine is more true than this truth. Therefore the more I reflect on this affair, the more do I find myself at a loss in defending your cause; and I would willingly not love you so much, that so I might not feel that grief which I now endure on account of this your recent calamity. I may be allowed to make use of this ambiguous and perhaps unsuitable word, to moderate the error which has sprung from your will. But since the love, with which your singular virtue formerly inflamed me, still lives in me, be pleased to give me some consolation, by acquainting me with the reasons of your conduct, which, if they do not relieve me entirely of my pain, may perhaps mitigate and alleviate it in some degree. I would counsel you, if, as I believe, you have left Italy for the sake of personal safety, under the influence perhaps of too great timidity, that you keep where you are: do not go farther; do not preach, do not write, do not speak anything contrary to the Catholic doctrine. On the contrary, for anything said or done by you, refer yourself humbly to the judgment of the Roman Church; in which case, as I have said, the only thing which will be found blameable in you will be fear, arising from an excess of counsel. But if you conduct yourself otherwise, by exasperating the matter every day, you will be condemned for obstinate heresy. In the first case, by remaining quiet and humble, all Italy will rise up in your favour; they will desire you, they will call for you, they will petition in your behalf, and to their great joy, will obtain for you every kind of favour. In the second case, the remains of love to you which are yet warm in the hearts of many, will be quenched; and hatred, scorn, and indignation will take their place. I am reduced to this that, whereas formerly, as you know, I often entreated you to pray to God for me, at present knowing that the necessity is on the other side, I cannot do otherwise than pray to God for you; and now again I do humbly beseech Him that he would be pleased to illuminate and assist you. From Rome, 20th October 1542.

No. VI.

Extract of a Letter written in Prison by Pomponio Algieri, to his Friends in the University of Padua.[1]

[See p. 170.]

To allay the grief you feel on my account, I am anxious to impart to you a share of my consolation, that we may rejoice together, and return thanks to the Lord with songs. I speak what to man will appear incredible; I have found honey in the bowels of the lion, (who will believe it?) pleasantness in a dismal pit, soothing prospects of life in the gloomy mansions of death, joy in an infernal gulf! Where others weep, I rejoice; where others tremble, I am erect; in the most distressing situation I have found the highest delight, in solitude the best fellowship, and in galling chains rest. But instead of the deluded world believing these things, it will be rather disposed to ask, in an incredulous tone, "How, think you, will you be able to endure the reproaches and threats of men, the fires, the colds, the crosses, the thousand inconveniences of your situation? Do you not look back with regret on your beloved native land, your possessions, your relations, your pleasures, your honours? Have you forgotten the delights of science, and the solace which it yielded you under all your labours? Will you at once throw away all the toils, watchings, and laudable exertions devoted to study from your child-

[1] Translated from the original Latin, in Pantaleon, Rerum in Eccles. Gest. p. 329—332.

hood? Have you no dread of that death which hangs over you, because, forsooth, you have committed no crime? Oh! foolish and infatuated man, who can, by a single word, secure all these blessings and escape death, and yet will not! How rude to be inexorable to the requests of senators the most august, pious, just, wise, and good; to turn an obstinate ear when men so illustrious entreat you?"

But hear me, blind worldlings, while I answer you. What is hotter than the fire which is laid up for you; and what colder than your hearts which dwell in darkness and have no light? What can be more unpleasant, perplexed, and agitated, than the life you lead; or more odious and mean than the present world? Say, what native country is sweeter than heaven; what treasure preferable to eternal life? Who are my relations but those who hear the word of God; and where shall riches more abundant or honours more worthy be found than in heaven? Say, foolish man, were not the sciences given to conduct us to the knowledge of God? and if they lead us not to this, are not our labours, our watchings, and all our painful exertions utterly lost? The prison is severe indeed to the guilty, but sweet to the innocent; distilling dew and nectar, sending forth milk and all delectable things. This desert place and wild is to me a spacious valley, the noblest spot on earth. Listen to me, unhappy men, while I rehearse my experience; and then judge whether there be in the world a more pleasant plain. Here kings and princes, cities and people, pass before me in review. Here I behold the fate of battles; I see some vanquished, others victorious, some trodden to dust, others lifted into the triumphal car. I am caught up to Mount Sion, to heaven. Jesus Christ stands in the front, and around are the patriarchs, prophets, evangelists, apostles, and all the servants of God. He embraces and cherishes me; they encourage me, and spread the sacrament before me; they offer me consolations, they attend me with songs. Can I be said to be alone while surrounded by so many and so illustrious attendants? My intercourse with them affords me example as well as comfort; for in that circle I behold some crucified and slain, others stoned and sawn asunder; some roasted, others fried in brazen vessels; one with his eyes dug out, another with his tongue cut off; one beheaded, another maimed of hand and foot; some thrown into the fiery furnace, others left a prey to the ravenous birds. Here I have no fixed habitation, and seek for myself in the heavens the first New Jerusalem which presents itself. I have entered upon a path which conducts to a pleasant dwelling, and where I doubt not to find wealth, and relations, and pleasures, and honours. In those earthly enjoyments (all of them shadowy, and fading, and vanity of vanities, without the substantial hope of a coming eternity) which the supreme Lord was pleased to bestow upon me, I found indeed transient company and solace; but now I taste what endureth. I have burned with heat, I have shuddered with cold, I have watched day and night; but now these struggles have come to a close. Not an hour nor a day has passed without some benefit: the true love of God is now engraven on my heart; the Lord has filled me with joy; I rest in peace. Who then will venture to condemn this life of mine, and to pronounce my days unhappy? Who so rash as to declare his labours lost who has found the Lord of the world, who has exchanged death for life? "The Lord is my portion, saith my soul, therefore will I seek him." If to die in the Lord be not to die but to begin a blessed life, why does rebellious man cast death in my teeth? O how pleasant is that death which gives me to drink of the cup of God! What surer earnest of salvation than to suffer as Christ suffered: * * * * * Be comforted, my most beloved fellow-servants of God, be comforted, when temptations assail you; let your patience be perfect in all things, for suffering is our promised portion in this life; as it is written, "The time cometh, when he who slays you will think he doeth God service." Tribulation and death are our signs of election and future life: let us rejoice and praise the Lord that we are innocent; for it is better, if such be the will of God, that we suffer for well-doing than for evil-doing. We have a noble pattern in Christ, and the prophets who have spoken in the name of the Lord, whom the children of iniquity have slain. Behold! we call those blessed who bear up under their trials. Let us rejoice in our innocence and righteousness: God will reward our persecutors, for vengeance is his. As to what they say concerning the Venetian nobility and senators, extolling them as the most august, wise, just, pious, pacific, and of the highest character and fame, I am willing to give all this its due weight. But the apostle teaches us "that we ought to obey God rather than man;" and, accordingly, after first

giving God the service due to him, then and not till then are we bound to obey the official powers of this world. I grant they are august, but as yet they require to be perfected in the Lord. They are just, but the foundation and seat of justice, Jesus Christ, is wanting. They are wise, but where is the beginning of wisdom, the fear of God? They are called pious, but I could wish they were made perfect in Christian charity. They are called good, but I look in vain for the basis of all goodness, even God, the great and the good. They are called illustrious, but they have not yet received our Saviour, the Lord of glory. I am blamed for not yielding to the Lords of Venice. If what I declared before them was not true and just, let it be proved, and I will confess that it proceeded from me and not from the Lord. If otherwise, who will lay anything to my charge? not surely the wise. Who will condemn me? not surely the righteous. But if they should, still the Gospel shall not be frustrated, and the kingdom of God shall the sooner come to the elect of Christ Jesus. Lift up your eyes, my dearly beloved, and consider the ways of God: the Lord has lately threatened with pestilence, and this he has done for our correction: if we do not receive him He will strike those who rise up against Christ, with sword, and pestilence, and famine. These things, brethren, have I written for your consolation. Pray for me. I salute with a holy kiss my masters Sylvio, Pergula, and Giusto, along with Fedele di Petra, and the person who goes by the name of Lælia, whom, though absent, I knew, and the Lord Syndic of the university, with all others whose names are written in the book of life.

Farewell, all my fellow-servants of God; farewell in the Lord, and pray earnestly for me. From the delectable garden of the Leonine prison, 21st July 1555, the most devoted servant of the faithful, the bound

POMPONIUS ALGIER.

No. VII.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM CARNESECCHI TO FLAMINIO.[1]

[See p. 174; comp. p. 105.]

I received your letter, in which you enlarge, in the way of instruction and admonition, on those topics which we discussed in conversation. Accept of my best thanks for this proof of your piety and great affection for me. When I reflect on the bitter animosity and furious discord which the recent controversies about religion have produced, and on the license which the contending parties have taken in inveighing against one another, forgetful of their own credit and the salvation of others, which charity and the divine caution against giving offence bound them to regard, I am charmed with the moderation and mildness of your letter, in which you avoid throwing abuse on your adversaries or wounding them with biting sarcasm; and, satisfied with pronouncing their sect execrable, discover your usual impartiality by commending such of them as are distinguished for their talents, and superior to the rest in modesty and good manners. Conduct like this was applauded by the ancients, and our own age as well as the last has furnished illustrious examples of it. We are told that Jovianus Pontanus commended the studies of all, and never spoke detractingly of any man, either privately or in public. M. Sabellicus would not revenge himself by retorting the violent and malevolent taunts of his adversaries, though he was by no means deficient in the graces of a copious and elegant style; a display of generosity which has led some over-rigid critics to detract from his genius. Pomponius Lætus, an inhabitant of Rome, would not permit himself to be dragged into personal controversy, and suffered the calumnies which were uttered against him to pass without reply. In our own age, not to mention others, what examples of modesty and mildness have we in Nicolous Leonicus and Jacobus Sadoletus. But the Philelphi, the Poggii, the Vallæ, and others, their contemporaries (for I will not name any of the present age), with

[1] This letter is printed at length in Schelhorn, Amœnitates Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ et Literariæ, tom. ii. p. 155—170. It is the only production of Carnesecchi's pen which I have met with. As my object is merely to give the reader an idea of his character, I have not inserted that part of the letter which enters into the merits of the controversy respecting the eucharist.

what contumely and opprobrium did they not load their antagonists? But you content yourself with simply naming the men who, in your opinion, have injured religion, and treat the subject in controversy with accuracy and gentleness.

With respect to the question itself, I shall, for the purpose of enabling us to judge of it with greater accuracy, state, with your leave, what has occurred to me in opposition to your arguments, with all the freedom which our friendship warrants; and you, according to your piety and learning, will judge whether it has any weight in favour of the sentiment of your opponents. I need not remind you that, as in all discussions, the discovery of truth should be our aim, so you should set aside everything which has a tendency to obstruct this—all respect to custom, long prescription of time, and the authority of human institutions—and steadily fix your eye on that light which alone can prevent us from wandering in error. You recommend certain books to me, but afterwards, with the view of lessening my labour, are pleased to say that you will rest the defence of your cause on Irenæus, an ancient and approved writer. For this I thank you, for really the reading of so many and so voluminous authors would be an arduous and Herculean task. Besides, as it is the duty of an impartial judge to hear the evidence on both sides, I would need to read all the books which are recommended by your adversaries; and where would be the end of that labour? For you know well what is the consequence of controversies and altercation; both parties wishing to be victorious, each heaps up whatever can be said against his opponent and in favour of his own cause; and this practice having become common to those who pervert truth and those who confute error, truth itself, by being mixed up with artifice, has fallen under suspicion with many, who are afraid that their understandings will be bewildered by the casuistry of disputants. Wherefore, passing by these and derogating from none of them, I shall, if you please, proceed to examine and weigh with attention what you have produced from the purer fountains of antiquity. It was unnecessary for you, in writing to me, to establish the authority of Irenæus's works, or to commend the author so warmly; for I have long known the universal esteem in which he and his writings are held, and am myself an admirer of both. I often regret that his works have not reached us in the original Greek, which, as appears from the extracts inserted in the books of Eusebius, Epiphanius, and others, he seems to have written with fluency, and not without elegance. I am astonished that a certain learned writer has expressed a doubt whether he wrote in Greek. As to those of his writings which have been translated into Latin (such as it is), I cannot vouch for their fidelity to the original—certainly the style is by no means good; for the translator makes use of unmeaning words, and his foreign idiom often prevents the reader from discovering the sense. But in this, as in many other cases, we must take what we can get, not what we would wish. In those books which have been published, there is a good deal of discussion on subjects of great importance. Let us then examine the excerpt from the fourth book of Irenæus against heretics. It is necessary, however, for understanding what is said, that we attend to the design, the occasion, and the subject; for otherwise the mind of the reader will be unable to form a fixed and determinate judgment of the author's meaning. For example, Christ says: "Without me ye can do nothing:" to commit sin is to do something; does it therefore follow that without Christ no sin is committed? Again he says: "Give to every one that asketh;" are we therefore to give to a person what he may ask for a base and villainous purpose? I could bring forward many examples of this kind, but these will explain what I mean. * * * *

Nor does the universal agreement of the Catholic Church concerning ceremonies —of the Greeks, the Armenians, the Indians, and if you please, the Ethiopians— help the matter; for the frequency or extent of a corrupt practice will never justify it. It is evident that the purity of religion has been deeply injured in every nation, through the carelessness of those to whom it was intrusted, through ignorance of the polite arts, and the turbulency of the times. Consider, I pray you, what is now the universal opinion concerning a barbarous style. Shall we condemn those men who have exploded the rude diction long in use, and introduced a purer and more elegant one in its room? But I need not enlarge on this subject to one of your learning. The rest of your letter consists of several accusations, some of them bitter, which, however, I do not impute to you, but to those who prefer defending falsehood to embracing truth. These persons, if they had common sense, would

consider that no reproaches are more futile and ridiculous than those which recoil, or at least can easily be thrown back, on the head of the author. In your letter you censure, with great severity and justice, the obstinacy of those who remain blindly attached to their own opinion, cloak their pride under a false zeal, arrogantly accuse general and established customs, and, as you add, are actuated by fears of losing their worldly dignities and emoluments. All of these are bad things. I grant that general and ancient custom ought to be retained, lest the foundations be sapped; but this is the very question in dispute, and it remains still undetermined who have transgressed or are opposing the catholic agreement. You say that some have their minds puffed up with contumacy, are blinded by zeal, too confident in their boldness, ambitious, avaricious. Let it then, I would say, be determined who are the persons chargeable with these vices. We know too well how bitterly each party reproaches the other, and how far this evil has proceeded in these dissolute and undisciplined times. In my opinion, we should consider what is true, proper, and laudable in itself—what ought to be done, not what has been done by this or that person. Thus, after deliberation, let us pronounce our sentiments concerning the subject, and then, if it must be so, let us speak concerning the persons. Of these, as I have already signified, I shall say nothing, either in the way of accusation or defence; for what Horace said of the Trojan war, may, if I am not mistaken, be justly applied to this controversy—

Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra.

A good man will be cautious what he says to the prejudice of another, lest he spread abroad ill-founded reports. I am led to mention this from your naming Bucer, of whom you seem to speak from the report of some malevolent person, and not from your own knowledge. I have heard many accounts from different quarters, both respecting the man and that affair as to which you wish to depreciate him in my esteem. Many letters which I have seen speak highly of his piety and learning; and it is well known how zealous he has been in healing the wounds of the Church. I have been informed that he is of a mild temper, and by no means pertinacious, litigious, or severe, although so firm in the cause of the truth as not to be drawn from its defence by any respect either to dignity, fortune, or life. But, as I have already said, we are not to judge of persons but of things. Thus, you have my reply to your letter, less accurate and perhaps less to your mind than you expected. I hope you will take it in good part, and that it will not prevent you from prolonging the discussion, if you think proper, or from continuing to repeat your instructions and advices; for, in dispassionate controversy between friends who happen to differ in sentiment, the truth is often discovered, and is elicited by the very contention, as fire by the collision of flints. Adieu.

No. VIII.

Extracts from a Treatise on the Benefit of Christ Crucified, by Aonio Paleario.[1]

[See p. 82.]

To the Christian Reader.—There having come to our hands a work more pious and learned than any which has been composed in our day, entitled (*Del Beneficio di Giesu Christo Crocifisso verso i Christiani*), *Of the Benefit of Jesus Christ Crucified to Christians*, it appeared to us to be for your consolation and profit to give it you in print, and without adding the name of the writer, that so you may be influenced by the matter rather than by the authority of the author.

Contents.—Chap. 1. Of Original Sin, and the misery of man. 2. That the law was given by God, to the intent that, coming to the knowledge of sin, and despairing to be able to justify ourselves by works, we might have recourse to the mercy of God and the righteousness of faith. 3. That the remission of sins, and justifica-

[1] These Extracts are taken from a review of the original Italian work, by Riederer, Nachrichten, tom. iv. p. 239—241.

tion, and all our salvation, depend on Christ. 4. Of the effects of a living faith, and of the union of the soul with Christ. 5. How a Christian is clothed with Christ. 6. The remedies against distrust—prayer, the remembrance of baptism, the use of the sacrament of the eucharist, and the knowledge of our being predestinated.

* * * * God has fulfilled his promise in sending us that great Prophet, who is his only begotten Son, that we might be freed from the curse of the law and reconciled to our God, and has inclined our hearts to every good work, in the way of curing free-will, restoring in us the divine image which we had lost by the sin of our first parents, and causing us to know, that, under heaven, there is no other name given to men by which they can be saved except the name of Jesus Christ. Let us fly then, with the wings of a lively faith, into his embraces, when we hear him inviting us in these words—Come unto me all ye who are troubled and heavy laden, and I will give you joy. What consolation, what delight can be compared to that which is experienced by the person, who, feeling himself overwhelmed with the intolerable weight of his iniquities, hears such grateful and tender words from the Son of God, promising thus mercifully to comfort him and free him from so heavy a burden! But one great object we should have in view is to be acquainted in good earnest with our weakness and miserable condition by nature; for we cannot relish the good unless we have tasted the evil. Christ, accordingly, says: Let him that thirsteth come to me and drink; implying, that the man who is ignorant of his being a sinner, and has never thirsted after righteousness, is incapable of tasting how sweet the Lord is, and how delightful it is to think and to speak of Him and to imitate His most holy life. When, therefore, through the instrumentality of the law, we are made to see our infirmity, let us look to the benign Physician whom John Baptist points out to us with the finger, saying; Behold the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world; who, I repeat, frees us from the galling bondage of the law, by abrogating and annihilating its bitter curses and threatenings, healing all our diseases, reforming our free-will, bringing us back to our pristine innocence, and restoring in us the image of God. If, according to St Paul, as by Adam all died, so by Christ we are all revived, then we cannot believe that the sin of Adam, which we have by inheritance, is of greater efficacy than the righteousness of Christ, which, in like manner, we inherit through faith. Once, indeed, man might, with some show of reason, have complained that, without his own instrumentality, he was conceived and brought forth in iniquity, and in the sin of his first parents, through whom death has reigned over all men; but now all occasion of complaint is removed, since eternal life, together with victory over death, is obtained, in the very same method, without any instrumentality of ours, by the righteousness of Christ, which is imputed to us. Upon this subject St Paul has written a most beautiful discourse in Romans, v. 12—31. * * * From these words of St Paul, it is clear that the law was given in order that sin might be known, and that we might understand that it is not of greater efficacy than the righteousness of Christ, by which we are justified in the sight of God; for if Christ be more powerful than Adam, and if the sin of Adam was capable of rendering us sinners and children of wrath, without any actual transgression of our own, much more will the righteousness of Christ be able to justify us and make us children of grace, without any good works on our part; works which cannot be acceptable, unless, before we perform them, we be made good and righteous through faith.

* * * * Let us, my beloved brethren, embrace the righteousness of our Lord Jesus Christ, and make it our own by means of faith. Let us seek establishment in holiness, not by our own works, but by the merits of Christ; and let us live in joy and security; for his righteousness destroys all our unrighteousness, and makes us good, and just, and holy in the sight of God, who, when he sees us incorporated with his Son by faith, does not regard us any more as children of Adam, but as his own children, and constitutes us heirs of all his riches along with his legitimate Son.

IX.

Letters written by Aonio Paleario, to his wife and children, on the morning of his execution.[1]

[See p. 181.]

Article and Memorial, copied from a record belonging to San Giovanni de' Fiorentini di Roma.

Monday the 3d day of July 1570. Our confraternity having been called on Sunday night, immediately preceding Monday the 3d day of July 1570, in Tordinona,[2] Mr Aonio Paleario of Veruli, resident at the Hill of Valdenza, was delivered into its hands, condemned to death, in the course of justice, by the ministers of the holy Inquisition, who, having confessed and contritely asked pardon of God and his glorious mother, the Virgin Mary, and of all the court of heaven, said that he wished to die a good Christian, and to believe all that the holy Roman Church believes. He did not make any testament, except what is contained in the two underwritten letters, in his own handwriting, requesting us so send them to his wife and children at the Hill of Valdenza.

Copies of the Letters, *verbatim.*

My dearest Wife,—I would not wish that you should receive sorrow from my pleasure, nor ill from my good. The hour is now come when I must pass from this life to my Lord and Father and God. I depart as joyfully as if I were going to the nuptials of the Son of the great King, which I have always prayed my Lord to grant me, through his goodness and infinite mercy. Wherefore, my dearest wife, comfort yourself with the will of God and with my resignation, and attend to the desponding family which still survives, training them up and preserving them in the fear of God, and being to them both father and mother. I am now an old man of seventy years, and useless. Our children must provide for themselves by their virtue and industry, and lead an honourable life. God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, and the communion of the Holy Spirit, be with your spirit!

Thy Husband,

Aonio Paleari.

Rome, 3*d July* 1570.

The other Letter follows, *verbatim.*

Lampridio and Fedro, beloved Children,—These my very courteous Lords do not abate in their kindness to me even at this extremity, and give me permission to write to you. It pleases God to call me to himself by this means, which may appear to you harsh and painful; but if you regard it properly, as happening with my full resignation and pleasure, you will acquiesce in the will of God, as you have hitherto done. Virtue and industry I leave you for a patrimony, along with the little property you already possess. I do not leave you in debt; many are always asking when they ought to give.

You were freed more than eighteen years ago; you are not bound for my debts. If you are called upon to discharge them, have recourse to his Excellency the Duke, who will not see you wronged. I have requested from Luca Pridio an account of what is due to me, and what I am owing. With the dowry of your mother bring

[1] These letters, with the introductory memorial of the friars, were reprinted in the original Italian by Schelhorn, in his Dissertatio de Mino Celso Senensi, p. 25—27. They are taken from Novelle Letterarie dell' Anno 1745, p. 328, &c. Firenze.

[2] Torre Nona.

up your little sister as God shall give you grace. Salute Aspasia and sister Aonilla, my beloved daughters in the Lord. My hour approaches. The Spirit of God console and preserve you in his grace!

Your Father,

AONIO PALEARI.

Rome, 3*d July* 1570.

Superscription:
To his dearest wife Marietta Paleari, and to his beloved sons Lampridio and Fedro Paleari, at the Hill of Valdenza, in the suburbs of St Caterina.

No. X.

LETTER FROM OLYMPIA MORATA TO MADONNA CHERUBINA ORSINI.[1]

[See p. 233.]

My dearest Lady Cherubina,—To the letter I have already written you I wish to add a few lines, for the purpose of exhorting you to pray to God that he would give you strength, lest, through fear of those who can kill the body only, you offend the gracious Redeemer who has suffered for our sakes; and that he would enable you gratefully to confess him, according to his will, before this perverse generation, and ever to keep in remembrance the words of David: "I hate the congregation of sinners, and will not sit in the company of the wicked." I am weak, you may be apt to say, and cannot do this. O do not say so. Do you imagine that so many saints and prophets, that so many martyrs even in our day, have remained firm in their own unaided virtue, and that it was not God who gave them strength? Then consider that those whose weakness is mentioned in the Scriptures, did not continue always infirm. St Peter's denial of his Master is not recorded as an example for our imitation, but in order to display the great mercy of Christ; to show us our frailty, not to excuse it. He soon recovered from his weakness, and obtained such a degree of strength, that he afterwards rejoiced to suffer for the cause of Christ. From these considerations we should be induced, when we feel our infirmity, to apply by prayer to the Physician, and request that he would make us strong. Provided we pray to him, he will not fail to perform his promise; only he does not wish us to be idle and unemployed, but to be continually exercising ourselves in that armour of which St Paul speaks, in the sixth chapter of his Epistle to the Ephesians. We have a powerful enemy who is never at rest; and Christ, by his example, has shown us that he is to be overcome by prayer and the word of God. For the love of Christ, then, who has redeemed you with his precious blood, I entreat you to study diligently the holy Scriptures, praying that the Lord would enable you to understand them. Mark how frequently and with what ardour the great prophet David prays: "Lord enlighten me—teach me Thy ways —renew in me a clean heart;" while we, as if we were already perfect, neither study nor read. Paul, that illustrious apostle, tells the Philippians, that he did not yet understand, but was still engaged in learning. We ought to be advancing from day to day in the knowledge of the Lord, and praying all the time with the apostles that our faith may be increased, and with David, "Hold up my steps in Thy ways." We have ourselves to blame for our weakness, because we are continually excusing it, and neglecting the remedies which Christ has prescribed, viz. prayer and His word. Do you think that, after having done and suffered so much from love to you, He will not fulfil the gracious promises He has made by granting your petitions for strength? Had He not intended to bestow it, He would not have invited you, by so many promises, to ask it; and, lest you should entertain any doubts on this point, He has sworn that all that you request of the Father in His name shall be given you. Nor does He say that He will give this or that thing, but everything you solicit; and St John declares that He will bestow whatever we ask according to the will of God. Now, it is not agreeable to His will that we desire of Him faith

[1] Translated from the original Italian, in Olympiæ Moratæ Opera, p. 218—222. Basileæ, 1580.

and fortitude sufficient to enable us to confess Him? Ah! how backward are we, and how ready to excuse ourselves.

We ought to acquaint the Physician with our disease, in order that He may cure us. Oh! is it not the proper office of Christ to save us from our iniquities, and to overcome sin? Knock, knock, and it shall be opened to you. Never forget that He is omnipotent, and that, before your hour is arrived, no one shall be able to touch a hair of your head; for greater is He that is in us than he that is in the world. Do not be influenced by what the majority do, but by what the godly have done and still do to this day. May the word of the Lord be a lamp to your feet, for if you do not read and listen to it, you will fall before many stumblingblocks in the world. I beg you to read this letter to Vittoria, exhorting her, by precept and by example, to honour and confess God; read also along with her the holy Scriptures. Entreat my dear lady, Lavinia, to peruse frequently a portion of them, and, in doing so, she will experience the efficacy of the word of God. The Lord knows that I have written these exhortations with sincere concern for your salvation, and I beg of you to read them with the same feeling. I pray God that you may be enlightened and fortified in Christ, so as to overcome Satan, the world, and the flesh, and to obtain that crown which is given only to those who overcome. I have no doubt but that, in following my admonitions, you will find the Lord strengthening you. Do not consider that it is a woman only who is giving you advice; but rest assured that God, speaking by my mouth, kindly invites you to come to him. All false opinions, all errors, all disputes arise solely from not studying the Scriptures with sufficient care. David says: "Thou hast made me wiser than all mine enemies by Thy law." Do not listen to those who, despising the commandments of God and the means which He has appointed for their salvation, say, if we be predestinated, we shall be saved, although we neither pray nor study the Bible. He who is called of God will not utter such blasphemy, but will strive to obey God and avoid tempting him. The Lord has done us the honour and the benefit to speak to us, to instruct and console us by His word: and shall we despise such a valuable treasure? He invites us to draw near to Him in prayer; and shall we, neglecting the opportunity and remaining inactive, busy ourselves with disputes concerning the high counsels of God and the things which are to come to pass? Let us use the remedies He has prescribed, and thus prove ourselves to be obedient and predestinated children. Read and observe how highly God would have His word prized. "Faith," says Paul, "comes by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." Charity and faith, I assure you, would soon become cold were you to remain idle. And it is not enough, as Christ remarks, to have begun; we must persevere to the end. "Let him that stands," says Paul, "take heed lest he fall." I entreat you, for the love of Christ, not to conform yourself to the maxims of men, but to regulate your conduct according to the word of God; let it be a lamp to your feet, otherwise Satan will be able to deceive you in a variety of ways. Deliver these admonitions to my sister also. Never think who the person is that speaks to you, but examine whether she speaks the words of God or her own words; and, provided the Scriptures and not the authority of man be your rule, you will not fail to discover the path of duty. Ask, seek, knock, and it shall be opened to you. Draw near to your heavenly Spouse, contemplating Him in the Bible—that true and bright mirror, in which shines all the knowledge which is necessary for us. May God, for the sake of Christ, grant that I have not written in vain. The pain in my breast has been considerably increased by the exertion, but I sincerely wish I were able by my death to assist you and others in the things which pertain to salvation. Do me the favour to send me a single line, to acquaint me with the state of your health.

Your OLYMPIA.

No. XI.

LETTER OF OLYMPIA MORATA TO CELIO SECUNDO CURIO.

[See p. 233.]

My dearest father Celio,—You may conceive how tenderly those who are united by true, that is, Christian friendship, feel for one another, when I tell you that the

perusal of your letter drew tears from my eyes; for, on learning that you had been rescued from the jaws of the grave, I wept for very joy. May God long preserve you to be a blessing to His Church! It grieves me much to hear of the indisposition of your daughter, but I comfort myself with the hopes you entertain of her recovery. As to myself, my dear Celio, I must inform you that there is now no hope of my surviving long. No medicine gives me any relief. Every day, and indeed every hour, my friends look for my dissolution. It is probable this may be the last letter you shall receive from me. My body and strength are wasted; my appetite is gone; night and day the cough threatens to suffocate me. The fever is strong and unremitting, and the pains which I feel over the whole of my frame deprive me of sleep. Nothing therefore remains but that I breathe out my spirit. But, so long as life continues, I shall remember my friends and the benefits I have received from them. I return my warmest thanks to you for sending me the books, and to those worthy persons who have bestowed upon me such valuable presents. Had I been spared, I would have shown my gratitude. It is my opinion that my departure is at hand. I commend the Church to your care; O let all you do be directed to its advantage. Farewell, excellent Celio, and do not distress yourself when you hear of my death; for I know that I shall be victorious at last, and am desirous to depart and be with Christ. My brother, about whom you inquire, is making proficiency in his studies, though he needs the spur rather than the curb. Heidelberg looks like a desert, in consequence of the numbers who have died of the plague, or fled for fear of it. My husband sends his compliments to you. Salute your family in my name. I send you such of the poems as I have been able to write out from memory since the destruction of Schweinfurt. All my other writings have perished. I request that you will be my Aristarchus, and polish them. Again farewell. From Heidelberg.[1]

No. XII.

Letter by Marc-Antonio Flaminio to Carlo Gualteruccio.[2]

[See p. 105.]

I am extremely glad to hear that the bull has been expedited, not only for my own sake, though it is no small matter to me, but also because your Excellency is thereby relieved of a great burden, which you have cheerfully borne on my account. As to the advice which you ask respecting the books which you ought to read, what I am about to say will perhaps appear to you absurd and foolish; but, if I would speak what I think, I must say it. I know not any book (I speak not of the holy Scriptures) which I can recommend to you as more useful than that little work, which is entitled "Of the Imitation of Christ;" provided you wish to read, not for the purpose of gratifying curiosity or furnishing yourself with matter for argument and dispute about Christianity, but that your mind may be edified and you may learn the exercises of the Christian life, of which this is the sum, how the grace of the Gospel is received by men, or, in other words, justification by

[1] Curio received this letter by the same post which brought the intelligence of the death of the amiable writer. It was the last exertion she made. On looking over what she had written, she perceived some mistakes, and insisted on transcribing it; but after making the attempt, was obliged to desist, and said to her husband, with a smile which completely unnerved him, "I see it will not do."

[2] Epistol. Reg. Poli, a Quirino, tom. iii. p. 68; tom. v. p. 387. Cardinal Quirini has inserted this letter in his Dissertation "De Viterbiensi Card. Poli Sodalitio," as a proof of Flaminio's orthodoxy, because the work of Thomas a Kempis, which he recommends, contains some opinions condemned by the Protestants, particularly the invocation of saints. But his Eminence did not seem to have been aware how strongly the letter, and particularly the exception which it makes to the doctrine of the Imitation, establishes the agreement between Flaminio and the reformers on the leading article of dispute between them and the Church of Rome. Beccatello, after stating that Cardinal Pole drew Flaminio from the society of Valdes in Naples to his own house in Viterbo, adds that the cardinal used to say: "Che non poco servitio, oltra il benefitio dell' amico, gli pareva haver fatto a' catholici havendo ritenuto il Flaminio, e non lasciatolo precipitare con gli heretici, come facilmente havria fatto."

faith. There is one exception, however, which I must make, viz. that I do not approve of the way of fear, which is so often spoken of in that book. But you must observe that I do not condemn every kind of fear; the only thing that I object to is penal fear, which is a sign either of unbelief or of a weak faith. For if I believe, as I ought, that Christ hath satisfied for all my sins past, present, and to come, it is impossible that I should fear condemnation by the judgment of God; especially if I believe that the righteousness and holiness of Christ have become mine by faith, as I must believe, if I wish to be a true Christian. Penal fear, therefore, does not become a Christian, since he ought to cherish filial love. But there is a species of fear which becomes him; he should live continually in fear of himself, being ever afraid lest his affections and appetites should induce him to do anything unworthy of his profession and dignity, by which the Holy Spirit, who dwells in him, may be grieved. As a good son, the more kindly he is treated by his father, is on that account the more careful to do nothing which may displease his father, so a Christian must be ever watchful over himself, and ever afraid of doing anything unworthy of a son of God; but he must, even at the same time, trust in God as an indulgent father, who does not look upon what he is in himself but what he is in Christ; for in Christ the Christian is righteous and holy, inasmuch as, being inserted into his body, he is already a partaker of all his merits. If you peruse the book which I have named frequently and carefully, and with the desire of putting in practice what it teaches, I am sure you will reap the greatest advantage from it, as all who have read it in that manner can testify from experience; especially if you are on your guard against that blemish which I have pointed out to you. The less there is of the pomp of eloquence and secular learning in that work, the more worthy is it of being read; because the more that any thing possesses of spiritual Christianity, and the greater its resemblance to sacred Scripture, the more perfect it ought to be reckoned. I could name many books which are highly esteemed in the world, but, in doing so, I would speak against my conscience, being persuaded that the reading of them would do you more harm than good; and in this I believe I do not err. Nothing farther occurs to me to say, but that I desire with all my heart to commend myself to your Excellence.

February 28, 1542.

No. XIII.

Extracts from a Letter of Marc-Antonio Flaminio to Galeazzo Caraccioli, Marquis of Vico.[1]

[See p. 105.]

The happy news of the conversion of your Excellence, which I received from Signor Ferrante[2] and Sig. Giovan. Francesco,[3] gave great joy, not only to me, but also to the most reverend legate[4] and other persons of note; and this joy has been confirmed and increased by the letter you have done me the honour of addressing to me. My honourable and much respected sir, when I reflect on the words of St Paul, "You see your calling, brethren," &c., I cannot but perceive the singular grace of the Lord God to your Excellence in putting you into the number of those few great men whom he raises to an illustrious nobility, making them his sons by a true and living faith. In proportion to the singular favour shown you by God, are you bound to lead a life becoming his sons, by taking care lest thorns, that is, pleasures and the deceitfulness of riches and ambition, choke the seed of the Gospel sown in your heart. I trust the Lord God, who hath begun, to his glory, that good work in you, will bring it to perfection to the praise of the glory of his grace. I trust he will create in you such generous sentiments, that, whereas

[1] Epist. Reg. Poli, a Quirino, tom. iii. p. 59. Brixiæ, 1748.

[2] A friend with whom Flaminio was accustomed to lodge at Naples.

[3] The cousin of Caraccioli. See before, p. 78. If he is the same person who is mentioned in p. 157, then he obtained the crown of martyrdom.

[4] Cardinal Pole. See before, pp. 107, 174.

formerly it was your ambition to support the dignity of your birth before the world, so now you will study to maintain the honour of a son of God, whom it becomes in all things to imitate the perfection of his heavenly Father, by exhibiting that holy and divine life which he expects to lead in heaven. Honourable and respected sir, remember, in all your thoughts, all your words, and all your actions, that we attain to the dignity of sons of God through Jesus Christ. If we wish to please Him, we must be prepared for displeasing men, and despise the glory of the world for the sake of the glory that is to be enjoyed with God. Did Christ the only begotten and proper Son of God willingly bear for us, not only the infamy of the world, but the bitterest torments of the cross? and shall not we, for the honour of Christ, wilfully bear the scorn of the enemies of God? Let us then, honourable sir, arm our minds against the calumnies and derision of worldly men with a holy pride, deriding their scorn, while, at the same time, like true members of Christ, we bewail their blindness, and beseech our God to bestow upon them a portion of that light which he has vouchsafed to us, that so becoming the sons of God, they may be liberated from the miserable bondage of the prince of darkness, who, together with his servants, persecutes Christ and his members; a persecution which, in spite of the devil and his ministers, shall redound at length to the glory of Christ and the salvation of his members, who being predestinated to reign with Christ, rejoice in suffering for him. Wherever the faith of this exists, it easily resists the persecutions of the devil, the world, and the flesh. Wherefore, my much respected sir, let us assiduously pray our eternal Father to increase our faith, and then our soul will long for those sweet and blessed fruits which spring up in the good ground of all the predestinated to everlasting life. If our faith be fruitful in good works, then we are certain that it is a true and not feigned, a living and not dead, a divine and not human faith; and consequently, that it is a precious pledge of our eternal felicity. If we are the genuine members of Christ, we will feel that we are already dead with him, and risen and ascended to heaven with him, that so our whole conversation might be heavenly, and his glorious image shine forth in us in some degree. In you this image will be the more lively and admirable in proportion as you are raised above others in birth, riches, and authority. Oh! what a delightful and never enough to be looked upon spectacle will this afford to the eyes of all true Christians, nay, to the eyes of God and all the angels, while, reflecting on the frailty of human nature and the vanity of all perishing things, you say, in the words of Christ, "I am a worm and no man," and cry out with David, "Look upon me, and have mercy upon me, for I am solitary and poor!" Oh! truly rich and blessed is that man who, by the grace of God, has attained to that spiritual poverty which leads him to renounce all that he possesses—to become a fool for Christ's sake—in the midst of riches to say from the heart, "Give us this day our daily bread"—to prefer the reproach of Christ to all the pleasures and favours of this world, and not to wish to enter into the kingdom of God through any other holiness or righteousness but that which he acquires through Christ. Having entered the kingdom of God, glory in this that he hath shown such mercy towards you. This Christian gloriation will make you humble in grandeur, modest in prosperity, patient in adversity, brave in dangers, beneficent to all, firm in hope, fervent in prayer, full of love to God, free from the immoderate love of yourself and the world, and, in one word, a true imitator of Christ. Honourable sir, I have acted contrary to my intention, from a desire to yield to your request; for, by the grace of God, I perceive every day more and more my own great imperfections and insufficiency, and that it would become me better to act the part of a disciple than that of an instructor. But at present, I have chosen rather to follow the dictates of my affection for you than of my judgment. The most reverend legate loves you as a brother in Christ, and will be glad of any opportunity of testifying his affection for you. The illustrious Marchioness of Pescara and other noble persons here join with me in affectionate salutations. May the Lord God grant that you may excel more in poverty of spirit than you abound in the riches and gifts of this life, and that your spiritual poverty may make you rich in all divine and eternal blessings. From Viterbo, the 14th February, ann. 43.

R

EDITORIAL NOTES.

Note I.—The Treatise "Il Summario de la Sancta Scriptura," &c.

(See p. 51.)

This book, our author states, "was publicly burnt at Rome, and all the copies of it appear to have been carefully destroyed," (p. 51.) And in a note he says: "We are indebted for all our knowledge of this book to an honest chronicler who lived at that time at Modena." An extract from this account is given in the Appendix, p. 241.

I am indebted to the Rev. Churchhill Babington, B.D., F.L.S. of St John's College, Cambridge, for some farther information regarding this curious work. No Italian copy is known to exist; but it had been translated from German into English by Simeon Fish (author of the "Supplication of Beggars," 1524), and several copies of this translation are in the Cambridge University Library. In the British Museum there is a French translation of the same work. My friendly correspondent, Benjamin B. Wiffen, Esq. Woburn, Bedfordshire, has sent me the following description of the two translations:—

"There is an English translation of this book in the private library of H. M. How, Esq. of Aspley, Woburn, Bedfordshire: 'The summe of the holy Scrypture and ordinary of the Chrysten teachynge, the true Chryste fayth by the wyche we are all justifyed. And of the vertue of baptysm after the teaching of the Gospell and of the Apostles, with an informacyon how all estates shulde lyue accordynge to the Gospell.' sm. 8vo. It consists of 31 chapters, and is numbered in fol. 1—76 b. and leaf of table of the chapters, well printed in black letter.

"In the British Museum is the French: 'La Summe de l'escripture saincté et lordinaire des Chrestiens, enseignant la vraye foy Chrestienne: par laquelle no' sommes tous justifiez: Et de la vertu du baptesme selon la doctrine de Leuangile et des Apostres. Anée vue information comment tous estatz doivrient viure selon Leuangile. Imprime a Basle par Thomas Volf. L'an mileiuz cens vingt et trois.' Sm. 8vo. 138 folios. Judging from the early date, this is probably the original of the Italian. This copy is bound in crimson velvet, gilt edges, with the royal arms on the covers."

Note II.—The Tract entitled "De Emendanda Ecclesia."

Referring to this tract, which contains the *advice* which Caraffa, as cardinal, gave to Pope Paul III., but which he himself afterwards condemned as Pope Paul IV., and placed in the Index of Prohibited Books, our author says in a note, (p. 61): "It is prohibited under the following title,—Consiglio d'alcuni Vescovi congregati in Bologna." In reference to this, Mr Mendham says: "Dr M'Crie, in his valuable History of the Reformation in Italy, has confounded the two, supposing that the *De Emendanda* was signified by the Consiglio." The *Consiglio* he considers to have been the production of Vergerio, and inserted under the title,—

Consiglio d'alcunè Episcopi congregati in Bologna. Verg. "In order," he says, "to make the inquiry upon which we are now entering, and which has embarrassed some good scholars, clear, the piece before us is carefully to be distinguished from another of the same character, and somewhat the same title, as we shall see, the *Consilium de Emendanda Ecclesia*, of the date of 1537, and which is likewise inserted in the Pauline and Tridentine Indexes." Mr Mendham comes to the conclusion that the *Consiglio* of Vergerio was a fictitious effusion, though exhibiting a genuine picture of Rome as it was in his time. Index of Prohibited Books, by command of the present Pope, Gregory XVI., in 1835. By the Rev. Joseph Mendham. Pp. 75, 76.

Note III.—Paleario's Treatise on "The Benefit of Christ's Death."

(See pp. 82, 182.)

This book is referred to by our author, as having been written in Italian, and translated into Spanish, French, and English. But he seems to have never seen the work itself, and indeed it is only lately that it has been again brought to light. Last year the work was discovered and printed in fac-simile from the Italian edition. The title of this curious publication is: "*The Benefit of Christ's Death:* Probably written by Aonio Paleario: Reprinted in Fac-Simile from the Italian Edition of 1543; together with a French translation, printed in 1551, from copies in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge; to which is added an English version made in 1548 by Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, now first edited from a MS. preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge. With an Introduction by Churchhill Babington, B.D., F.L.S., Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, and Member of the Royal Society of Literature. London: Bell and Daldy. 1555."

"About three centuries ago," says Mr Babington in his preface, "the book now reprinted was one of the very commonest in the world: it is at this day the very rarest. The most anxious search has been made for it, and it was, until lately, believed to have been utterly destroyed by the Romish Inquisitors. The original, and its numerous translations, were generally supposed to have perished alike. The number of copies thus destroyed was certainly not less than forty thousand: it may perhaps have been almost double that number. Schelhorn and M'Crie had never been able to obtain a sight of it in any form: Gerdes exclaimed in despair, that it had withdrawn itself from the eyes of men: Ranke and Macaulay unhesitatingly pronounced that it had entirely disappeared, and was as hopelessly lost as the second decade of Livy."

"Meanwhile, however," he adds in his Introduction, p. lxx., "two copies of the original were silently reposing in safe quarters, and not unknown. One was in the possession of B. Kopitar, the late Imperial Librarian at Vienna; the other in the closets of the Library of St John's College, Cambridge, locked up in company with MSS. and printed books of extreme rarity. From the latter copy the present edition is made: and a lost treatise is at length restored, whose recovery was deemed hopeless; a treatise which was considered by many as one of the most sweet, most simple, most pious and most instructive compositions that had ever appeared in its own graceful language, and its own brilliant age."

Note IV.—Olympia Morata.

Her Quarrel with Renée, Duchess of Ferrara.—Dr M'Crie states in a note (p. 131), that Nolten, in his life of this amiable and accomplished lady, says that the Duchess of Ferrara was alienated from her; "but," he adds, "Olympia herself gives no hint of this in her letters." From one or two of her letters, however, there is reason to fear that the mind of the excellent Renée had been poisoned against her. Writing to her husband, Olympia says: "It would hardly be proper to reclaim the articles I left behind me at the court. The Duchess has informed me, through one of her maids of honour, that it was not true that the wife of the

noble Count Camillo Orsini had interceded in my favour. She added, however, that, at the request of Lavinia [della Rovère], she would send me one of my dresses at her return." Vie d'Olympia Morata, par Jules Bonnet, p. 177. Coupling this with another allusion to the Duchess, in which Olympia expresses herself rather severely on the report of the defection of Renée, for which there was no foundation (ibid. p. 288), there seems little room to doubt that an unhappy alienation had taken place. The true source of this quarrel has been brought out by M. Bonnet. Unhappily the Duchess had been induced to receive at her court, and advance to the post of her almoner, the notorious Jerome Bolsec, the malignant enemy of Calvin and the reformers, and the most mischief-making of refugees. The influence of such an unprincipled calumniator at court was soon apparent. Olympia was the first victim of his mendacious stories. Anne d'Este, who was now absent, could no longer raise her voice in behalf of her friend; the Duchess herself, whether through feebleness or compulsion, kept silence; and the poor orphan, deprived of all defence against the machinations of her enemies, retired to her house of mourning, where she was pursued by their unrelenting hatred. (Ibid. p. 56.)

The Marriage of Olympia Morata.—"She would have suffered still worse treatment, had not a German student of medicine married her, and carried her along with him to his native country," (p. 131.) Such is the brief account given by our author of the marriage of Olympia; and this, with the addition that the uneuphonious name of this medical student was *Andrew Grunthler*, and that his native place, to which he carried his Italian bride, once the ornament of the court of Ferrara, was *Schweinfurt*, forms, it must be confessed, a somewhat ungraceful termination to the history of Olympia, which is not justified by the facts of the case. Grunthler, it appears, was a gentleman of rank in his own country, a man of genius and learning, who had come to Ferrara to perfect himself in the study of medicine, carried off his diploma, as doctor of medicine, with great eclat, and was afterwards raised to be a professor at Heidelberg. He was a handsome young man, about the same age with Olympia, and fell deeply in love with her when prosecuting his studies. The attachment was mutual, and the match was in every respect suitable and happy. Seldom have the gushings of conjugal affection found more beautiful expression than in the letters of Olympia Morata.

Deathbed of Olympia, (p. 233.)—Her last effort was to write a letter to her friend Celio Secundo Curio, on looking over which, her critical taste was offended, by discovering some mistakes in the latinity. But on attempting to transcribe it, she found her strength exhausted, and laid it aside with a sweet smile of resignation, saying, "I see it won't do." Grunthler, in transmitting to Curio this last production of her pen, gives some affecting particulars relating to the last hours of his amiable partner, with whom he had lived scarcely five years, and than whom, he says, "a nobler, a purer, and a more saintly soul never shone upon earth." "A few hours before her death, she awoke from a short slumber, and smiled as if at some unutterable vision. Drawing near to her, I asked the cause of that sweet smile: 'I saw,' she said, 'in a dream, a place shining with the most pure and brilliant light.' Her weakness would not allow her to proceed farther. 'Cheer up, my dearest.' I replied: 'soon shalt thou live in the bosom of that pure light.' Again she smiled, and with a slight movement of the head testified her assent. A little after, she added, 'I am happy, perfectly happy;' and she spoke no more till her sight began to fail, when she said, 'I can hardly see you any more, but every place about me seems adorned with the most beautiful flowers!' These were her last words. The next moment she fell into a peaceful sleep, and breathed her last sigh."

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HISTORY

OF THE

PROGRESS AND SUPPRESSION

OF THE

REFORMATION IN SPAIN

IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

BY

THOMAS M'CRIE, D.D.

A NEW EDITION

EDITED BY HIS SON

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HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION IN SPAIN.

CHAPTER I.

REVIEW OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF SPAIN BEFORE THE ERA OF THE REFORMATION.

Erroneous opinions as to their early history, originating in vanity, and fostered by ignorance and credulity, have been common among almost every people. These are often harmless; and while they afford matter of good-humoured raillery to foreigners, excite the more inquisitive and liberal-minded among themselves to exert their talents in separating truth from fable, by patient research and impartial discrimination. But they are sometimes of a very different character, and have been productive of the worst consequences. They have been the means of entailing political and spiritual bondage on a people, of rearing insurmountable obstacles in the way of their improvement, of propagating feelings no less hostile to their domestic comfort than to their national tranquillity, and of making them at once a curse to themselves and a scourge to all around them.

If the natives of Spain have not advanced those extravagant pretensions to high antiquity which have made the inhabitants of some other countries ridiculous, they have unhappily fallen under the influence of national prejudices equally destitute of truth, and far more pernicious in their tendency. Every true Spaniard is disposed to boast of the purity of his blood, or, in the established language of the country, that he is "an Old Christian, free from all stain of bad descent." The meanest peasant or artisan in Spain looks upon it as a degradation to have in his veins the least mixture of Jewish or Moorish blood, though transmitted by the remotest of his known ancestors in the male or female line. To have descended from that race, "of which, as concern-

ing the flesh, Christ came," or from Christians who had incurred the censure of a tribunal whose motto is the reverse of His who "came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them," is regarded as a greater disgrace than to have sprung from savages and pagans, or from those who had incurred the last sentence of justice for the most unnatural and horrid crimes. "I verily believe," says a modern Spanish writer who sometimes smiles through tears at the prejudices of his countrymen, "that were St Peter a Spaniard, he would either deny admittance into heaven to people of tainted blood, or send them into a corner, where they might not offend the eyes of the Old Christian."[1] We might go farther, and say, that if a Spaniard had the keys of heaven in his keeping, St Peter, and all the apostles with him, would be "removed into a corner." It is easy to conceive what misery must have been felt by persons and families who have incurred this involuntary infamy in their own estimation, or in that of their neighbours; and what bitter and rancorous feelings must have been generated in the hearts of individuals and races of men living together or contiguously, both in a state of peace and of warfare.

But when the records of antiquity are consulted, the truth turns out to be, that in no other country of Europe has there been such an intermixture of races as in Spain—Iberian, Celtic, Carthaginian, Roman, Greek, Gothic, Jewish, Saracenic, Syrian, Arabian, and Moorish. With none are the Spaniards more anxious to disclaim all kindred than with Jews and Moors. Yet anciently their Christian kings did not scruple to form alliances with the Moorish sovereigns of Granada, to appear at their tournaments, and even to fight under their banners. Down to the middle of the fifteenth century, the Spanish poets and romancers celebrated the chivalry of "the Knights of Granada, gentlemen though Moors."[2] It was no uncommon occurrence for the Christians in Spain to connect themselves by marriage with Jews and Moors; and the pedigree of many of the grandees and titled nobility has been traced to these "cankered branches" by the *Tizon de Espana* or *Brand of Spain;* a book which neither the influence of government nor the terror of the Inquisition has been able completely to suppress.[3] Nor is greater credit due to the opinion which has long been prevalent in the Peninsula, that its inhabitants have uniformly kept themselves free from all stain of heretical pravity, and preserved the purity of the faith inviolate since their first reception of Christianity.

The ancient state of the Church in Spain is but little known. Modern writers of that nation have been careful to conceal or to pass lightly over those spots of its history which are calculated to wound the feelings or abate the prejudices of their countrymen. Shut out from access to original documents, or averse to the toil of investigating them, foreigners

[1] Letters from Spain, by Leucadio Doblado, p. 30.
[2] Sismondi, Hist. of the Literature of the South, i. 99; iii. 113, 214.
[3] Llorente, Hist. Crit. de l'Inquisition, tom. i. pref. p. xxvi. Doblado's Letters, 30, 31.

have generally contented themselves with the information which common books supply. And knowing that the Spaniards have signalised their zeal for the See of Rome and the Catholic faith during the three last centuries, the public, as if by general agreement, have come to the hasty conclusion that this was the fact from the beginning. To correct such mistakes, and to furnish materials for an accurate judgment, it may be proper to take a more extensive view of the state of religion in Spain before the Reformation than would otherwise have been necessary to our undertaking.

The ecclesiastical history of Spain during the three first centuries may be comprised in two facts : that the Christian religion was early introduced into that country, and that churches were erected in various parts of it, notwithstanding the persecution to which they were at intervals exposed. All besides this is fable or conjecture. That the Gospel was first preached to their ancestors by St James the son of Zebedee, is an opinion which has been long so popular among the Spaniards, and so identified with the national faith, that such of their writers as were most convinced of the unsound foundation on which it rests have been forced to join in bearing testimony to its truth. The ingenuity of the warm partisans of the popedom has been put to the stretch in managing the obstinate fondness with which the inhabitants of the Peninsula have clung to a prepossession so hazardous to the claims of St Peter and of Rome. They have alternately exposed the futility of the arguments produced in its support, and granted that it is to be received as a probable opinion resting on tradition. At one time they have urged that the early martyrdom of the apostle precludes the idea of an expedition to Spain ; and at another time they have tendered their aid to relieve the Spaniards from this embarrassment, and to "elude the objection," by suggesting, with true Italian dexterity, that the Spirit might have carried the apostle from Palestine to Spain, and after he had performed his task, conveyed him back with such celerity that he was in time to receive the martyr's crown at Jerusalem.[1] By such artful managements they succeeded at last in settling the dispute, after the following manner : that, agreeably to the concurring voice of antiquity, the seven first bishops of Spain were ordained by St Peter, and sent by him into the Peninsula ; but that, as is probable, they had been converted to the Christian faith by St James, who despatched them to Rome to receive holy orders from the prince of the apostles ; from which the inference is, that St James was the first who preached the Gospel to the Spaniards, but that St Peter was the founder of the Church of Spain.[2] Leaving

[1] "Neque illud sileo," says Cennius, "quod Apostolis veredi non erant opus, ut terræ ambitum circumirent. Spiritus enim Domini, a quo Philippum fuisse raptum constat post baptizatum Eunuchum, etiamsi Jacobum rapuisse in Hispaniam non dicatur, non enim omnia scripta sunt, objectionem istam eludit." In a manner somewhat similar has the beneficed Presbyter of the Vatican contrived to convey the dead body of the Apostle from Jerusalem to Spain. Cajetani Cenni de Antiquitate Ecclesiæ Hispanæ Dissertationes, tom. i. pp. 35, 36. Romæ, 1741.

[2] Ibid. Diss. i. cap. 2. A curious specimen of the managements referred to in the text is to be seen in the alterations made on the

such fabulous accounts, which serve no other purpose than to illustrate human credulity, and the ease with which it is wrought upon by artifice and cunning, we proceed to the period of authentic history.

The facts which we have to bring forward may be arranged under three heads: The Doctrine of the Ancient Church of Spain; her Government; and her Worship.

I. Sentiments which, by common consent, have been regarded as heretical, without as well as within the pale of that church which arrogates to herself the title of Catholic, sprang up repeatedly in Spain, and in some instances overran the whole country. In the fourth century, Priscillian, a native of Galicia, founded a new sect, which united the tenets of the Manichæans and Gnostics. It made many converts, including persons of the Episcopal order, and subsisted in Spain for two hundred years.[1] When they boast of the pure blood of the Goths, the Spaniards appear to forget that their Gothic ancestors were Arians, and that Arianism was the prevailing and established creed of the country for nearly two centuries.[2] Nor did Spain long preserve her faith uncontaminated, after she had adopted the common doctrine under Reccared, who reigned in the close of the sixth century. To pass by the spread of Nestorianism and some tenets of less note,[3] she gave birth, in the eighth century, to the heresy called the Adoptionarian, because its disciples held that Christ is the adopted Son of God. This opinion was broached by Elipand, Archbishop of Toledo, who was at the head of the Spanish Church; it was vigorously defended by Felix, Bishop of Urgel, a prelate of great ability; and maintained itself for a considerable time in spite of the decisions of several councils, supported by the learning of Alcuin and the authority of Charlemagne.[4]

Nor were there wanting in the early ages Spaniards who held some

Roman Calendar. Cardinal Quignoni obtained the following insertion in the Rubric, referring to St James the elder: "He went to Spain, and preached the Gospel there, according to the authority of St Isidore." Breviarum Paul. III. A change more agreeable to the Spaniards was afterwards made: "Having travelled over Spain, and preached the Gospel there, he returned to Jerusalem." Brev. Pii V. This having given offence to Cardinal Baronius and others at Rome, the following was substituted: "That he visited Spain and made some disciples there, is the tradition of the churches of that province." Brev. Clementis VIII. If the former mode of expression gave great offence at Rome, this last gave still greater in Spain. The whole kingdom was thrown into a ferment; and letters and ambassadors were despatched by his Catholic Majesty to the Pope, exclaiming against the indignity done to the Spanish nation. At last the following form was agreed upon, which continues to stand in the Calendar: "Having gone to Spain, he made some converts to Christ, seven of whom, being ordained by St Peter, were sent to Spain as its first bishops." Brev. Urbani VIII.

[1] Sulpitius Severus, Hist. Sacra, lib. ii. c. 60. Nicol. Antonius, Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus, curante Franc. Perez Bayerio, tom. i. p. 168—172. Cenni de Antiq. Eccl. Hisp. Diss. tom. i. p. 212.

[2] Gregor. de Turon. Hist. Franc. lib. viii. cap. 46. Nic. Antonius. *ut supra*, p. 294. Cenni Diss. iii. cap. 1 and 2.

[3] "Neque hi tantum errores in Hispaniis pervagabantur, sed quicquid novæ hæresis emergebat, in easdem admittebatur." Cenni, i. 213.

[4] Rodriguez de Castro, Bibliotheca Espanola, tom. ii. p. 406—411. Nic. Antonius, *ut supra*, p. 440—446. Mosheim supposed Felix to be a French bishop, and placed his diocese in *Septimania*. Eccl. Hist., cent. viii., part. ii. chap. v. sect. 3. Septimania was an ancient province of Gallia Narbonensis, now called Languedoc; but Urgel is a city of Catalonia, and the Counts of Urgel made no small figure in the predatory warfare of the middle ages. Vaisette, Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, tom. iii. pp. 108, 145. Preuves, p. 206.

of the leading opinions afterwards avowed by the Protestant reformers. Claude, Bishop of Turin, who flourished in the ninth century, and distinguished himself by his valuable labours in the illustration of the Scriptures, was a native of Spain. His decided condemnation of the worship of images, and of the veneration paid to the relics and sepulchres of the saints, together with his resistance to the ecclesiastical authority which imposed these practices, has exposed the memory of this pious and learned divine to the deadly hatred of all the devotees of superstition and spiritual despotism.[1] In support of his principal tenet, Claude could plead the authority of one of the most venerable councils of his native church, which ordained that there should be no pictures in churches, and that nothing should be painted on the walls which might be worshipped or adored.[2]

Galindo Prudentio, Bishop of Troyes, was a countryman and contemporary of Claude. His learning was superior to that of the age in which he lived; and the comparative purity of his style bears witness to his familiarity with the writings of the ancient classics. Having fixed his residence in France, he enjoyed the confidence of Charlemagne, who employed him in visiting and reforming the monasteries. In the predestinarian controversy which divided the French clergy of that time, he took part with Goteschalcus against Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, and the noted schoolman Joannes Scotus, surnamed Erigena. The sentiments which Prudentio held on that subject bear a striking resemblance to those which the Church of Rome has since anathematised in the writings of Luther and Calvin.[3]

II. The Spanish Church, at the beginning of the fourth century, acknowledged no other officers than bishops, presbyters, and deacons.[4] She was equally a stranger to the superior orders of metropolitans and archbishops, and to the inferior orders of sub-deacons and lectors. Her discipline was at that time characterised by great strictness, and even rigour, of which there was a palpable relaxation when the government of the church came to be formed upon the model of the empire, after Constantine had embraced Christianity.[5] This change was, however, introduced more slowly into Spain than into some other countries. The Church of Africa was careful to guard the parity of Episcopal power against the encroachments of the metropolitans; and the Spanish

[1] Nicolas Antonio reckons it necessary to make a formal apology for giving Claude a place in his general biography of Spanish writers, and calls him "pudendum genti nostræ plusquam celebrandum, hominis Hispani nomen." Bibl. Hisp. Vet. tom. i. p. 458. An exact and full account of Claude's works, both printed and in manuscript, is given by Alb Fabricius, in his Bibliotheca Mediæ et Infimæ Ætatis, tom. i. p. 388.

[2] "Placuit picturas in Ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur vel adoratur, in parietibus pingatur." Concil. Illiberit., can. xxxvi., anno 305.

[3] Duchesne, Hist. Francor. Script. tom. iii. p. 212. Barthii Adversaria, lib. xviii. cap. 11, lib. xliv. cap. 19. The controversial works of Galindus Prudentius remained in manuscript until some of them were published during the Jansenian dispute, by Gilbert Maugain, in a collection of curious and valuable tracts, under the title: Veterum Auctorum, qui nono seculo de prædestinatione et gratia scripserunt, Opera et Fragmenta, 2 tom. Paris, 1650; a work less known by divines than it ought to be.

[4] Concil. Illiberit., can. 18, 19; anno 305.

[5] Cenni, i. 69: Conf. 142—144.

bishops, who appear from an early period to have paid great deference to her maxims and practices, continued for a considerable time to evince the same jealousy.[1] To the supremacy of the Bishops of Rome the ancient Church of Spain was a stranger, and there is no good evidence that she acknowledged, during the eight first centuries, their right to interfere authoritatively in her internal affairs.

The titles of Pope or Father, Apostolical Bishop, and Bishop of the Apostolic See, were at first given promiscuously to all who were invested with the episcopal office.[2] After they came to be used in a more restricted sense, they were still applied to a number in common.[3] The bishops of Rome early acquired high consideration among their brethren, founded on the dignity of the city in which they had their residence, the number of the clergy over whom they presided, and the superior sanctity of life by which some of their line had been distinguished; to which must be added the opinion, which soon became general, that they were the successors of St Peter. In matters which concerned religion in general, or in difficult questions relating to internal managements, it was a common practice to ask the advice of foreign and even transmarine churches. On these occasions the bishops of Rome were consulted, but not to the exclusion of others. The African bishops, in a council held at Carthage, agreed to take the advice of Siricius, Bishop of Rome, and Simplician, Bishop of Milan, on the affair of the Donatists; and in a subsequent council they agreed to consult Anastasius and Venerius, who at that time filled the same sees, on the controversy respecting the validity of the baptism of heretics.[4] With this the practice of the Spanish Church agreed.[5] Indeed, the bishops of Rome in those days disclaimed the pretensions which they afterwards put forth with such arrogance. Gregory the Great himself, when in danger of being eclipsed by his eastern rival, acknowledged this in the memorable words which have so much annoyed his successors and their apologists. Speaking of the title of universal patriarch, which the Bishop of Constantinople had assumed, he says: "Far from the hearts of Christians be this name of blasphemy, which takes away the honours of the whole priesthood, while it is madly arrogated by one! None of my predecessors would ever consent to use this profane word, because if one patriarch is called universal, the rest are deprived of the name of patriarchs."[6]

[1] "Ut primæ sedis Episcopus non appelletur princeps sacerdotum, aut summus sacerdos, aut aliquid hujusmodi, sed tantum primæ sedis Episcopus." Cod. African. can. 39. To this agrees the language of the Fathers of Toledo: "Statuimus, ut frater, et coepiscopus noster, Montanus, qui in Metropoli est," &c. Concil. Tolet. II. can. 5.

[2] Thomassinus, De Benefic. part. i. lib. i. cap. 4. Pope Cyprian, Pope Augustine, Pope Alipius, Pope Athanasius, &c. are expressions of frequent recurrence in the writings of the Fathers. Cenni, unable to deny this fact, has recourse to the desperate shift, that those who gave this title to a bishop meant to say, that his merits were such as to entitle him to be advanced to the dignity of supreme pontiff. De Antiq. Eccl. Hisp. ii. 53.

[3] The names of καθολικοὶ θρόνοι, and οἰκουμενικοὶ θρόνοι, catholic thrones, and ecumenical thrones, were given, in the eighth century, to the sees of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Theophanes, apud Salmasii Apparat. de Primatu, p. 278.

[4] Salmasii Apparatus ad Libros de Primatu Papæ, p. 277. Cenni, i. 159.

[5] Concil. Tolet. i. sent. definit. Constant. Annot. in Epist. 2 Innocent.

[6] Gregorii Epp. 32, 36.

But there is positive evidence that the ancient Church of Spain maintained its independence, and guarded against the interference of the Roman See, or any other foreign authority. Whatever judgment we form concerning the disputed canon of the Council of Sardis, as to references to the Bishop of Rome,[1] it is certain that an African council, which met at Mela in the year 416, decreed that if any of the clergy had a dispute with his bishop, he might bring it before the neighbouring bishops; but if he thought proper not to rest in their decision, it should be unlawful for him to make any appeal except to an African council, or to the primates of the African churches.[2] In accordance with the spirit of this canon, with some variation in particulars, the ninth Council of Toledo, in the year 655, determined that appeals should lie from a bishop to a metropolitan, and from a metropolitan to the royal audience; a regulation which was confirmed by a subsequent council held in the same city.[3] In the fifth and sixth centuries Arianism was predominant in Spain. During that period the bishops who adhered to the orthodox faith, being few in number, discountenanced by the royal authority, and rarely allowed to assemble in provincial councils, were naturally induced to turn their eyes to Rome for counsel and support; while the popes laid hold of the opportunity which the circumstances afforded them to extend their influence over that country, by holding correspondence with the dissenting clergy, and conferring on some of them the title of apostolical vicars.[4] But, strange as the assertion may appear to some, this intercourse ceased as soon as Spain embraced the Catholic faith.

Spain is always spoken of as a Catholic country from the time that she renounced Arianism under Reccared; and if we are to believe some of her writers, her monarchs obtained, at that early period, the title of Catholic Kings, which they retain to this day, as expressive of their devotion to the faith and authority of the Roman See. But this is a glaring mistake, originating in, or concealed by, the equivocal use of a word which was anciently understood in a sense very different from its modern acceptation. It was by adopting the common doctrine received by the Church at large, in opposition to the Arian and other errors condemned by the first ecumenical or universal councils, that Spain became Catholic, and that her kings, bishops, and people obtained this designation, and not by conforming to the rites of the Church of Rome, or owning the supremacy of its pontiffs. Ecclesiastical affairs were managed in Spain without any interference on the part of the See of Rome, or any reference to it, during the whole of the century which elapsed after the suppression of Arianism. This is so undeniable, that

[1] Concil. Sard. an. 347, can. 3—5. Mosheim, Cent. iv. part ii. chap. ii. sec. 6. Dupin De Antiq. Discip., diss. ii. chap. i. sec. 3.

[2] Concil. Millevit, ii. chap. 22.

[3] Concil. Tolet. ix. capit. i.; xiii. capit. 12: Harduini Collect. tom. iii. coll. 973, 1746.

[4] Concil. Bracarense, i. *passim*. Cenni, i. 194, 200, 214. It is to be observed that in most of these instances we have not the letters of the Spanish bishops, but only those of the popes.

those advocates of the pontifical authority who have examined the documents of that age, have been forced to admit the fact, and endeavour to account for it by saying, that such interference and reference was unnecessary during a peaceful state of the Church; a concession which goes far to invalidate the whole of their claims.[1] The pall sent from Rome to Leander, Bishop of Seville, forms no exception to the remark now made; for not to mention that it was never received, it was not intended to confer any prerogative upon him, but merely as a testimony to his sanctity, and a mark of personal esteem from Pope Gregory, who had contracted a friendship with him when they met at Constantinople. It was of the nature of a badge of honour conferred by a prince on a deserving individual belonging to another kingdom.[2]

There is one piece of history which throws great light on the state of the Spanish Church during the seventh century, and which I shall relate at some length, as it has been either passed over or very partially brought forward by later historians. The sixth ecumenical council, held at Constantinople in the year 680, condemned the heresy of the Monothelites, or those who, though they allowed that Christ had two natures, ascribed to him but one will and one operation. In 683, Leo II., Bishop of Rome, sent the acts of that council, which he had received from Constantinople, to Spain, requesting the bishops to give them their sanction, and to take measures for having them circulated through their churches. As a council had been held immediately before the arrival of the papal deputation, and a heavy fall of snow prevented the reassembling of the members at that season, it was thought proper to circulate the acts among the bishops, who authorised Julian, Archbishop of Toledo, to transmit a rescript to Rome, intimating in general their approbation of the late decision at Constantinople, and stating at considerable length the sentiments of the Spanish Church on the controverted point. A council, convened in Toledo during the following year, entered on the formal consideration of this affair, in which they proceeded in such a manner as to evince their determination to preserve at once the purity of the faith, and the independence of the Spanish Church. They examined the acts of the Council of Constantinople, at which it does not appear that they had any representative, and declared that they found them consonant with the decisions of the four preceding canonical councils, particularly that of Chalcedon, of which they appeared to be nearly a transcript. "Wherefore," say they, "we agree that the acts of the said council be reverenced and received by us, inasmuch as they do not differ from the foresaid councils, or rather as they appear to coincide with them. We allot to them, therefore, that place in point of order to which their merit entitles them. Let them come after the council of Chalcedon, by whose light they shine." The council next took into consideration the rescript which Archbishop Julian had sent to Rome, and pronounced it "a copious and lucid ex-

[1] Cenni, ii. 67, 69, 154, 155. [2] Ibid. p. 211—230.

position of the truth concerning the double will and operation of Christ;" adding, "wherefore, for the sake of general instruction, and the benefit of ecclesiastical discipline, we confirm and sanction it as entitled to equal honour and reverence, and to have the same permanent authority as the decretal epistles."[1]

The Council of Constantinople had condemned Pope Honorius I. as an abettor of the Monothelite heresy; a stigma which the advocates of papal infallibility have laboured for ages to wipe off. But the Spanish council, on the present occasion, proceeded farther, and advanced a proposition which strikes at the very foundation on which the bishops of Rome rest their claims, by declaring that the rock on which the Church is built is the faith confessed by St Peter, and not his person or office.[2]

But this was not all that the Spanish clergy did. When the rescript of the Archbishop of Seville reached Rome, it met with the disapprobation of Benedict II., who had succeeded Leo in the popedom. Having drawn up certain animadversions upon it, his holiness gave them to the Spanish deputy to communicate to his constituents, that they might correct those expressions savouring of error which they had been led incautiously to adopt. An answer in the mean time, not the most agreeable to the pope, was returned by Julian; and the subject was afterwards taken up by a national council, held at Toledo in 688. Instead of retracting their former sentiments, or correcting any of the expressions which the pope had blamed, the Spanish prelates drew up and sanctioned a laboured vindication of the paper which had given offence to his holiness, of whom they speak in terms very disrespectful, and even contemptuous. They accuse him of "a careless and cursory perusal" of their rescript, and of having passed over parts of it which were necessary to understand their meaning. He had found fault with them for asserting that there are three substances in Christ,[3] to which they reply: "As we will not be ashamed to defend the truth, so there are perhaps some other persons who will be ashamed at being found ignorant of the truth. For who knows not that in every man there are two substances, namely, soul and body?" After confirming their opinion by quotations from the Fathers, they add: "But if any one shall be so shameless as not to acquiesce in these sentiments, and acting the part of a haughty inquirer, shall ask whence we drew such things, at least he will yield to the words of the Gospel, in which Christ declares that he possessed three substances." Having quoted and commented on several passages of the New Testament, the council concludes

[1] Concil. Tolet. xiv. capit. 5, 6, 7, 11: Labbe, Collect. Concil. tom. vi. 1280—1284. Harduin, Acta Concil. tom. iii. p. 1754—1756.

[2] "Scientes igitur solam esse fidei confessionem quæ vincat infernum, quæ superat tartarum; de hac enim fide a Domino dictum est, *Portæ inferni non prævalebunt contra eam.*" Ib. capit. 10: Harduin, *ut supra*, p. 1756.

[3] The same sentiment is expressed in a confession of faith which a preceding council, held in 675, had drawn up for the use of the Spanish Churches. "Item, idem Christus in duabus naturis, tribus extat substantiis." Concil. Tolet. XI. in Harduini Collect. tom. iii. p. 1022. The three substances, according to the divines of Spain, were the divine nature of Christ, his human soul, and his body.

in these terms: "If after this statement, and the sentiments of the Fathers from which it has been taken, any person shall dissent from us in any thing, we will have no farther dispute with him, but keeping steadily in the plain path, and treading in the footsteps of our predecessors, we are persuaded that our answer will commend itself to the approbation of all lovers of truth who are capable of forming a divine judgment, though we may be charged with obstinacy by the ignorant and envious."[1]

III. The independence of the ancient Church of Spain will appear more fully if we attend to its form of worship. All the learned who have directed their attention to ecclesiastical antiquities are now agreed, that although the mode of worship was substantially the same throughout the Christian church during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, yet different liturgies, or forms of celebrating divine service, were practised in different nations, and sometimes in different parts of the same nation. The Ambrosian liturgy, used by the Church of Milan, differed from the Roman.[2] It was adopted in many parts of France, and continued in use there until the time of Charlemagne, when it was supplanted by the Roman or Gregorian.[3] So far was the Church of Rome from having at first regulated the religious service of other churches by her laws, or even by her example, that she did not even preserve her own forms, which were superseded in their most important parts by the sacramentary or missal which was drawn up by Pope Gelasius, corrected finally by Gregory at the close of the sixth century, and imposed gradually, and at distant periods, on the several divisions of the Western Church.[4] Different offices or forms of celebrating divine service were used in Spain down to the year 633, when the fourth Council of Toledo passed a decree that one uniform order should be observed in all the churches of the Peninsula.[5] This decree led to the adoption of that

[1] Conc. Tolet. XV. post symbolum: Labbe, VI. 1296—1303. Harduin, III. 1759—1767. Cenni, at a greater expense than that of contradicting himself, labours to do away, or rather to conceal, the indignity offered to the Roman See, and the disregard shown to its authority, by the procedure of the Spanish councils. He allows that the fourteenth Council of Toledo "arrogated to itself an unjust authority, and openly departed from obedience to the Holy See;" that "it adopted a new and unheard-of method of approving of the decisions of a general council;" and that, on these accounts, "none of its decrees were admitted to a place in the collection of sacred canons." But he asserts that the fifteenth Council of Toledo "manifestly amended their doctrine concerning the three substances;" that "Julian" (as if the decree had been his only, and not that of a national council) "sometimes makes use of words rather too free, though somewhat obscure, against Rome; but that, upon the whole, he changed or explained his former sentiment, agreeably to the admonition of the Roman Pontiff." Yet he grants, or rather pleads, that this "apology," as he calls it, was not approved at Rome; is angry with those writers who speak in its defence; and concludes by saying, that "this blemish on the well-constituted Church of Spain should be a perpetual monument to teach the churches of all nations to revere the one sure, infallible, and supreme judgment of the Holy See, in matters of faith and of manners." De Antiq. Eccl. Hispanæ, tom. ii. p. 55—59.

Durandus, Rat. Divin. Offic. lib. v. cap. ii.

[3] Joannes Diaconus, Vita Gregorii Magni, lib. ii. cap. 17. præf. Oper. Gregorii.

[4] Gregory (says the Roman deacon who wrote his life), "after taking away many things from the missal of Gelasius, altering a few things, and adding some things for explaining the evangelical lessons, formed the whole into one book." Joannes Diaconus, Vita Gregorii Magni, *ut supra*.

[5] Concil. Tolet. IV. capit. 2.

liturgy which has been called the Gothic, and sometimes the Isidorian, or the Ildefonsian, from St Isidore and Ildefonso, Archbishops of Seville, by whom it was revised and corrected. That this ritual was quite different from the Roman or Gregorian is put beyond all doubt by the references made to both in the course of the Adoptionarian controversy which raged in the eighth century. The patrons of the Adoptionarian tenet in Spain appealed to their national ritual, "compiled by holy men who had gone before them," and quoted passages from it as favourable to their views. To this argument the Fathers of the Council of Frankfort replied: "It is better to believe the testimony of God the Father concerning his own Son, than that of your Ildefonso, who composed for you such prayers, in the solemn masses, as the universal and holy church of God knows not, and in which we do not think you will be heard. And if your Ildefonso in his prayers called Christ the adopted Son of God, our Gregory, Pontiff of the Roman See, and a doctor beloved by the whole world, does not hesitate in his prayers to call him always the only begotten."[1] In like manner Alcuin, after insinuating that they might have taken improper liberties in their quotations, says: "But it matters not much whether these testimonies have been altered or correctly quoted by you; for we wish to be confirmed in the truth of our assertion and faith by Roman rather than Spanish authority."[2]

The Gothic or Isidorian office has also been called the Mozarabic or Mixtarabic, probably because it was used and held in great veneration by the Christians in Spain who lived under the dominion of the Arabians or Moors. The identity of these formularies has, indeed, been of late disputed by several learned men.[3] But it is most probable that they were originally the same office, and that alterations were made upon it, both by the Mozarabes and the Montanes (as those were called who betook themselves to the mountains to escape the yoke of the Moors), during the period that they lived asunder.

Other instances might be produced in which the worship of the ancient Church of Spain differed widely from the modern. We have already mentioned that a national council, in the beginning of the fourth century, prohibited the worship of images, and the use of pictures in churches.[4] It may be added, that the first council of Braga, held in the year 561, forbade the use of uninspired hymns, which came afterwards to be tolerated, and were ultimately enjoined under the highest penalties.[5]

[1] Collect. Concil. tom. vii. p. 1034: Cenni, ii. 346.

[2] Alcuin adv. Felicem Urgel. lib. viii. p. 395: Cenni, ii. 346. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, Cardinal Thomasi published a Gothic Missal, as that of the ancient Spanish Church, which was republished by Mabillon from other MSS. But this is supposed not to have been the Spanish Missal, but that of Gallia Narbonensis, or the South of France. Lebrun, De Liturg. tom. ii. diss.

[3] The *Libellus Orationarius*, which Joseph Blanchini prefixed to the first volume of the works of Cardinal Thomasi, has better claims to be considered as an ancient Spanish Liturgy.

[4] This is the opinion of Blanchini, in his preface and notes to the Libellus Orat. Gotico-Hispanus, prefixed to the works of Cardinal Thomasi; and of Cenni, De Antiq. Eccl. Hispaniæ, tom. i. p. 28—30; tom. ii. dissert. vii.

[5] See before, p. 5.

[6] "Placuit, ut extra psalmos, vel canonicarum scripturarum novi et veteris Testa-

Having produced these facts as to the early opinions and usages of the Spanish Church, we proceed to state the manner in which she was led to adopt the rites, and submit to the authority, of the Church of Rome.

In the eleventh century Spain was divided into three kingdoms—the kingdom of Leon and Castile, of Aragon, and of Navarre, of which the two first were by far the most powerful. In the latter part of that century, Alfonso the sixth of Leon, and first of Castile, after recovering Valentia by the valour of the famous Cid, Ruy Diaz de Bivar, finally obtained possession of Toledo, which had been in the power of the Moors for three centuries and a half. He had married, for his second wife, Constance, a daughter of the royal house of France, who, from attachment to the religious service to which she had been accustomed, or under the influence of the priests who accompanied her, instigated her husband to introduce the Roman liturgy into Castile. Richard, Abbot of Marseilles, the papal legate, exerted all his influence in favour of a change so agreeable to the court which he represented. The innovation was warmly opposed by the clergy, nobility, and people at large, but especially by the inhabitants of Toledo, and other places which had been under the dominion of the Moors. To determine this controversy, recourse was had, according to the custom of the dark ages, to judicial combat. Two knights, clad in complete armour, appeared before the court and an immense assembly. The champion of the Gothic liturgy prevailed; but the king insisted that the litigated point should undergo another trial, and be submitted to what was called *The Judgment of God*. Accordingly, in the presence of another great assembly, a copy of the two rival liturgies was thrown into the fire. The Gothic resisted the flames and was taken out unhurt, while the Roman was consumed. But upon some pretext—apparently the circumstance of the ashes of the Roman liturgy curling on the top of the flames and then leaping out—the king, with the concurrence of Bernard, Archbishop of Toledo, who was a Frenchman, gave out that it was the will of God that both offices should be used; and ordained that the public service should continue to be celebrated according to the Gothic office in the six churches of Toledo which the Christians had enjoyed under the Moors, but that the Roman office should be adopted in all the other churches of the kingdom. The people were greatly displeased with the glaring partiality of this decision, which is said to have given rise to the proverb, *The law goes as kings choose*.[1] Discountenanced by the court and the superior ecclesiastics, the Gothic liturgy gradually fell into disrepute, until it was completely superseded by the Roman.[2]

menti, nihil poetice compositum in Ecclesia psallatur, sicut et sancti præcipiunt canones." Concil. Bracarense I, can. 12: Harduini Collect. tom. iii. p. 351. But another council, held in 633, not only permitted the use of such hymns as those of St Hilary and St Ambrose, but threatened all who rejected them with excommunication. Concil. Tolet. iv. capit. 13.

[1] "Alla van leyes, donde quieren Reyes."

[2] Doctor Juan Vergara, apud Quintanilla, p. 115. De Robles, 233—235. Florez, Clave Historial, pp. 129, 130, 202. There is a dissertation on the Mozarabic office in *Espana*

The introduction of the Roman liturgy had been undertaken rather more early in Aragon than in Castile, but was completed in both kingdoms about the same time. The modern inhabitants of the Peninsula please themselves with the idea that they are hearing the self-same mass which has been performed in Spain from the days of the apostles; whereas, the exact day and place in which the modern service began can be pointed out. The first mass, according to the Roman form, was celebrated in Aragon in the monastery of St Juan de la Pena, on the 21st of March 1071; and in Castile, in the grand Mosque of Toledo, on the 25th of October 1086.[1] Gregory VII. commemorates this change, "as the deliverance of Spain from the illusion of the Toledan superstition."[2] His holiness was more clear-sighted than those moderns, who, looking upon all forms of worship as equal, treat with contempt or indifference the efforts made by a people to defend their religious rights against the encroachments of domestic, or the intrusions of foreign authority. The recognition of the papal authority in Spain followed upon the establishment of the Roman liturgy; nor would the latter have been sought with such eagerness had it not been with a view to the former. Having once obtained a footing in the Peninsula, the popes pushed their claims, until at last the whole nation, including the highest authorities in it, civil as well as ecclesiastical, acknowledged the supremacy of the Roman See.

It is sufficient to exemplify this statement in the subjugation of the crown and kingdom of Aragon. Don Ramiro I., who died in 1063, was the first Spanish king, according to the testimony of Gregory the Great, who recognised the pope and received the laws of Rome.[3] In 1204, Don Pedro II., eight years after he had ascended the throne, went to Rome, and was crowned by Pope Innocent III. On that occasion his holiness put the crown on his head in the monastery of Pancracio, after Pedro had given his corporal oath that he and all his successors would be faithful to the Church of Rome, preserve his kingdom in obedience to it, defend the Catholic faith, pursue heretical pravity, and maintain inviolate the liberties and immunities of the holy church. Then going to the Chapel of St Peter, the pope delivered the sword into the hands of the king, who, armed as a cavalier, dedicated all his dominions to St Peter, the prince of the apostles, and to Innocent and his successors, as a fief of the Church; engaging to pay an annual tribute, as a mark of hom-

Sagrada, tom. iii. Sismondi, who appears to have borrowed part of his information on this controversy from a play of Calderon, entitled "Origen, perdida, y restauracion de la Virgen del Sagrario," is inaccurate in his statement. He says that the king wished to introduce the *Ambrosian* ceremony, and thinks it fortunate that "the policy of the monarch, and not the jealousy of the priests," was the principal instrument in settling the dispute. Hist. of Literature of the South, vol. iii. pp. 196, 197. Townsend confounds what was done by Alfonso in the end of the eleventh century with what was done by Cardinal Ximenes in the beginning of the sixteenth; and praises the decision as indicating a spirit of enlightened toleration. "Cease to persecute," says he, "and all sects will in due time dwindle and decay." Travels through Spain, vol. i. pp. 311, 312.

[1] Illescas, Hist. Pontifical, tom. i. f. 269. Zurita, Annales de Aragon, tom. i. f. 25, b.

[2] Zurita, f. 22, b.

[3] "Fue el primero de los reyes de Espana, que hizo este reconoscimiento, y encarece mucho el Papa, que como otro Moysen, fue tambien el primero que en su regno recibio las leyes y costumbres Romanas." Zurita, tom. i. f. 22, a.

age and gratitude for his coronation. In return for all this his holiness granted, as a special favour, that the kings of Aragon, instead of being obliged to come to Rome, should afterwards be crowned in Saragossa, by the Archbishop of Tarragona, as papal vicar. This act of submission was highly offensive to the nobility, who protested for their own rights, and to the people at large, who complained that their liberties were sold, and power given to the popes to disturb the peace of the kingdom at their pleasure.[1] It was not long before these fears were realised. The king having a few years after offended the pope by taking arms in defence of heretics, was laid under the sentence of excommunication for violating the oath which he had sworn; and his grandson, Pedro the Great, was deprived of his kingdom as a vassal of the Church, which kindled a civil war, and led to the invasion of Aragon by the French.[2] Attempts to release themselves from this degrading vassalage were made by different monarchs, but these always issued in the renewal of their oaths of fealty to Rome; and they found it too late to throw off a yoke which had by this time been received by all the nations around them, and which they had taught their own subjects to revere and hold sacred.

The history of Spain during the period we are reviewing furnishes important notices respecting the Waldenses, Vaudois or Albigenses, whom we formerly met with in tracing the progress of the Reformation in Italy. It is well known that these early reformers had fixed their abode in the southern provinces of France, where they multiplied greatly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[3] Various causes contributed to this. The inhabitants of the south of France, though inferior in arms, were superior in civilisation to those of the north. They had addicted themselves to commerce and the arts. Their cities, which were numerous and flourishing, enjoyed privileges favourable to the spirit of liberty, and which raised them nearly to the rank of the Italian republics, with which they had long traded. They possessed a language rich and flexible, which they cultivated both in prose and verse; academies for promoting the *Gui Saber*, or polite letters, were erected among them; and the Troubadours, as the Provençal poets were called, were received with honour, and listened to with enthusiasm, at the courts of the numerous petty princes among whom the country was divided. A people advanced to this stage of improvement were not disposed to listen with implicit faith to the religious dogmas which the clergy inculcated, or to submit tamely to the superstitious and absurd observances which they sought to impose. Add to this, that in these provinces the manners of the clergy, both higher and lower, were disorderly and vicious to a proverb. "I would rather be a priest, than have done such a thing!"

[1] Zurita, tom. i. f. 90, 91. Mariana, de Rebus Hispaniæ, lib. xi. cap. xxi. edit. Schotti Hispania Illustrata, tom. ii. p. 546. The same oath and homage were given to the pope for Sardinia and Corsica, in 1316, by the ambassadors of James II. of Aragon; which was repeated, in 1337, by Alfonso IV. Zurita, lib. vi. f. 27, 125.

[2] Zurita, lib. iv. f. 253—262.

[3] Histoire Generale de Languedoc, par Le Pere Vaisette, tom. iii. p. 1—4. Usserius, De Christ. Eccles. Success. cap. x. sect. 18, p. 154.

was a common exclamation among the people on hearing of any unworthy action. With these feelings they were prepared to listen to the reformers, who exposed the errors and corruptions which had defaced the beauty of the primitive church, and whose conduct formed, in point of decency and sobriety, a striking contrast to that of the established clergy. For the last-mentioned fact we have the testimony of those monkish writers who strove to blacken their characters, by alleging that they practised all kinds of licentiousness in secret. "I will relate," says the Abbot of Puy Laurens, "what I have heard Bishop Fulco tell as to a conversation which he had with Pons Ademar de Rodelia, a prudent knight. 'I cannot bring myself to believe,' said the latter, 'that Rome has sufficient grounds to proceed against these men.' 'Are they not unable to answer our arguments?' demanded the bishop. 'I grant it,' said the other. 'Well, then,' rejoined the bishop; 'why do you not expel and drive them from your territories?' 'We cannot do it,' replied the knight; 'we have been brought up with them; we have our friends among them; and we see them living honestly.' After relating this anecdote on the authority of the Archbishop of Toulouse, the great adversary of the Albigenses, the historian adds: "Thus it is that falsehood, veiled under the appearance of a spotless life, draws uncautious men from the truth."[1]

The Albigensian barbs, or pastors, enjoying a respite from persecution during the early part of the twelfth century, applied themselves to the study of the Scriptures, and devoted their hours of relaxation to the cultivation of poetry. They were held in veneration by the people, who named them in their wills, and left for the support of the new worship those sums which had been formerly bequeathed to the priests or appropriated for the saying of masses for their own souls and those of their departed relations. They had chapels in the principal castles; their religious service was frequented by persons of all ranks; and they numbered among their converts many individuals of noble birth, and who held some of the principal situations in the country. Among their protectors were the powerful Counts of Toulouse, Raymond VI. and VII., the Counts of Foix and Comenges, the Viscounts of Beziers and Bearn, Savary de Mauleon, Seneschal of Aquitaine, Guiraud de Minerve, and Olivier de Termes, a cavalier who had distinguished himself greatly in the wars against the infidels in the Holy Land, in Africa, and in Majorca. Their opinions were avowedly entertained by the wives and sisters of these great lords, as well as by the heads of the noble houses of Mirepoix, Saissac, Lavour, Montreal, St Michael de Fanjaux, Durfort, Lille-Jourdain, and Montsegur.[2]

When we have stated these facts, we have said enough to account for the implacable hostility to this sect on the part of the ruling ecclesias-

[1] Guil. de Podio-Laur. Chronic. cap. viii.

[2] Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, tom. iii. pp. 129, 147, 420. Preuves, pp. 58, 392, 435—442. Sismondi, History of the Crusades against the Albigenses, pp. 5—8, 63, 73—77, 521, 178. Hist. of Literature of South of Europe, vol. i. pp. 217, 219. Mariana, De Reb. Hisp. lib. xii. cap. 10.

tics, and the bloody crusades preached up against it by the monks, and conducted, under the direction of the popes, by Simon de Montfort and Louis VIII. of France, during the early part of the thirteenth century. By means of these the attempted reformation of the church was suppressed, and its disciples nearly exterminated. One of the finest regions of the world was laid waste by countless and successive hordes of barbarous fanatics; its commerce destroyed; its arts annihilated; its literature extinguished: and the progress of the human mind in knowledge and civilisation, which had commenced so auspiciously, was arrested and thrown back for ages.[1]

The intimate connection which subsisted between Spain and the South of France had great influence on the fate of the Albigensian reformers. Provence and Languedoc were at that time more properly Aragonese than French. As Count of Provence, the King of Aragon was the immediate liege lord of the Viscounts of Narbonne, Beziers, and Carcassone. Avignon and other cities acknowledged him as their baronial superior. The principal lords, though they did homage to the King of France or to the Emperor, yielded obedience in reality to the Spanish monarch, lived under his protection, and served in his armies; and several of them, by gifts from the crown, or by marriages, possessed lands in Spain.

In consequence of this connection between the two countries, some of the Vaudois had crossed the Pyrenees, and established themselves in Spain as early as the middle of the twelfth century.[2] They appear to have enjoyed repose there for some time; but in the year 1194, Pope Celestin III. sent the Cardinal St Angelo as legate to attend a council at Lerida, who prevailed on Alfonso II., King of Aragon, to publish an edict, ordering the Vaudois, Poor Men of Lyons, and all other heretics, to quit his territories under severe pains.[3] This edict not having produced any effect, was renewed three years after by Pedro II., in consequence of a decree of a council held at Gironna. With the view of securing the execution of this measure, the subscriptions of all the grandees of Catalonia were procured to the decree; and all governors and judges were required to swear before the bishops that they would assist in discovering and punishing those infected with heresy, under the penalty of being themselves treated as heretics.[4] Notwithstanding this edict, and the engagements he had contracted at his coronation,

[1] The Provençal poets bewailed the desolation of their country, and inveighed in bitter strains against the crusaders. They were in general friendly to the Albigenses. But one of them, Izarn, a Dominican missionary, sought to inflame the persecution by his poetry, which exhibits the true language of the Inquisition put into rhyme. Sismondi, History of the Literature of the South, vol. i. p. 227. Addressing the heretic, whom he had failed to convince in a dispute, he says:

As ye declare ye won't believe, 'tis fit that ye should burn,
And as your brethren blazed of yore, that ye should blaze in turn;
And since ye have gainsaid the truth of God and of St Paul,
With heart and mouth rejecting both creed and confessional;
The fire is lit, the pitch is hot, and ready stands the stake,
Where, thro' these tortures, for your sins, your passage ye may take.

[2] Guil. Neobrig. lib. ii. cap. xiii.; apud Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, tom. iii. p. 2.

[3] Llorente, i. 30.

[4] Ibid. pp. 31, 32. Marca Hisp. apud Hist Gen. de Languedoc, iii. 130.

Pedro was disposed to be favourable to this sect. He was from the beginning displeased at the crusade which raged on the north of the Pyrenees; and having at last joined his army to that of his brother-in-law Raymond, Count of Toulouse, he fell, in the year 1213, fighting in defence of the Albigenses in the battle of Muret.[1]

This disaster, together with those that followed it, induced multitudes of the Albigenses to take refuge in Aragon, who gave ample employment to the Inquisition after it was established in that country. From the accession of Pope Gregory IX. to that of Alexander IV. (that is, from 1227 to 1254) they had grown to such numbers and credit as to have churches in various parts of Catalonia and Aragon, which were provided with bishops, who boldly preached their doctrine.[2] Gregory, in a brief which he addressed to the Archbishop of Tarragona and his suffragans in 1232, complains of the increase of heresy in their dioceses, and exhorts them to make strict inquisition after it by means of the Dominican monks; and his successor Alexander repeated the complaint.[3] In 1237 the flames of persecution were kindled in the viscounty of Cerdagne and Castlebon, within the diocese of Urgel; forty-five persons being condemned, of whom fifteen were burnt alive, and eighteen disinterred bodies cast into the fire.[4] In 1267 the inquisitors of Barcelona pronounced sentence against Raymond, Count of Forcalquier and Urgel, ordering his bones, as those of a relapsed heretic, to be taken out of the grave;[5] and two years after they passed the same sentence on Arnold, Viscount of Castlebon and Cerdagne, and his daughter Ermesinde, wife of Roger-Bernard II., Count of Foix, surnamed The Great.[6] Both father and daughter had been dead upwards of twenty years, yet their bones were ordered to be disinterred, "provided they could be found;" a preposterous and unnatural demonstration of zeal for the faith, which is applauded by the fanatical writers of that age, but was in fact dictated by hatred to the memory of the brave and generous Count de Foix. When summoned in his life-time to appear before the Inquisition at Toulouse, that nobleman not only treated their order with contempt, but in his turn summoned the inquisitors of the county of Foix to appear before him as his vassals and subjects. During his exile at the court of his father-in-law, he was excommunicated by the Bishop of Urgel as a favourer of heresy; and

[1] Zurita, Annales de Aragon, tom. i. p. 99—101. Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, iii. 248—254; Sismondi, Hist. of Crusades against Albigenses, p. 98—101. Perrin, ii. 76—92. Usserius, De Christ. Eccl. Successione et Statu, cap. x. sect. 37, 38, 39.

[2] Mat. Paris, ad. ann. 1214. Perrin, part i. p. 246.

[3] Llorente, i. 67. Leger, ii. 337.

[4] Hist. de Languedoc, iii. 412. Preuves, p. 383.

[5] Llorente, i. 72.

[6] Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, iii. 115, 382. In 1207, the Bishop of Ozma, and other preaching missionaries, held a dispute with the teachers of the Vaudois at Pamiers. On that occasion the Count de Foix entertained both parties alternately in his palace: his countess, Ermesinde, and two of his sisters, openly befriended the sectaries. One of the latter, Esclaramonde, married to Jourdain II., Sieur de Lille-Jourdain, having said something in their favour during the conference, was silenced by one of the missionaries, who rudely ordered her to her distaff. Ibid. p. 147. Preuves, p. 437.

although the sentence was removed, and he died in the communion of the church, yet the inquisitors never could forgive the disinterested and determined resistance which he had made to their barbarous proceedings. They put one of his servants to the torture, with the view of extorting from him some evidence upon which they might pronounce that his master had died a heretic; and, having failed in that attempt, they now sought to wreak their vengeance on the memory and the ashes of the countess and her father.[1]

It has been said that the Poor Men of Lyons, or Waldenses, when they made their first appearance, were looked upon at Rome as an order of monks who wished to revive the decaying fervour of piety among the people, and to lead a life of superior sanctity among themselves; and that it was seriously proposed at one time to give the pontifical sanction to their internal regulations.[2] Whatever truth there may be in this statement, it is a curious fact that in Spain some individuals of this sect did obtain a temporary respite from persecution by forming themselves into a new religious fraternity. In consequence of a dispute held at Pamiers in Languedoc, Durando de Huesca, a native of Aragon, with a number of his Albigensian brethren, yielded to the Romish missionaries, and having obtained liberty to retire into Catalonia, formed a religious community under the name of the Society of Poor Catholics. In 1207 Durando went to Rome, where he obtained from Innocent III. the remission of his former heresy, and an approbation of his fraternity, of which he was declared superior. Its members lived on alms, applied themselves to study and the teaching of schools, kept lent twice a-year, and wore a decent habit of white or grey, with shoes open at the top, but distinguished by some particular mark from those of the Poor Men of Lyons, who, from this part of their dress, were sometimes called Insabatati. The new order spread so rapidly that in a few years it had numerous convents both to the south and north of the Pyrenees. But although the Poor Catholics professed to devote themselves to the conversion of heretics, and their superior wrote some books with that view, they soon incurred the suspicion of the bishops, who accused them of favouring the Vaudois, and concealing their heretical tenets under the monastic garb. They had interest to maintain themselves for some time, and even to procure letters from his holiness exhorting the bishops to endeavour to gain them by kindness instead of alienating their minds from the Church by severe treatment; but their enemies at last prevailed, and within a short time no trace of their establishments was to be found.[3]

The Albigenses were not confined to Aragon and Catalonia. Of the extent to which they spread in the kingdom of Castile and Leon, we

[1] Hist. de Languedoc, iii. 412, 419, 427. Preuves, pp. 383—385, 392, 437, 552. Llorente, i. 73, 74.

[2] Muratori, Antiq. Ital. Dissert. 60, tom. v. p. 83. Abbatis Urspergensis Chronic. ad ann. 1212; et auct. citat. Usserio, De Christ. Eccl. Success. et Statu, cap. x. sect. 1, p. 146.

[3] Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Vetus, tom. ii. pp. 45, 46. Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, tom. iii. pp. 147, 148.

may form some judgment from an amusing anecdote, related from personal knowledge by Lucio, Bishop of Tuy, known as a writer against the Albigenses by the name of Lucas Tudensis, and which I shall give as nearly in his own words as is consistent with perspicuity. After the death of Roderic, Bishop of Leon (in the year 1237[1]), great dissension arose about the election of his successor. Taking advantage of this circumstance, the heretics flocked from all quarters to that city. In one of the suburbs, where every kind of filth was thrown, lay, along with those of a murderer, the bones of a heretic named Arnald, who had been buried sixteen years before. Near to this was a fountain, over which they erected an edifice, and having taken up the bones of Arnald, whom they extolled as a martyr, deposited them in it. To this place a number of persons, hired by the heretics, came; and feigning themselves to be blind, lame, and afflicted with other disorders, they drank of the waters of the fountain, and then went away, saying that they were suddenly and miraculously healed. This being noised abroad, great multitudes flocked to the spot. After they had got a number of the clergy, as well as laity, to give credit to the pretended cures, the heretics disclosed the imposition which they had practised, and then boasted that all the miracles performed at the tombs of the saints were of the same kind. By this means they drew many to their heresy. In vain did the Dominican and Franciscan friars attempt to stem the torrent of defection, by exclaiming against the sin of offering sacrilegious prayers in a place defiled by profane bones. They were cried down as heretics and unbelievers. In vain did the adjacent bishops excommunicate those who visited the fountain or worshipped in the temple. The devil had seized the minds of the people and fascinated their senses. At last a deacon, who resided at Rome, hearing of the state of matters in his native city, hastened to Leon, and "in a kind of frenzy," at the risk of his life, upbraided the inhabitants for favouring heretics, and called on the magistrates to abate the nuisance. For some months before his arrival the country had been afflicted with a severe drought. This he declared to be a judgment from heaven on account of their sin, but promised that it should be removed within eight days from the time that they pulled down the heretical temple. The magistrates granted him permission, and he razed the building to its foundation. Scarcely was this done, when a fire devoured a great part of the city, and for seven days no symptom of rain appeared; upon which the heretics insulted over the deacon. But on the eighth day the clouds collected, and poured down copious and refreshing showers on all the surrounding country. "After this, the foresaid deacon raised persecution against the heretics, who, being forced to leave the city, were miserably scattered abroad."[2] We are assured, and not without great probability, that the deacon was no other than Lucas Tudensis, whose

[1] Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Vet. tom. ii. p. 59.
[2] Mariana, de Rebus Hisp. lib. xxi. cap. i. in Schotti Hisp. Illustr. tom. ii. p. 556.

modesty induced him to suppress his name in relating the prediction and the persecution, in both of which he appears to have equally gloried.[1]

In spite of the occupation given to the clergy by the suppression of the Knights Templars, and the schism of the anti-popes, the persecution of the Albigenses seldom relaxed during the fourteenth century. Scarce a year passed in which numbers were not barbarously led to the stake.[2] Among those who were condemned for heresy at this period, was Arnaldo of Villanueva in Aragon, a celebrated physician and chemist.[3] He taught that the whole Christian people had, through the craft of the devil, been drawn aside from the truth, and retained nothing but the semblance of ecclesiastical worship, which they kept up from the force of custom; that those who lived in cloisters threw themselves out of charity, and that the religious orders in general falsified the doctrine of Christ; that it is not a work of charity to endow chapels for celebrating masses for the dead; that those who devoted their money to this purpose, instead of providing for the poor, and especially the poor belonging to Christ, exposed themselves to damnation; that offices of mercy and medicine are more acceptable to the Deity than the sacrifice of the altar; and that God is praised in the eucharist, not by the hands of the priest, but by the mouth of the communicant.[4] Such being his avowed sentiments, we need not wonder that he was doomed to expiate his temerity by suffering the fire, from which he saved himself by flying from his native country, and taking refuge with Ferdinand, King of Sicily.[5] To Arnald we may add a writer of the following century, Raymond de Sebonde, author of a treatise on natural theology, who was charged with heresy for asserting that all saving truths are contained, and clearly proposed, in the sacred Scriptures.[6]

From 1412 to 1425, a great number of persons who entertained the sentiments of the Vaudois were committed to the flames by the inquisitors of Valencia, Rousillon, and Majorca. It appears that the followers of Wickliffe had migrated to the Peninsula; for in 1441, the inquisitors of Aragon and Valencia reconciled some of them to the church, and condemned others to the fire as obstinate heretics.[7] If we may trust the monkish annalists, Spain was also visited at this period by the Beghards, a fanatical sect which the corruptions of the Church and the ignorance of the times had generated in Germany and other parts

[1] Florez, Espana Sagrada, xxii. 108.

[2] Llorente, i. 80—85.

[3] Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Vetus. tom. ii. p. 112—119. Niceron, Mem. des Hommes Illustres, tom. xxxiv. p. 82. Arnaldo is celebrated among those who searched for the *Philosopher's stone* in the following lines of the *Libro del Tesoro*, an ancient poem ascribed to Alfonso X. of Castile, surnamed The Wise:

> Pero los modernos que le sucedieron,
> Entre ellos Ranaldo da todos nombrado
> Camino non dessa, y tan alombrado
> Que escuras se ven los que no lo vieron
>
> Sanchez, Coleccion de Poesias Castellanas, i. 166.

[4] Bulæi Hist. Univ. Paris, tom. iv. p. 121. MSS. by Arnald in Cottonian Library: Rodriguez de Castro, Bibl. Espan. tom. ii. 473, 474.

[5] Antonius, Bibl. Hisp. Vet. ii. 114.

[6] The Theologia Naturalis of Sebonde has met with the approbation of Montaigne and Grotius, and, which is not less praise, the censure of the Index Expurgatorius. Pellicer, Ensayo, p. 15—18. Cave, Hist. Liter. Append. p. 104.

[7] Dr Michael Geddes's Miscellaneous Tracts, vol. i. p. 559. Llorente, i. 92, 93.

of Europe. But this is uncertain, as it was common for the clergy to apply this and similar names to the Vaudois, with the view of exciting odium against them, and justifying their own cruelties. In 1350, we are told, a warm inquisition was commenced in Valencia against the Beghards, whose leader was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and the bones of many of his disciples dug up and consigned to the flames; and in 1442 it was found they had multiplied at Durango, a town of Biscay, and in the diocese of Calahorra. Alfonso de Mella, a Franciscan, and brother of the Bishop of Zamora, who was afterwards invested with the purple, having incurred the suspicion of being at the head of this party, fled, along with his companions, to the Moors, among whom "he died miserably at Granada, being pierced with reeds; an example," says the biographer of his brother, "worthy to be recorded, of the variety of human affairs, and the opposite dispositions of persons who lay in the same womb."[1] On application to John II., King of Castile, a band of royal musqueteers was sent to scour the mountains of Biscay, and the higher districts of Old Castile, who drove down the heretics like cattle before them, and delivered them to the inquisitors, by whom they were committed to the flames at St Domingo de la Calzado and Valladolid.[2] Thus were the Albigenses, after a barbarous and unrelenting persecution of two centuries, exterminated in Spain, with the exception of a few, who contrived to conceal themselves in the more remote and inaccessible parts of the country, and at a subsequent period furnished occasionally a straggling victim to the familiars of the Inquisition when surfeited with the blood of Jews and Moriscoes.

During these proceedings Rome succeeded in establishing its empire a second time in Spain, and that in a more durable form than in the days of the Scipios and Augustus. This conquest was achieved chiefly by means of the monks and friars. Anciently the number of convents and of monks in Spain was small; but it multiplied greatly from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. The beginning of that period was marked by the infliction of that scourge of society, and outrage of all decency—privileged and meritorious mendicity. Of all the orders of mendicant friars, the most devoted to the see of Rome were those founded by St Dominic and St Francis, the former the most odious, the latter the most frantic, of modern saints. Within a few years after their institution, convents belonging to both these orders were to be found in every part of Spain. Though the Dominicans, owing to the patronage of the court of Rome, or to their founder being a Spaniard, enjoyed the greatest share of political power, yet the reception given to the Franciscans left them no ground to complain of Spanish inhospitality. An event which happened at the close of the fifteenth century contributed to the still more rapid increase of religious houses. A great part of the wealth

[1] Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Vet. tom. ii. p. 286. Mariana, lib. xxi. cap. 17.

[2] Mariana, lib. xxi. cap. 17. Geddes, Miscellaneous Tracts, vol. i. p. 559.

which flowed into Spain after the discovery of the New World, found its way to the church. Imitating the pagan warriors who dedicated to their gods the spoils taken in battle, the Spaniards, who enriched themselves by pillaging and murdering the Indians, sought to testify their gratitude, or to expiate their crimes, by lavishing ornaments on churches, and endowing monasteries. The following examples show the rate at which the regular clergy increased. The first Franciscan missionaries entered Spain in the year 1216, and in 1400 they had within the three provinces of Santiago, Castile, and Aragon, including Portugal, twenty-three *custodiæ*, composed of an hundred and twenty-one convents.[1] But in the year 1506, the Regular Observantines, who formed only the third division of that order, had a hundred and ninety convents in Spain, excluding Portugal.[2] In the year 1030, the city of Salamanca did not contain a single convent; in 1480 it possessed nine, of which six were for males and three for females; and in 1518 it could number thirty-nine convents, while its nuns alone amounted to eleven thousand.[3]

The corruption of the monastic institutions kept pace with the increase of their numbers and wealth. The licentiousness of the regular clergy became notorious. They broke through the rules prescribed by their founders, and laid aside that austere mode of living by which they had at first acquired all their reputation.[4] Even those who had vowed the most rigid poverty, such as the Observantines, or third order of St Francis, procured dispensations from Rome, in virtue of which they possessed rents, and property in houses and lands. By the original regulations of St Francis, all belonging to his order bound themselves to live purely on alms, and were strictly prohibited from receiving any money, on whatever pretext, even as wages for labour performed by them, "unless for the manifest necessity of infirm brethren."[5] The monastic historians are greatly puzzled to account for the glaring departure from this rule of poverty; probably forgetting, or not wishing to have recourse to the well-known maxim, that nature abhors a vacuum. Sometimes they wish to account for it by saying that a destructive pestilence, about the beginning of the fourteenth century, thinned the monasteries, which were afterwards filled with novices of a more earthly mould.[6] But they are forced to trace the evil to a more remote source, and to impute it to brother Elias,[7] a native of Cortona, and Vicar-general of the order of Franciscans under its founder. As early as 1223 he began to hint to his brethren that the rule prescribed to them was a

[1] Wadding, Annales Minorum Ordinum, cura Jos. Maria Fonseca, tom. i. p. 247—249: conf. tom. ix. p. 206—210.

[2] Ibid. tom. xv. p. 342—350.

[3] Townsend's Journey through Spain, vol. ii. p. 84.

[4] Petri Martyris Anglerii Epistolæ, ep. 163. Alvar. Gomecius, De rebus gestis Francisci Ximenii, f. 7. Compluti, 1569. Wadding, Minor. Ord. tom. xv. p. 108.

[5] Reg. cap. viii. ix.; apud Wadding, *ut supra*, i. 71.

[6] Fernando del Castillo, Hist. Gen. de Santo Domingo, y de su Orden, Parte ii. lib. ii. cap. 2, 3. Quintanilla, Vida del Cardenal Ximenes, p. 22.

[7] Quintanilla, *ut supra*.

yoke which neither they nor their successors could bear; but was silenced by the authority of St Francis. After the death of the saint, he was more successful in gaining proselytes to his opinion, and drew upon himself the sentence of excommunication, from which, however, he was ultimately relieved.[1]

The kings of Spain attempted at different times to correct these abuses, but the monks and friars had always the influence or the address to defeat the measure. When the glaring nature of the evil induced Ferdinand and Isabella to renew the attempt at the close of the fifteenth century, they were obliged to employ force; nor would their united authority have been sufficient to carry the point, had they not availed themselves of the sagacity and firmness of the celebrated Cardinal Ximenes, himself a friar, and inflamed with the passion of restoring the order of St Francis, of which he was then Provincial, to all the poverty and rigour of its original institution. Lorenzo Vacca, abbot of the monastery of the Holy Spirit at Segovia, relying on the papal bulls which he had procured, made such resistance to the plans of his provincial, that the government found it necessary to commit him to prison, from which he escaped, and repairing to Rome, exerted himself, through the influence of Ascanio Sforza and other cardinals, in counteracting the reform of the religious orders in Spain.[2] The Franciscan friars of Toledo carried their resistance so far that an order was issued to banish them from the kingdom; upon which they left the city in solemn procession, carrying a crucifix before them, and chanting the psalm which begins, *When Israel went up out of Egypt*, &c.[3] The biographers of Ximenes represent him as having reformed all the religious institutions in Spain; but it is evident that his success was partial, and chiefly confined to his own order. So far as they proceeded on the rigid principles of monachism, the regulations which he introduced were unnatural and pernicious, and such of them as were favourable to morals were soon swept away by the increasing tide of corruption.

It has been said that Ximenes abolished a number of superstitious practices which had crept into the worship of the Spanish Church during the dark ages; and in proof of this we are told that he revived the Mozarabic office, and appointed it to be used in all the churches of his diocese.[4] But the writers who make this assertion have fallen into a mistake, both as to what was done by the cardinal, and as to the object he had in view. Perceiving that the Mozarabic service had fallen into desuetude in the six churches of Toledo, in which its use had been enjoined by an old law,[5] he was desirous to preserve this venerable relic of antiquity. With this view he employed Alfonso Ortiz, one of the canons of his cathedral, to collate all the copies of that liturgy which could be found, and the Gothic letters in which they

[1] Wadding, Annales. Minor. Ord. tom. i. pp. 62, 216: conf. tom. iii. p. 102.
[2] Martyr, et Gomecius, *ut supra*.
[3] De Robles, Vida del Cardenal Ximenes, 68.
[4] Gerdesii Hist. Reform. tom. i. p. 15.
[5] See before, p. 12.

were written, being changed into Roman, he caused the work to be printed.[1] Some years after,[2] he erected a chapel in the cathedral church, with an endowment for thirteen priests, whose duty it was to celebrate the service according to that liturgy.[3] There is reason to think that he ordered it to be also used on certain festivals in the churches commonly called Mozarabic; but it is certain that the order did not extend to the other churches of his diocese. So far was it from his intention to make any innovation on the existing forms of worship, or to supplant the Roman by the ancient Spanish liturgy, that he interpolated his edition of the latter, in order to render it more conformable to the former; thus destroying its character and use as an ancient document. Among these interpolations are "a prayer for the adoration of the cross," and offices for a number of saints who lived before as well as after the compilation of the liturgy; for the ancient Goths and Mozarabes commemorated none but martyrs in their public service. Ferdinand de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, endowed, about the same time, a chapel in Salamanca, in which the service continued to be celebrated according to this ritual at the close of the seventeenth century.[4]

It might be presumed, from the statements already made, and from what we know of other countries, that the Spanish clergy had sunk very low in point of knowledge, and that the absurdities which one of their countrymen afterwards exposed so wittily in *Fray Gerundio*, were not less common or less ridiculous before the revival of letters. But on this head we are not left to conjecture. In an address to Queen Isabella, Cardinal Ximenes acknowledges the gross ignorance that prevailed among the priests.[5] This led to the adoption of the most absurd opinions, and the practice of the most extravagant superstitions. Legends and lives of saints formed the favourite reading of the devout, while the vulgar fed on the stories of everyday miracles which the priests and friars ministered fresh to their credulity. The doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin met with believers in other countries; but Spain could boast of an order of nuns consecrated to the honour of that newly invented mystery.[6] The doctrine of transubstantiation, which many even at that period could not digest without difficulty, was no trial of faith to a Spaniard. "Do you believe that this wafer is the body of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost?" was the question which the parish priests of Valencia, in the fourteenth century,

[1] The Mozarabic Missal was printed at Toledo in the year 1500. Mendez, Typogr. Esp. p. 307. The Breviary was printed at the same place in the year 1502. Quintanilla, p. 116. Archivo Complutense, No. 13.

[2] In 1512.

[3] Marsollier, Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal Ximenes, tom. ii. p. 42—44. De Robles, del Cardenal Ximenes, y Officio Gotico Muzarabe, p. 302. In the Mozarabic Missal, as published in 1500, the words of consecration in the eucharist are taken exactly from the evangelists. But it was deemed dangerous to practise this mode; and accordingly the priests were provided with a piece of paper on the margin, containing the Roman form of consecration, which they made use of. Ib. pp. 287, 288. By degrees the Mozarabic form fell into neglect in the chapel appropriated to it; and in 1786, when Townsend visited Toledo, there was none present at the service but himself and the officiating priest. Travels, i. 311, 312.

[4] Illescas, Hist. Pontifical, tom. i. f. 269.

[5] Quintanilla, p. 21.

[6] Ibid. p. 29—32.

were accustomed to put to dying persons ; and on obtaining an affirmative answer, they administered the host. Another attempt to extend the mysterious process a little farther met with greater opposition. Eimeric, the author of the celebrated *Guide to Inquisitors*, wrote against Bonet and Mairon, who maintained that St John the Evangelist became the real son of the Virgin, in consequence of his body being transubstantiated into that of Christ, by the words pronounced on the cross, *Ecce filius tuus*—"Behold thy son."[1]

[1] Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Vet. tom. ii. pp. 187, 188.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE STATE OF LITERATURE IN SPAIN BEFORE THE ERA OF THE REFORMATION.

HAVING taken a general survey of the state of religion in Spain before the Reformation, let us look back for a little and trace the restoration of letters, which opened the prospect of a better order of things in that country. The learning of Isidore, Archbishop of Seville, who flourished in the seventh century, and, next to St James, is venerated by the Spaniards as a tutelary saint, rests on a better foundation than the encomium of Gregory the Great, who called him a second Daniel. Besides various theological and historical treatises,[1] he composed a work on etymology, which, though disfigured by errors, discovers a considerable portion of philological knowledge, and contributed to check the barbarism which had already invaded every country in Europe. But ages of darkness succeeded, during which, while the name of St Isidore was held in veneration, his works were disregarded by an ignorant priesthood into whose hands the key of knowledge had fallen.

It is not to the credit of Christianity, or at least of those who professed it, that during the middle ages letters were preserved from extinction, and even revived from the decline which had seized them, by the exertions of the followers of Mahomet. The tenth century, which has been denominated the leaden age of Europe, was the golden age of Asia. Modern writers have perhaps gone to an extreme on both sides in forming their estimate of the degree in which European literature is indebted to the Arabians. But when we find that this people have left such evident marks of their language upon that of Spain, it seems unreasonable to doubt that they had also great influence upon its literature. Cordova, Granada, and Seville rivalled one another in the magnificence of their schools and libraries during the empire of the Saracens, who granted to the Spanish Christians whom they had subjugated that protection in their religious rights which the latter were far from imitating when they in their turn became the conquerors.[2] The two languages were spoken in common.[3] The Christians began to vie

[1] Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Vet. tom. i. p. 330—336. Rodriguez de Castro, Bibl. Espan. tom. ii. p. 293—344.

[2] Marc. Hisp. lib. iii. cap. 2.

[3] Alvaro de Cordova, who lived about the year 860, complains that his countrymen "despised the full streams of the Church which flowed from Paradise, and, adopting the Arabic, had lost their native tongue, and many of them their faith along with it." Aldrede, Origenes de la Lengua Castellana, lib. i. cap. 22.

with their masters in the pursuit of science, composed commentaries on the Scriptures in Arabic, and transfused the beauties of eastern poetry into the Castilian language.[1] It is even said that a bishop of Seville, at this early period, translated the Scriptures into the Arabic tongue.[2]

If the Spanish language was in danger of suffering from the predominance of the Arabians, the evil was counteracted by the cultivation of Provençal poetry. In the twelfth century Alfonso II. of Aragon, whose name has an honourable place among the Troubadours, zealously patronised those who wrote in the Catalonian or Valencian dialect.[3] In the subsequent century Alfonso X. of Castile, surnamed The Wise, showed himself equally zealous in encouraging the study of the Castilian tongue, in which he wrote several poems, at the same time that he extracted the knowledge which was to be found in the books of the Arabians, as appears, among other proofs, from the astronomical tables called from him Alphonsine.[4] The writings of Dante, Checo Dascoli, and Petrarch, gave a new impulse to the literature of Spain. From this period the study of the ancient classics imparted greater purity and elevation to works of imagination; and a taste for poetical compositions in their native tongue began to be felt by the Spanish gentry, who had hitherto found their sole pastime in arms and military tournaments.[5] Among those who distinguished themselves by improving the taste of their countrymen in the first part of the fifteenth century, were two persons of illustrious birth, in whose families the love of learning was long hereditary. Henry of Aragon, Marquis of Villena, descended from the royal houses of Aragon and Castile, revived the *Consistorio de la Gaya Sciencia*, an academy instituted at Barcelona for the encouragement of poetry, of which he was the president. His superior knowledge, combined, perhaps, with a portion of that learned credulity of which those who addicted themselves to astronomy and experimental science during the middle ages were often the dupes, brought on him the suspicion of necromancy. In consequence of this, his books were seized after his death, by the orders of Juan II., King of Castile, and sent for examination to Lope de Barrientos, a Dominican monk of considerable learning, and preceptor to the Prince of Asturias. "Barrientos," says a contemporary writer, "liking better to walk with the prince than to revise necromancies, committed to the flames upwards of a hundred volumes, without having examined them any more than the

[1] Aldrede, *ut supra*. Casiri, Bibl. Arabico-Hisp. Escurial. tom. i. p. 38. Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Vet. tom. i. p. 483. A more recent Spanish writer, with a national partiality rather glaring, says that his countrymen carried away all that is good in Arabian literature, while the other nations in Europe took what is bad in it—its dialectic subtleties and sophistry. "En resolucion, de lo bueno y malo que contenia la literatura Arabe, los Christianos de Espana tomáron lo bueno y útil, y conservároa el decoro de las disciplinas que aquella no conocia. . . . Los extrangeros, tomando lo malo del saber Arabe, pervertiéndolo mas y mas," &c. Juan Pablo Forner, Oracion Apologetica por la Espana, y su mérito Literario, p. 62. Madrid, 1786.

[2] Marc. Hisp. lib. iii. cap. 2.

[3] Sanchez, Coleccion, tom. i. p. 74.

[4] Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Vet. tom. ii. p. 78—87. An account of his poem *Del Tesoro*, with specimens, may be seen in Sanchez, Coleccion, tom. i. p. 148—160. Extracts from his other poems are given by Rodriguez de Castro, Bibl. Espanola, tom. ii. p. 625—642.

[5] Zurita, Annales, ad ann. 1398.

King of Morocco, or understood a jot of their contents more than the Dean of Ciudad Rodrigo. There are many in the present day," continues he, "who become learned men, by pronouncing others fools and magicians; and what is worse, make themselves saints by stigmatising other as sorcerers." This indignity done to the memory of "the ornament of Spain and of the age," was bewailed both in verse and prose by writers of that time.[1]

Equally learned as Villena, but more fortunate in preserving his good name and his books, was Inigo Lopez de Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana, who, in a treatise intended as a preface to his own poetical works, has acted the part of historian to his countrymen who preceded him in paying court to the muse.[2] The merits of both marquises have been celebrated by the pen of Juan de Mena, unquestionably the first Spanish poet of that age.

It is not unworthy of remark here that the Jews, while they enjoyed protection in Spain, co-operated with the Christians in the cultivation of polite letters. Rabbi Don Santo, who flourished about the year 1360, makes the following modest and not inelegant apology for taking his place among the poets of the land which had given him birth :—

Por nascer en espino
La rosa, ya non siento
Que pierde, ni el buen vino
Por salir del sarmiento.

Nin vale el azor menos,
Porque en vil nido siga;
Nin los enxemplos buenos,
Porque Judio los diga.[3]

Long after their expulsion from Spain, the Jews cherished an ardent attachment to the Castilian tongue, in which they continued to compose works both in prose and verse.[4]

On looking into the writings of the ancient Spanish poets, we are induced to conclude that they were not in the habit of using those liberties with the church and clergy which were indulged in by the poets of Italy and the Troubadours of Provence. There is reason, however, to think that the absence of these satires is to be accounted for, in no small degree, by the prudence of the editors of their works, and the

[1] Sanchez, Coleccion, tom. i. p. 5—10. Ferdinandi Gomesii Epistolæ, apud Antonii Bibl. *ut supra*, p. 220—222.

[2] Sanchez has, in the first volume of his collection of ancient Castilian poets, given a life of this nobleman, along with his "Proemio al Condestable de Portugal," illustrated with learned notes.

[3] "The rose is not at once set down as lost because it springs from a thorn, nor good wine because it flows from a poor twig. The hawk is not held of less value because it comes from a vile nest; nor ought good lessons, because they are spoken by a Jew."
Rodriguez de Castro supposed Don Santo to have been a converted Jew. Bibl. Espanola, tom. i. p. 198. But his mistake has been corrected, and its source pointed out by Sanchez. Coleccion de Poesias Castellanas, tom. iv. p. xii.: conf. tom. i. p. 179—184. Juan Alfonso Baena, a converted Jew, who flourished in the beginning of the fifteenth century, made a very curious collection of the poems of the *Trobadores Espanoles*, including his own, from which Rodriguez de Castro has given copious extracts. Bibl. Esp. tom. i. p. 265—345.

[4] Wolfius has given many examples of this in his *Bibliotheca Hebræa*. See also Rodr. de Castro, *Escritores Rabinos Espanoles del Siglo xvii.* passim.

vigilance of the censors of the press, after the invention of printing. Accordingly, of later years, since the severity of the Inquisition relaxed, and a passion to do justice to their literary antiquities has been felt by the Spaniards, poems have been brought to the light, though still with much caution,[1] which two centuries ago would have earned for their learned editors a perpetual prison. The poems of Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita, who flourished in the middle of the fourteenth century, contain severe satires on the avarice and loose manners of the clergy. He represents money as opening the gates of Paradise, purchasing salvation to the people, and benefices to priests; as equally powerful at the court of Rome and elsewhere, with the pope and with all orders of the clergy, secular and regular; as converting a lie into the truth, and the truth into a lie.[2] In another poem he is as severe against the manners of the clergy, whom he describes as living avowedly in concubinage. He represents Don Gil de Albornoz, Archbishop of Talavera, as having procured a mandate from the pope ordering all his clergy to put away the wives or concubines whom they kept in their houses, under the pain of excommunication. When this mandate was read to them in a public assembly, it excited a warm opposition; violent speeches were made against it by the dean and others; some of them declared that they would sooner part with their dignities; and it was finally agreed that they should appeal from the pope to the King of Castile.[3]

About the middle of the fifteenth century, literature was advanced under the patronage of Alfonso V. of Aragon. The education of this monarch had been neglected, and the early part of his life was spent in arms; but at fifty years of age he applied himself to study with such eagerness that he was soon able to read with ease the Roman classics, which became his constant companions. He disputed with the house of Medici the honour of entertaining men of letters, and rescuing the writings of antiquity from oblivion. When he had taken a town, his soldiers could not do the prince a greater pleasure than to bring him a book which they had discovered among the spoils; and Cosmo de Medici, by the present of an ancient manuscript, procured from him a treaty highly favourable to Florence. Anthony of Palermo, usually

[1] See the apologetical notes of Sanchez to his collection of early Castilian poems, particularly tom. iv. pp. 76, 119, 199.

[2] The following is the description, which Sanchez calls "a false and extravagant satire":—

Si tovieres dineros, habras consolacion,
Plaser, è alegria, del Papa racion,
Comprarás paraiso, ganarás salvacion,
Dó son muchos dineros, es mucha bendicion.
Yo vi en corte de Roma, dó es la santidat,
Que todos al dinero fasen grand homilidat,
Grand honra le fascian con grand solenidat,
Todos à el se homillan como à la magestat.
Fasie muchos Priores, Obispos, et Abades,
Arzobispos, Doctores, Patriarcas, Potestades,
A muchos Clerigos nescios dábales dinidades,
Fasie de verdat mentiras, et de mentiras verdades.
Fasia muchos Clerigos è muchos ordenados,
Muchos monges, è monjas, religiosos sagrados,
El dinero los daba por bien exâminados,
A los pobres desian, que non eran letrados.
Coleccion, tom. iv. pp. 76, 77.

[3] Cartas eran venidas, que disen en esta manera:
Que Clerigo nin casado de toda Talavera,
Que non toviese manceba casada nin soltera,
Qualquier que la toviese, descomulgado era.
. . . . .
Pero non alonguemos atanto las rasones,
Apellaron los Clerigos, otro si los Clerisones,
Fesieron luego de mano buenas apelaciones,
Et dende en adelante ciertas procuraciones.
Coleccion, tom. iv. p. 280, 283.

styled Panormitanus, who wrote the history of his life, resided at his court in great honour; and Laurentius Valla, one of the most profound and elegant scholars of that age,[1] when persecuted for the freedom of his opinions, was protected by Alfonso at Naples, where he opened a school for Greek and Roman eloquence.[2]

Alfonso de Palencia, having visited Italy, became acquainted with Cardinal Bessarion, and attended the lectures which the learned Greek Trapezuntius delivered on eloquence and his native tongue. On his return to Spain, he was made historiographer to Henry IV. of Castile, and afterwards to Queen Isabella; and by his translations from Greek into the Castilian language, as well as by a work on grammar, excited a taste for letters among his countrymen.[3] He was followed by Antonio de Lebrixa, usually styled Nebrissensis, who became to Spain what Valla was to Italy, Erasmus to Germany, and Budé to France. After a residence of ten years in Italy, during which he had stored his mind with various kinds of knowledge, he returned home in 1473, by the advice of the younger Philelphus and Hermolaus Barbarus, with the view of promoting classical learning in his native country. Hitherto the revival of letters in Spain was confined to a few inquisitive individuals, and had not reached the schools and universities, whose teachers continued to teach a barbarous jargon, under the name of Latin, into which they initiated the youth by means of a rude system of grammar, rendered unintelligible, in some instances, by a preposterous intermixture of the most abstruse questions in metaphysics.[4] By the lectures which he read in the universities of Seville, Salamanca, and Alcala, and by the institutes which he published on Castilian, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew grammar, Lebrixa contributed in a wonderful degree to expel barbarism from the seats of education, and to diffuse a taste for elegant and useful studies among his countrymen.[5] His improvements were warmly opposed by the monks, who had engrossed the art of teaching, and who, unable to bear the light themselves, wished to prevent all others from seeing it; but, enjoying the support of persons of high authority, he disregarded their selfish and ignorant outcries.[6] Lebrixa continued, to an advanced age, to support the liter-

[1] History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy, pp. 14, 37.

[2] Ginguene, Hist. Lit. d'Italie, tom. iii. pp. 348, 349. Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Vet. tom. ii. pp. 271, 272. From Valla's Dedication of one of his treatises to Alfonso, it appears that they were in the habit of corresponding on classical subjects. Laur. Vallæ Opera, p. 438—445. Valla has also paid a compliment to the early military talents of his patron, in his work De Rebus Ferdinandi Aragoniæ Rege gestis; published in the second volume of Rerum Hispanicarum Scriptores. Franc. 1509.

[3] Pellicer, Ensayo, p. 7—13. Antonius, Bibl. Hisp. Vet. ii. 333. Mendez, Typ. Espanola, pp. 173-175, 180-182, 189.

[4] Mayans, Specimen Bibl. Hisp. Majansianæ, p. 39.

[5] Ib. p. 4. Mendez, pp. 233-235, 239, 243, 271, 280. Antonius, Bibl. Hisp. Nova, i. 132—138. Argensola, Anales de Aragon, p. 358. Among the first scholars trained under Lebrixa were Andres de Cerezo, or Gutierez, the author of a Latin grammar, and Fernando Manzanares Flores, who was regarded as excelling his master in purity of style. Mendez, 275, 278. Ignatius de Asso, De Libr. Hisp. Rar. Disquis. pp. 23, 47. Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Nov. i. 74, 379.

[6] Lebrixa refers to the opposition he had met with in the dedicatory epistle to the second edition of his Introductiones Latinæ, printed in 1482.

ary reputation of his native country.[1] During his residence at Salamanca, he was joined by three able coadjutors. The first was Arius Barbosa, a Portuguese, who had studied under the elegant Italian scholar, Angelo Politiano, and was equally skilled in Greek as Lebrixa was in Latin.[2] The second was Lucio Marineo, a native of Sicily, who, in 1485, accompanied the Grand Admiral of Castile into Spain, and began to read lectures on poetry.[3] The third was Peter Martyr of Anghiera, to whose letters we are indebted for some interesting particulars respecting the state of literature in Spain, along with much valuable information on the political transactions of that country, and the affairs of the New World. In 1488 he was persuaded to leave Italy by the Conde de Tendilla, who inherited that love of letters which had distinguished his illustrious ancestor, the Marquis of Santillana. Martyr commenced his literary career in Spain, by reading at Salamanca, with great applause, a lecture on one of the satires of Juvenal; but he was soon called from that station to an employment of higher responsibility, for which he was eminently qualified. Under the patronage and at the earnest desire of Queen Isabella, who had herself taken lessons from Lebrixa, he undertook to superintend the education of the sons of the principal nobility, with the view of rooting out an opinion almost universally prevalent among persons of that order in Spain, that learning unfitted them for military affairs, in which they placed all their glory. The school was accordingly opened at court, not without a flattering prospect of success. But Spain was destined to exhaust her energies in gratifying the mad ambition for conquest of a succession of princes, and then to sink into inactivity under the benumbing influence of superstition and despotism. Finding the prejudice against education, in the minds of his pupils, more inveterate than he had anticipated, Martyr accepted of a political appointment; and the plan for inspiring the nobility with the love of polite letters was abandoned soon after it had been begun under such good auspices.[4]

In the mean time, the passion for learning spread from Salamanca to the other universities of the kingdom. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Francesco Ximenes, at that time Archbishop of Toledo, restored and enlarged the University of Alcala de Henares, in which he founded a trilingual college. To acquire celebrity to his favourite in-

[1] "The cultivation of languages and polite letters has given celebrity to the University of Alcala, whose principal ornament is that illustrious and truly worthy old man, Anthony of Lebrixa, who has outstripped many Nestors," says Erasmus in a letter to Vives. Lebrixa, in his old age, was permitted, on account of the failure of his memory, to *read* his lectures, contrary to the universal custom at that period. After his death, which was caused by apoplexy, the person who preached his funeral sermon ventured to imitate his example, for which he pleaded as an apology the shortness of time allowed him for preparation; but the audience no sooner saw the paper than they burst into expressions of ridicule and disapprobation. "Parecio tan mal al auditorio esta maniera de predicar por escrito, y con el papel en la mano, que todo fue sonreyr y murmurar." Huarte, Examen de Ingenios, p. 182.

[2] Martyris Epist. ep. 68. Anton. *ut supra*, i. 170. Irving's Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Buchanan, p. 77, 2d edit.

[3] Mongitore, Bibl. Sicula, ii. 16—18. Martyris Epist. ep. 57.

[4] Martyris Epist. ep. 102, 103, 113, 115, 205.

stitution, he procured learned teachers to fill its chairs, among whom were Demetrius Ducas and Nicetas Phaustus, two natives of Greece,[1] and Fernando Nunez, a descendant of the noble house of Guzman. The latter, who had sacrificed his prospect of civil honours to the love of study, was inferior to none of his learned countrymen, and has left behind him a name in the republic of letters.[2]

Living in the midst of Jews and Moors, and frequently engaged in controversy with them on their respective creeds, the Christians in Spain had better opportunities and a more powerful stimulus to study the oriental languages, than their brethren in other parts of Europe. About the middle of the thirteenth century, Raymond de Pennaforte, General of the Dominicans, persuaded Juan I., King of Aragon, to appropriate funds for the education of young men who might be qualified for entering the lists in argument with Jews and Mahometans.[3] And in 1259 it was appointed, at a general chapter of the Dominicans held in Valencia, that the prior of that order in Spain should see to the erection of a school for Arabic at Barcelona or elsewhere.[4] From this school proceeded several individuals who distinguished themselves as disputants, both orally and by writing. Among the latter was Raymond Martini, the author of *Pugio Fidei*, or *Poniard of the Faith against Jews and Moors;* a work which discovers no contemptible acquaintance with the Hebrew language, and with the Rabbinical writings, which it quotes and comments upon in the original.[5] To the attention paid to the oriental tongues in Spain may be traced the decree of the

[1] Gomez, Vita Ximenii, f. 37, b. 81, b. Hodius de Græcis Illustribus, p. 321.

[2] Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Nova, i. 382. Nunez was of the order of St Iago, and was commonly called, among his countrymen, "The Greek Commendator." Argensola, Anales de Aragon, p. 352. His notes on the classics are praised by Lipsius, Gronovius, and other critics, who usually cite him by the name of Pincianus, from Valladolid, his native city. That he did not confine his attention to ancient learning appears from his having published in 1502 an edition of the poems of his countryman Juan de Mena, with notes. Cyprian de Valera quotes from a collection of Spanish proverbs published by him under the title of *Refranes Espanoles*. Dos Tratados, p. 288. Marineo extols the erudition of Nunez as far superior to that of Lebrixa; but, in the first place, he expresses this opinion in a letter to the object of his panegyric; and, in the second place, he had been involved in a quarrel with Lebrixa, in which his countryman, Peter Martyr, was not disposed to take his part. Martyris Epist. ep. 35.

[3] Carpzov, Introd. in Theologiam Judaicam, pp. 91, 97, 98; prefix. Pugioni Fidei. H. de Porta, De Linguis Orient. p. 60. Juan I. is said to have erected two schools for Arabic; one in the island of Majorca, and the other at Barcelona. History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes from Spain, in Geddes's Miscell. Tracts, vol. i. p. 30.

[4] Simon, Lettres Choisies, tom. iii. p. 112. According to another authority, this decree was first made in a chapter held at Toledo in 1250. Diago, Cronica Domin. Aragon. lib. i. cap. 2, lib. ii. cap. 28.

[5] The work was composed in 1278. Pugio Fidei, part. ii. cap. 10. § 1, p. 395, edit. Carpzovii. Its fate is curious. Porchet, a converted Jew, in the 14th century transcribed a great part of it into a work which he composed under the title of *Victoria adversus Hebræos*, which was printed in 1520. He acknowledged his obligations to Martini; an act of justice which was not done him by Galatinus, who used the same liberties in his *Arcana Catholicæ Veritatis*, printed in 1513. De Porta says that Galatinus, when he departs from the *Pugio*, copies almost verbally from the *Capistrum* or *Noose* (another work of Martini), as he found by consulting a MS. copy of the last-named book in the library of Bologna. De Linguis Orient. p. 62. The plagiarism of Galatinus was first detected in 1603 by Joseph Scaliger, who however confounded Raymond Martini with Raymond Sebonde. The *Pugio Fidei* was at last published entire in 1651, with learned annotations by Joseph de Voisin, and elegantly reprinted in 1687, under the care of John Benedict Carpzov, who prefixed to it an Introduction to Jewish theology.

Council of Vienne, held under Pope Clement V. in the year 1311, which ordained that Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic, should be taught in whatever place the pontifical court might be held, and in the universities of Bologna, Paris, Oxford, and Salamanca.[1]

The ardour with which these studies were prosecuted during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, led to the publication of the famous Complutensian Polyglot. This *chef-d'œuvre* of Spanish erudition was executed under the patronage and at the expense of Cardinal Ximenes, then Archbishop of Toledo; a prelate whose pretensions to learning were slender,[2] but whose ambition prompted him to seek distinction equally in the convent, the academy, the cabinet, and the field. In imitation of the celebrated Origen, he projected an edition of the Bible in various languages, and expended large sums of money in supporting the learned men who were engaged in the undertaking, purchasing manuscripts for their use, and providing the requisite printers and types. The work commenced in the year 1502, and the printing was finished in 1517, in six volumes folio, at the press of Complutum, or Alcala de Henares.[3] The Old Testament contained the original Hebrew text, the Vulgate or Latin version of Jerome, and the Greek version of the Septuagint, arranged in three columns; and at the foot of each page of the Pentateuch was printed the Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos, accompanied with a Latin translation. The New Testament contained the original Greek, and the Vulgate Latin version. To the whole were added a grammar and dictionary of the Hebrew language, and a Greek lexicon or vocabulary, with some other explanatory treatises. John Brocar, the son of the printer, was accustomed to relate, that when the last sheet came from the press, he, being then a boy, was sent in his best clothes with a copy of it to the cardinal, who gave thanks to God for sparing him to that day, and turning to his attendants, said that he congratulated himself on the completion of that work more than on any of the acts which had distinguished his administration.[4]

Spanish writers have been too lavish of their encomiums on the Polyglot of Alcala. The Hebrew and Greek manuscripts employed by its

[1] Clementin. lib. v. tit. i. De Magistris.

[2] "Aiunt homines esse virum (Ximenium), si non literis, morum tamen sanctitate, egregium." Martyris Epist. ep. 160.

[3] Its publication, however, was subsequent to March 22, 1520, the date of the diploma of Leo X. prefixed to the work. Besides Demetrius Ducas, Lebrixa, and Nunez, already mentioned, the learned men who took part in this work were Diego Lopez de Zuniga (better known by the name of Stunica, in his controversies with Erasmus and Faber Stapulensis), Juan de Vergara, Bartolomé de Castro (called the Master of Burgos), Pablo Coronel, Alfonso, a physician of Alcala, and Alfonso de Zamora. The four persons first named had the charge of the Greek part of the work, and wrote the interlined Latin version of the Septuagint. Vergara made some important corrections on the Vulgate version of the books called Sapiential. The three last named were converted Jews, and skilled in Hebrew. The Latin translation of the Chaldee Paraphrase, and the Hebrew grammar and dictionary, were the work of Zamora. The cardinal is said to have paid 4000 ducats for four Hebrew manuscripts; and the whole undertaking is computed to have cost him upwards of 50,000 ducats. The price of each copy of the Polyglot was fixed by the Bishop of Avila at six ducats and a half; "not judging by the cost of the work, which was infinite, but by its utility." Mandat. Franc. Episcopi Abulensis, præfix. Bibl. Complut. Alv. Gomez, *ut infra*.

[4] Alvar. Gomez, Vita Ximenii, 36, 37. Quintanilla, Vida, p. 135—139. Archivo Complutense, p. 50—55. Le Long, Bibl. Sac. edit. Masch, part. i. cap. 3, sec. 2. Goetz, Vertheidigung der Complutensischen Bibel.

compilers were neither numerous nor ancient; and instead of correcting the text of the Septuagint from the copies which were in their possession, they made alterations of their own, with the view of adapting it to the Hebrew text. Some of the learned men who laboured in this work must have been ashamed of the following specimen of puerile devotion to the Vulgate which occurs in one of the prologues written in the name of Ximenes. Speaking of the order in which the matter is disposed in the columns, he says: "We have put the version of St Jerome between the Hebrew and Septuagint, as between the Synagogue and Eastern Church, which are like the two thieves, the one on the right and the other on the left hand, and Jesus, that is the Roman Church, in the middle: for this alone, being founded upon a solid rock, remains always immovable in the truth, while the others deviate from the proper sense of Scripture."[1] But notwithstanding these defects, when we consider the period at which it was composed, and the example which it held out, we cannot hesitate in affirming that this work reflects great credit on its authors, and on the munificence of the prelate at whose expense it was executed.

The Arabic language was also cultivated at this time by some individuals in Spain.[2] This branch of study was zealously patronised by Fernando de Talavera, who, after the overthrow of the Moorish kingdom, was appointed the first Archbishop of Granada. This pious and amiable prelate, being desirous of converting the Moors who resided in his diocese by gentle and rational methods, and consequently of promoting the knowledge of Christianity among them, encouraged the clergy under his charge to make themselves masters of the Arabian tongue. With the view of assisting them in this task, he employed his chaplain, Pedro de Alcala, a Hieronymite monk, to draw up an Arabic grammar, vocabulary, and catechism containing the first rudiments of Christian doctrine, for the use of parish priests and catechists; which were the first books ever printed in that language.[3] In order the more effectually to promote the same object, the archbishop caused the religious service to be performed in their vernacular tongue, to such of the Moors as had submitted to baptism, or were willing to be instructed; and accordingly, Arabic translations of the Collects from the Gospels and Epistles were also made by his orders. It was his intention to have the whole Scriptures translated into that language, agreeably to what is said to have been done at an early period of the Moorish dominion in Spain.[4]

[1] Many Roman Catholic writers are ashamed of this conceit (as they call it), which, if it has any meaning, implies a severe censure on the whole undertaking. Le Long suppressed it in his account of the work. Not so Nicolas Ramus, Bishop of Cuba, who, in a commentary on the words, informs us that "the Hebrew original represents the bad thief, and the Septuagint version the good thief." Père Simon appeared at first inclined to make the Transatlantic bishop responsible both for the text and the commentary; but he afterwards acknowledges that the former is to be found in the Complutensian prologue to the reader. Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test. p. 350: conf. p. 577.

[2] Nicol. Clenardi Epist. p. 278. Widmanstadii Epist. Dedic. ad Ferdinandum Imp. in Nov. Test. Syriacum.

[3] Schnurrer, Bibl. Arabica, p. 16—18. The three tracts were printed at Granada in 1505, in the Arabic language, but in Castilian characters.

[4] Cyprian de Valera, Exhortacion al Christiano Lector; prefixed to his Spanish translation of the Bible.

These measures, which were applauded by all enlightened men, met with the strenuous opposition of Cardinal Ximenes, who, while he wished to be regarded as the patron of learning, was a determined enemy to the progress of knowledge. The archbishop had appealed to the authority of St Paul, who said: "In the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue." But the cardinal pleaded that the times were changed, and appealed to St Peter. To put the sacred oracles into the hands of those who were but newly initiated into our religion, was, in his opinion, to throw pearls before swine. Nor did he think it a whit safer to intrust the old Christians with this treasure; for (added he, changing the metaphor), in this old age of the world, when religion is so far degenerated from that purity which prevailed in the time of St Paul, the vulgar are in danger of wresting the Scriptures to their destruction. Knowing that the common people are inclined to revere what is concealed, and to despise what is known, the wisest nations have always kept them at a distance from the mysteries of religion. Books written by men of approved piety, and calculated, by the examples which they propose, or by the fervour of their style, to raise the dejected, and recall the minds of men from the things of sense to divine contemplation, might be safely circulated in the vulgar tongue;[1] and it was the cardinal's intention, as soon as he found leisure, to publish some works of this description; but the sacred Scriptures ought to be exclusively preserved in the three languages in which the inscription on our Saviour's cross was written; and if ever this rule should be neglected, the most pernicious effects would ensue.[2] This opinion, which is merely a commentary on the favourite maxim of the Church of Rome, that ignorance is the mother of devotion, has met with the warm approbation of his biographer, and was afterwards produced as a proof of his prophetic gift, along with his miracles, in the application which the Colegio Mayor de San Ildefonso made to the papal court for his canonisation.[3] The arguments of Ximenes were not of a kind to carry conviction to the minds of those who favoured enlightened measures; but they were the arguments of a man who, unfortunately for the best interests of Spain, had even then acquired great influence in the councils of government, and continued for many years to have the chief direction of the affairs of the nation, both civil and ecclesiastical. The books which the cardinal had promised as a substitute for the Gospels and Epistles made their appearance, consisting of treatises of mystic or rather monastic devotion, and the lives of some of its most high-flying zealots, both male and female, such as the Letters of Santa Catalina de Sena, of Santa Angela de Fulgino, and of Santa Matilda, the Degrees of San Juan Climaco, the

[1] Flechier includes "catechisms, solid and simple explanations of Christian doctrine, and other writings calculated to enlighten the minds of the people," among the books allowed by the cardinal. Histoire du Card. Ximenes, tom. i. p. 155. But nothing of this kind is mentioned by Gomez, to whom he refers as his only authority. Vita Ximenii. f. 33, a.

[2] Gomez, *ut supra*.

[3] Quintanilla, Vida y Prodigios del S. Card Ximenes, p. 225.

Instructions of San Vicente Ferrer, and of Santa Clara, the Meditations of the Carthusian Thomas Landulpho, and the Life of St Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury.[1]

The opposition of Ximenes, and the violent and impolitic measures which the government adopted against the Jews and Moors, checked the cultivation of oriental literature to such a degree, that in the year 1535, when an enthusiastic scholar visited Spain, he found Hebrew neglected, and could not meet with a single native acquainted with Arabic, except the venerable Nunez, who still recollected the characters of a language to which he had paid some attention in his youth.[2]

A translation of the Scriptures into Spanish, of which I shall afterwards speak, had probably little influence in preparing for the introduction of the reformed opinions, as all the copies of it appear to have been destroyed soon after it came from the press. At the close of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century considerable light was thrown upon the sacred writings by those who studied them in the original languages. Pablo de San Maria of Burgos, commonly called Paulus Burgensis, a converted Jew, discovered the same acquaintance with Hebrew which distinguishes the Postilla, or notes on Scripture, by Nicolas de Lira, to which he made additions.[3] Alfonso Tostado, Bishop of Avila, who wrote commentaries on the historical books of the Old Testament, and on Matthew, had formed correct notions of the literal and proper sense of Scripture, and of the duty of an interpreter to adhere to it in opposition to the method of the allegorising divines; but he swelled his works to an immoderate bulk, by indulging in digressions on common places.[4] Pedro de Osma, Professor of Theology at Salamanca, employed his talents in correcting the original text of the New Testament, by a critical collation of different manuscripts. He displayed the same freedom of opinion on doctrinal points; and in 1479 was forced to abjure eight propositions relating to the power of the pope, and the sacrament of penance, which were extracted from a book written by him on Confession, and condemned as erroneous by a council held at Alcala.[5] Besides his services in the cause of polite literature, Antonio Lebrixa wrote several works illustrative of the Scriptures, for which he was brought before the Inquisition, and would have incurred the same censure as De Osma, had he not been so fortunate as to secure the protection of their Catholic Majesties.[6]

[1] Quintanilla, p. 141. Gomez, f. 39, a.

[2] Nic. Clenardi Epistolæ, pp. 229, 278—282. What Antonius has stated respecting a treatise on Christian Doctrine in Arabic, by Archbishop Ayala, printed at Valencia in 1566, is more than doubtful. Bibl. Hisp. Nov. ii. 108.

[3] Simon, Hist. Crit. du Vieux Test. liv. iii. chap. 11, p. 464—466. Colomesii Hispan. Orient. p. 212—214. Le Long mentions "Prophetæ Priores Hebraice cum Commentario R. David Kimchi, Leiriæ in Lusitania, 1494, fol." Bibl. Sac. edit. Masch, part i. cap. i. sect. 2, sec. 37, num. 6. If this is correct, the work referred to must have been the first Hebrew book, and the only one by a Jew, printed in the Peninsula. None of the Spanish bibliographers appears to have seen a copy of it. Mendez reports it incorrectly. Typog. Esp. p. 339.

[4] Tostati Abulensis Comment. in Evang. Matthæi, cap. xiii. quæst. 18; conf. cap. ii. quæst. 57. An abridgment of his commentary on Matthew was printed, in two volumes folio, at Seville, in 1491. Mendez, p. 179.

[5] Illescas, Hist. Pontifical, tom. ii. f. 86, b.

[6] Antonii Nebrissensis Apologia pro seipso; apud Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Vet. ii. 310, 311.

By the labours of these men, together with the writings of their countryman Ludovicus Vives, who had settled in the Low Countries, and of his friend Erasmus, a salutary change was produced on the minds of the youth at the universities. They became disgusted at the barbarism of scholastic theology, read the Scriptures for themselves, consulted them in the originals, and from these sources ventured to correct the errors of the Vulgate, and to expose the absurd and puerile interpretations which had so long passed current under the shade of ignorance and credulity.

Having put the reader in possession of the circumstances connected with the state of letters and knowledge which tended to facilitate the introduction of the reformed doctrine into Spain, I shall now take a view of the obstacles with which it had to contend, of which the most formidable by far was the Inquisition.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE INQUISITION, AND OTHER OBSTACLES TO THE REFORMATION IN SPAIN.

Soon after the Roman empire became Christian, laws were enacted subjecting those who propagated erroneous opinions to punishment, under the false idea that heresy, or error in matters of revelation, was a crime and an offence against the state. The penalties were in general moderate, compared with those which were decreed at a subsequent period. Manicheism, which was considered eversive of the principles of natural religion and dangerous to morals, was the only heresy visited with capital punishment; a penalty which was afterwards extended to the Donatists, who were chargeable with exciting tumults in various parts of the empire. The bishops of that time were far from soliciting the execution of these penal statutes, which in most instances had passed at their desire or with their consent. They flattered themselves that the publication of severe laws, by the terror which it inspired, would repress the hardihood of daring innovators, and induce their deluded followers to listen to instruction and return to the bosom of the faithful church. When at Treves, in 384, Priscillian was put to death for Manicheism, St Martin, the Apostle of the French, remonstrated with the Emperor Maximus against the deed, which was regarded with abhorrence by all the bishops of France and Italy.[1] St Augustine protested to the proconsul of Africa, that if capital punishment was inflicted on the Donatists, he and his clergy would suffer death at the hands of these turbulent heretics sooner than be instrumental in bringing them before the tribunals.[2] But it is easier to draw than to sheathe the sword of persecution; and the ecclesiastics of a following age were zealous in stimulating reluctant magistrates to execute these laws, and in procuring the application of them to persons who held opinions which their predecessors looked upon as harmless or laudable. In the eleventh century capital punishment, even in its most dreadful form, that of burning alive, was extended to all who obstinately adhered to opinions differing from the received faith.[3]

[1] Sulpitii Severi Hist. Sac. lib. ii. cap. 47, 49.

[2] S. Augustini Epist. ep. 127, ad Donatum, Procons. Africæ.

[3] Burning alive was, by a constitution of Constantine, decreed as the punishment of those Jews and Cœlicoli who should offer violence, "saxis aut alio furoris genere," to any who had deserted them, and embraced

Historians have not pointed out with precision the period at which this extension of the penal code took place, or the grounds on which it proceeded. Instances of the practice occur previously to the imperial edict of Frederic II. in 1224, and even to that of Frederic I. in 1184.[1] It appears to me to have been at first introduced by confounding the different sects which arose with the followers of Manes. Taking advantage of the circumstance that some individuals belonging to those who went by the names of Henricians, Arnoldists, Poor Men of Lyons, and Vaudois, held the leading tenet of Manicheism, the clergy fixed this stigma on the whole body, and called on magistrates to visit them with the penalty decreed against that odious heresy. In an ignorant age this charge was easily believed. It was in vain that the victims of persecution protested against the indiscriminate accusation, or disowned the sentiments imputed to them. By the time that undeniable facts cleared their innocence, the public mind had learned to view the severity of their fate with indifference or approbation; and the punishment of death, under the general phrase of delivering over to the secular arm, came to be considered as the common award for all who entertained opinions opposite to those of the Church of Rome, or who presumed to inveigh against the corruptions of the priesthood.

Other causes, some of which had been long in operation, contributed to work, in the course of the eleventh century, a great change on the criminal proceedings against heretics. The sentence of excommunication, which at first only excluded from the privileges of the church, was now considered as inflicting a mark of public infamy on those who incurred it; from which the transition was not difficult, in a superstitious age, to the idea that it deprived them of all the rights, natural or civil, of which they were formerly in possession. The unhappy individuals who were struck with this spiritual thunder, felt all the bonds which connected them with society suddenly dissolved, and were regarded as objects at once of divine execration and human abhorrence. Subjects threw off their allegiance to their legitimate sovereigns; sovereigns gave up their richest and most peaceable provinces to fire and sword; the territories of a vassal became lawful prey to his neighbours; and a man's enemies were those of his own house. The Roman pontiffs, who had extended their authority by affecting an ardent zeal for the honour of the Christian faith, found a powerful engine for accomplishing their ambitious designs in the Crusades, undertaken at their instigation, to deliver the Holy Land, and the sepulchre of Christ, from the pollution of infidels. These mad expeditions, whose indirect influence was ultimately favourable to European civilisation, were in the mean time productive of the worst effects. While they weakened the sovereigns

Christianity. Cod. lib. i. tit. ix. § 3. The same punishment was allotted to those who should open the dykes of the Nile, by an edict of Honorius and Theodosius. Cod. lib. ix. tit. xxxviii.

[1] Fleury, Hist. Eccles. livre lviii. n. 54.

who embarked in them, they increased the power of the popes, and placed at their disposal immense armies, which they could direct against all who opposed their measures. They perverted, in the minds of men, the essential principles of religion, justice, and humanity, by cherishing the false idea that it is meritorious to wage war for the glory of the Christian name—by throwing the veil of sanctity over the greatest enormities of which a licentious soldiery might be guilty—by conferring the pardon of their sins on all who arrayed themselves under the banners of the cross, and by holding out the palm of martyrdom to such as should have the honour to fall in fighting against the enemies of the faith. Nor were the popes either dilatory or slack in availing themselves of these prejudices. Finding that their violent measures for suppressing the Albigenses were feebly seconded by the barons of Provence, they proclaimed a crusade against heretics, launched the sentence of excommunication against both superiors and vassals, and carried on a war of extermination in the south of France during a period of twenty years. It was amidst these scenes of blood and horror that the Inquisition rose.

Historians are divided in opinion as to the exact time at which the Inquisition was founded. Inquisitors and informers are mentioned in a law published by the Emperor Theodosius against the Manicheans; but these were officers of justice appointed by the prefects, and differed entirely from the persons who became so notorious under these designations many centuries after that period.[1] The fundamental principle of that odious institution was undoubtedly recognised in 1184 by the Council of Verona, which, however, established no separate tribunal for the pursuit of heretics, but left this task entirely in the hands of the bishops. Rainier, Castelnau, and St Dominic, who were sent into France at different times from 1198 to 1206, had a commission from the pope to search for heretics, and in this sense may be called inquisitors; but they were invested with no judicial power to pronounce a definitive sentence.[2] The Council of the Lateran in 1218 made no innovation on the ancient practice. The Council held at Toulouse in 1229 ordained that the bishops should appoint, in each parish of their respective dioceses, "one priest and two or three laics, who should engage upon oath to make a rigorous search after all heretics and their abettors, and for this purpose should visit every house from the garret to the cellar, together with all subterraneous places where they might conceal themselves."[3] But the Inquisition, as a distinct tribunal, was not erected until the year 1233, when Pope Gregory IX. took from the bishops the power of discovering and bringing to judgment the heretics who lurked in France, and committed that task to the Dominican friars. In consequence of this the tribunal was immediately set up in Toulouse,

[1] Cod. Theodos. lib. xvi. tit. v. leg. 9 de hæreticis.

[2] Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, iii. 130, 134, 558—560.

[3] It was by an act of this council that the laity were first prohibited from having the books of the Old and New Testament. Concil. Tolos. can. 14: Labbei Collect. xi. 427.

and afterwards in the neighbouring cities, from which it was introduced into other countries of Europe.[1]

It may be considered as a fact at least somewhat singular, that in the proceedings of the first Spanish council whose records have reached our time, we find a deeper stigma affixed to the character of informers than to that of heretics. The council of Elvira, after limiting the duration of the penance of those who might fall into heresy, decreed that "if a Catholic become an informer, and any one be put to death or proscribed in consequence of his denunciation, he shall not receive the communion, even at the hour of death."[2] On a review of criminal proceedings in Spain anterior to the establishment of the Court of Inquisition, it appears in general that heretics were more mildly treated there than in other countries. Jews who relapsed, after having been baptised, were subject to whipping and spare diet, according to the age of the offenders.[3] Those who apostatised to paganism, if nobles or freemen, were condemned to exile; and if slaves, to whipping and chains.[4] The general law against heretics was, that such as refused to recant, if priests, should be deprived of all their dignities and property; and if laics, that they should, in addition, be condemned to perpetual banishment.[5] Even after the barbarous custom of committing obstinate heretics to the flames had been introduced into other parts of Europe, Spain testified her aversion to sanguinary measures. In 1194, when Alfonso II. of Aragon, at the instigation of the legate of Pope Celestine, published an edict, commanding the Vaudois, and all other sectaries, to quit his dominions, those who remained after the time specified were expressly exempted from suffering either death or the mutilation of their bodies.[6]

No sooner had the Inquisition received the papal sanction, than measures were taken for having it introduced into Spain, where the Dominicans had already established convents of their order. In the course of the thirteenth century, inquisitorial tribunals were permanently erected in the principal towns of the kingdom of Aragon, from which they were extended to Navarre.[7] Though a papal brief was issued in 1236 for the special purpose of introducing the Holy Office into Castile, and Ferdinand III., surnamed the Saint, is said to have carried with his own hand the wood destined for burning his subjects, yet it does not appear that there ever was a permanent tribunal in that kingdom under the ancient form of the Inquisition; either because heresy had made little progress among the Castilians, or because they were averse to the new method of extirpating it.[8]

[1] Histoire Generale de Languedoc, par Le Pere Vaisette, tom. iii. pp. 131, 383, 394—395. Mosheim, cent. xiii. part ii. chap. v. sect. 4. Llorente, chap. ii. It appears, however, from a constitution of Frederic II. that the Dominicans in 1229 acted as apostolical inquisitors in Italy, where St Dominic had erected, under the name of the *Militia of Christ*, a secular order, whose employment answered to that of those afterwards called *Familiars* of the Inquisition. Llorente, i. 51—54.

[2] Concil. Illiberit. can. 22, 73.

[3] Concil. Tolet. IX. can. 17. Anno 655.

[4] Ibid. XIII. can. 11. Anno 681.

[5] Leg. Goth. lib. xii. tit. ii. de hæret. lex 2.

[6] Pegna, Comment. in Direct. Inquis. Nic. Eimerici: Llorente, i. 31.

[7] Llorente, i. 77, 85, 97.

[8] Ibid. i. 77, 85, 88, 95.

The mode of proceeding in the court of Inquisition, when first erected, was simple, and differed very little from that which was followed in the ordinary courts of justice. In particular, the interrogatories put to persons accused, and to witnesses, were short and direct, evincing merely a desire to ascertain the truth on the subjects of inquiry.[1] But this simplicity soon gave place to a system of the most complicated and iniquitous circumvention. Grossly ignorant of judicial matters, the Dominicans modelled their new court after what is called in the Roman Church, The Tribunal of Penance. Accustomed, in the confessional, to penetrate into the secrets of conscience, they converted to the destruction of the bodies of men all those arts which a false zeal had taught them to employ for the saving of their souls. Inflamed with a passion for extirpating heresy, and persuading themselves that the end sanctified the means, they not only acted upon, but formally laid down, as a rule for their conduct, maxims founded on the grossest deceit and artifice, according to which they sought in every way to ensnare their victims, and by means of false statements, delusory promises, and a tortuous course of examination, to betray them into confessions which proved fatal to their lives and fortunes.[2] To this mental torture was soon after added the use of bodily tortures, together with the concealment of the names of witnesses.

After this court had subsisted for two centuries and a half, it underwent what its friends have honoured with the name of a *reform;* in consequence of which it became a more terrible engine of persecution than before. Under this new form it is usually called The Modern Inquisition, though it may with equal propriety bear the name of the Spanish, as it originated in Spain, and has been confined to that country, including Portugal, and the dominions subject to the two monarchies.

The war of the Albigenses was the pretext used by the popes for the establishment of The Ancient Inquisition; the necessity of checking the apostasy of the converts from Judaism was urged as the reason for introducing the modern. While the Spaniards were engaged in continual wars with one another or with the Moors, the Jews, who had been settled for ages in the Peninsula, by addicting themselves to trade and commerce, had, in the fourteenth century, engrossed the wealth of the nation, and attained to great influence in the government both of Castile and Aragon. Those who were indebted to them, and those who envied them on account of the civil offices which they held, united in stirring up the religious prejudices of the populace against them; and in one year five thousand Jews fell a sacrifice to popular fury. With the view of saving their lives, many submitted to baptism, and it is

[1] See the *Interrogationes ad Hæreticos*, and the extracts from the proceedings of the inquisitors of Carcassone and Avignon, published in Hist. Gen. de Languedoc, tom. iii. Preuves, pp. 372, 435—441.

[2] See two ancient treatises published by the Benedictine fathers, Martene and Durand, in Thesaur. Nov. Anecdot. tom. v. p. 1785—1798. Extracts from them are given by Sismondi, who has pointed out the malignant influence which the proceedings of the Inquisition exerted on the criminal jurisprudence of France. Hist. of the Crusades against the Albigenses, p. 220—226.

computed that, in the course of a few years, nearly a million of persons renounced the law of Moses and made profession of the Christian faith. The number of converts, as they were called, was increased in the beginning of the fifteenth century, by the zeal of the Dominican missionaries, and especially of St Vincent Ferrer, to whom the Spanish historians have ascribed more miracles and conversions than were wrought by the apostles.[1] These converts were called *New Christians*, and sometimes *Marranos*, from a form of execration in use among the Jews. As their adoption of the Christian profession proceeded from the fear of death, or a desire to secure secular emoluments, rather than internal persuasion, the greater part repented of having abjured the religion of their fathers, and resumed the practice of its rites in secret, while they publicly conformed to those of the Christians. This forced conformity could not fail to be painful to their minds, and was relaxed in proportion as the fears which they felt for their safety abated. The consequence was, that many of them were discovered by the monks, who cried out that, if some severe means were not adopted to repress the evil, the whole body of converted Jews would soon relapse into their former habits, and the faith of the Old Christians would be corrupted and overthrown by these concealed apostates with whom they were intermingled. But, although more immediately intended to guard the fidelity of the New Christians, the modern Inquisition, like the ancient, was charged with the discovery and punishment of all kinds of heresy, and extended its jurisdiction over the Old Christians, as well as Jewish and Moorish converts.

It is proper that the names of those individuals to whom Spain owes this institution should not be forgotten. The most active were Felippe de Barberis, inquisitor of Sicily, and Alfonso de Hoyeda, prior of Seville, both of them Dominican friars, assisted by Nicolas Franco, Bishop of Treviso, who was at that time nuncio from Pope Sixtus IV. to the Spanish court.[2]

The whole of Spain was at this period united into one kingdom by the marriage of Ferdinand, King of Aragon, and Isabella, Queen of Castile. Ferdinand readily acceded to a proposal which gave him the prospect of filling his coffers by means of confiscations; it was equally agreeable to Sixtus, from its tendency to promote the views of the court of Rome; and they succeeded, by the help of the friars, in overcoming the repugnance which it excited in the humane but superstitious

[1] Zurita, Annales, tom. ii. f. 444: conf. f. 430. Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Vet. tom. ii. 205—207. In support of his opinion that the printed sermons of St Vincent Ferrer were taken from his mouth and translated into Latin by some of his hearers, Nicolas Antonio says: "As he preached, wherever he went, in his own native tongue of Valencia, to English, French, and Italians, all of whom, by a most undoubted miracle, understood him, it is impossible that the same sermons could be conceived and delivered in the vernacular tongue, and turned into Latin, by the same individual, who was so much occupied, and preached to the people extempore and from inspiration rather than premeditation." *Ut supra*, p. 206. With all deference to the learned historian, we should think that this reasoning, if it prove anything, proves that the hearers of St Vincent possessed more miraculous powers than himself, and that they should have been canonised rather than the preacher.

[2] Llorente, i. 143, 144.

mind of Isabella. The bull for establishing the Inquisition in Castile was issued on the 1st of November 1478; and on the 17th of September 1480, their Catholic Majesties named the first inquisitors, who commenced their proceedings on the 2d of January 1481, in the Dominican convent of St Paul at Seville. The tribunal did not, however, assume a permanent form until two years after, when friar Thomas Torquemada, Prior of Santa Cruz, in the town of Segovia, was placed at its head, under the designation of Inquisitor-general, first of Castile, and afterwards of Aragon.[1] Torquemada proceeded without delay to exercise the high powers with which he was intrusted, by choosing his assessors, and erecting subordinate tribunals in different cities of the united kingdom. Over the whole was placed the *Council of the Supreme*, consisting of the inquisitor-general as president, and three counsellors, two of whom were doctors of law. This regulated and controlled the inferior tribunals; and by its fundamental laws the counsellors had a deliberative voice on all questions relating to civil law, but a consultative voice only in those which appertained to ecclesiastical law, of which Torquemada was constituted the sole judge by the apostolical bulls. These counsellors appear to have been appointed with the view of preventing encroachments on the secular authorities, and accordingly altercations did sometimes arise between the Inquisitors-general and the Counsellors of the Supreme; but as the latter were all of the clerical order, and as no clear line of distinction between civil and ecclesiastical affairs was drawn, the questions which came before the court were generally brought under the rules of canon law, or, in other words, decided according to the pleasure of the president. Torquemada's next employment was to form a body of laws for the government of his new tribunal. This appeared in 1484; additions were made to it from time to time; and, as a diversity of practice had crept into the subordinate courts, the inquisitor-general Valdes, in 1561, made a revisal of the whole code, which was published in eighty-one articles, and continues, with the exception of a few slight alterations, to be the law to this day.[2] From these constitutions, as illustrated by the authentic documents connected with the history of the Inquisition which have been lately made public, a correct idea may be formed of the mode of process observed in that dreadful tribunal. Instead, however, of entering here into details which may be found elsewhere, I shall select such particulars as show that the Inquisition possessed powers which enabled it effectually to arrest the progress of knowledge, and to crush every attempt which might be made for the reformation of religion and the church.

The first thing which presents itself to our view, is the immense apparatus which the Inquisition possesses for the discovery of heresy

[1] Illescas, Hist. Pontifical, tom. ii. f. 101, a. Zurita, Anales, lib. xx. sect. 49. Llorente, i. 145, 148—151.

[2] The editions I have used are the following: "Copilacion de las Instruciones del Oficio de la sancta Inquisicion, hechas por el muy reverendo Senor Fray Thomas de Torquemada," &c. Madrid, 1576. "Copilacion de las Instrucciones del Oficio de la santa Inquisicion, hechas en Toledo, ano de mil y quinientos y sesenta y uno." Ibid. 1612.

and the apprehension of those who are suspected of having incurred its taint. Deceived by the importance attached to denunciation in the instructions of the Holy Office, some writers would lead us to believe that there is no way in which a process can be commenced before the Inquisition, except by a formal charge preferred by some individual; whereas the truth is, that information, in whatever way it may be obtained, is sufficient for this purpose.[1] The Inquisition is not only a court of justice, but also, as its name intimates, a body of police, employed in discovering the offences on which it is afterwards to sit in judgment. Every individual belonging to its tribunals, supreme or subordinate, from the inquisitor-general down to the lowest alguazil or familiar, is charged with this employment. At those periods when its vigilance was aroused by the alarm of heresy, it had its secret spies and authorised agents at every port and pass of the kingdom, as regularly as government had its tide-waiters and custom-house officers, armed with authority to arrest the persons and property of all who incurred their suspicions. In addition to its internal resources, it avails itself of the superstitious prejudices of the people, whom it raises *en masse*, to drive the poor heretics into the legal toils spread for them in all parts of the country. At any time which it judges proper, but statedly on two Sundays every year during Lent, an edict is published in all the churches of the kingdom, requiring every one who knows any person suspected of heresy to give information to the Inquisition within six days, upon pain of incurring mortal sin and excommunication by their silence. At the same time the priests in the confessional exert all the influence which they possess over the minds of their penitents to persuade them to comply with this order. In this way the worst and the best, the weakest and the strongest passions of the human breast are engaged; and persons are induced to become informers from private malice, from pious scruples, and from selfish fears. The father sometimes informs against his own child, the wife against her husband, and the love-sick maiden against the object of her tenderest attachment. Though the holy Fathers prefer a process by denunciation to one *ex officio*,[2] and in order to encourage informers conceal their names, yet anonymous informations are received without any scruple, provided they furnish the smallest clue by which the charge may be brought home to the accused. One prosecution is often the means of fastening the suspicion of heresy on a number of individuals; for it is an invariable rule with the inquisitors, not to inform a witness of the particular object for which he is cited, but to commence by desiring him to task his memory and say if he recollects having seen or heard anything which appeared to be inconsistent with the Catholic faith; in consequence of which, he is led to mention names not implicated in the process. If, upon inquiry, the inquisitors are of opinion that they will find it difficult to convict the

[1] "Quando los Inquisidores se juntaren a ver las testificaciones que resultan de alguna visita, o de otro manera, o que por otra qualquier causa se huviere recebido," &c. Instrucciones de 1561, art. 1.

[2] Instruc. de 1561, art. 19.

suspected person, they do not examine him, because this would only serve to put him on his guard; nor do they use any means to recover him from the supposed errors into which he has fallen; but suspending their proceedings, wait until they obtain additional proof to substantiate the charge.[1] If the evidence is deemed sufficient, they issue the order of arrest to the alguazil, who, accompanied by the sequestrator and receiver of goods, instantly repairs to the house of the accused; and, provided the latter has absconded, the familiars are furnished, not only with a minute description of his person, but also with his picture, so that it is next to impossible that their prey can escape them.[2]

Nor is it less difficult for a person to escape without condemnation, if he once has had the misfortune to be apprehended. It is only in the way of being able to convict him of heresy, that the inquisitors are entitled to seize on his property; and as it is an established maxim of theirs that the Holy Office cannot err, they consider it as a reflection on its proceedings if any individual whom it has apprehended shall clear himself from suspicion. Without acquainting him either with his accuser or the charge brought against him, every art is employed, both by his judges in the repeated examinations to which they subject him, and also by the jailer to whose care he is intrusted, to induce the prisoner to confess that he has been guilty of some offence against the faith. He is strictly interrogated as to his kindred, connections, acquaintances, and manner of life; the records of all the tribunals of the Holy Office are ordered to be searched; and if it is found that any of his ancestors or relations, however remote, either in the male or female line, or any of those with whom he has consorted, were Jews, Moors, or heretics, or had incurred the censures of the Inquisition, this circumstance is regarded as sufficient to fasten on him a legitimate presumption of guilt. Even a failure to repeat the Ave Maria or creed exactly after the manner of the Roman Church, is viewed in the same light.[3]

The impenetrable secresy with which all the proceedings of the Inquisition are shrouded, is at once an instrument of terror, and an encouragement to every species of injustice. Every person who enters its walls is sworn, before he is permitted to depart, to observe the most profound silence as to all that he may have seen, heard, or uttered.[4] The

[1] Instrucciones de 1561, art. 4. Llorente appears to have mistaken the latter part of this article, which he translates thus: "Cette mesure (l'interrogatoire) ne sert qu'à le rendre plus réservé et plus attentif à éviter tout ce qui pourrait aggraver les soupçons ou les preuves acquises contre lui." Hist. de l'Inquis. tom. ii. p. 298. The original words are: "Semejantes examenes sirven mas de avisar los testificados, que de otro buen efecto: y assi conviene mas aguarder que sobrevenga nueva provança, o nuevos indicios."

[2] Reg. Gonsalv. Montani Inquis. Hisp. Artes Detectæ, pp. 8. 13, 16.

[3] Instrucciones de ann. 1488, art. 9. Instruc. de ann. 1561, art 13—15. Montanus, *ut supra*, p. 17—24. Llorente, ii. 302, 303. Frampton's Narrative, in Strype's Annals, i. 240, 241.

[4] Mr Townsend relates that the Dutch consul, with whom he became acquainted during his travels in Spain in 1787, could never be prevailed on to give an account of his imprisonment in the Inquisition at Barcelona, which had happened thirty-five years before, and betrayed the greatest agitation when pressed to say anything about the treatment he had received. His fellow-prisoner, M. Falconet, who was but a boy, turned grey-headed during his short confinement, and to the day of his death, though

names of the witnesses are carefully concealed from the prisoner; and they are not confronted with him, nor, so far as appears, with one another.[1] No check is imposed on the infidelity or ignorance of the notaries or clerks who take down the depositions. The accused is not furnished with a copy of the evidence against him, but merely with such garbled extracts as his judges are pleased to order; and, taking advantage of the different modes of expression used by the witnesses in speaking of the same fact, the procurator-fiscal often converts one charge into three or four, by which means the prisoner is thrown into confusion on his defence, and exposed to popular odium, as a person laden with crimes, if he is ultimately brought out in the public auto-da-fé. Everything which the witnesses in their examination may have said in his favour, or which might be conducive to his exculpation, is studiously and totally suppressed.

The same partial and unjust rules are observed in forming the extracts which, both at the commencement and termination of the process, are submitted to certain divines, called Qualificators of the Holy Office, whose business it is to say whether the propositions imputed to the accused individual are heretical, or to what degree they subject him to the suspicion of heresy. These individuals, besides, are generally monks or scholastic divines, imbued with false notions, and ready to *qualify*, or stigmatise as heretical, opinions sanctioned by the authority of the most approved doctors of the church, merely because they have not met with them in the contracted circle of their studies.

It is not easy to conceive a greater mockery of justice than is to be found in the provisions made for the defence of the prisoner. The judges appoint one of their advocates to act as his counsel, who has no means of defending his client except the garbled extracts from the depositions of the witnesses already mentioned. But the truth is, that his ability is as great as his inclination; for, while nominally the advocate of the prisoner, he is really the agent and proctor of the court, in obedience to whose directions, given at the time of his nomination, he labours in most instances to induce his client to confess and throw himself on the mercy of his judges.[2] Nor is the pretended privilege of

retired to Montpellier, observed the most tenacious silence on the subject. He had destroyed a picture of the Virgin; and his friend the Dutch consul, being present and not turning accuser, was considered as a partner in his guilt. Townsend's Journey through Spain, vol. ii. p. 336.

[1] Llorente, in his abridgment of the constitutions of Valdes, speaks as if the witnesses were confronted with one another, (tom. ii. p. 306); but I perceive nothing in the original document to warrant this interpretation. Instruc. de. ann. 1561, art 26. The same historian, rather inconsistently, interprets another article as expressly prohibiting that practice, (p. 327); whereas that article prohibits the confronting of the witnesses with the prisoner. Its title is: "No se careen los testigos con los reos." Instruc. de ann. 1561, art. 72.

[2] Instruc. de ann. 1484, art. 16. Instruc. de ann. 1561, art. 23. Llorente, i. 309—312. By the Instructions of 1484 the accused was allowed the benefit of a *procurator*, as well as an advocate; but those of 1561 deprived him of that privilege, "because it had been found to be attended with many *inconveniences*" (a word frequently used in the regulations of the Inquisition as an excuse for the most glaring violations of justice): "porque la experiencia ha mostrado muchos inconvenientes que dello suelen resultar." Instruc. de ann. 1561, art. 35. If the accused is under age, he is allowed a *tutor*, (ib. art. 25); but the tutelage is given to the wolf, one of the menials of the Inquisition being often ap-

challenging the witnesses less nugatory and insulting to the prisoner. Deprived of every means of knowing the persons who have deponed against him, he can have recourse to conjecture only; malice is the sole ground of exception which he is permitted to urge. He may have been accused from fanaticism, fear, or ignorant scruples, or his personal enemy may have put forward, as the instrument of his malice, an individual whom the prisoner would never think of suspecting; and sometimes the procurator-fiscal takes the precaution of secretly establishing the credibility of his witnesses beforehand, with the view of defeating the challenge. The inquisitors are uniformly disposed to favour the witnesses for the prosecution, and to screen them from punishment, even in cases of perjury.[1] Nor is this evil to be traced to the character of particular judges; it springs from the very genius of the tribunal, which induces all who are connected with it to set at defiance the most essential principles of justice by which every other court is governed, and even to disregard its own regulations, for the sake of encouraging informations and indulging a morbid jealousy. Of the same illusory nature is the privilege which, in certain cases, they give the prisoner to bring forward exculpatory evidence. For, in the first place, he is restricted in his choice of witnesses. While the testimony of persons of all descriptions—relations, domestics, New Christians, malefactors, infamous characters, children, and even idiots, is admissible against him,[2] he on the contrary is directed to name, for his exculpation, only Christians of ancient race, of unimpeached character, and who are neither his relatives nor domestics. And, in the second place, the tribunal reserves to itself the power of examining such of the prisoner's witnesses only as it shall judge "most fit and worthy of credit."[3]

The injustice of the inquisitorial process can only be equalled by its cruelty. Persons of undoubted veracity, who had the happiness to escape from the secret prisons of the Inquisition during the sixteenth century, have described them as narrow and gloomy cells, which admitted the light only by a small chink,—damp, and resembling graves more than prisons, if they were subterraneous; and if they were situated in the upper part of the building, feeling in summer like heated furnaces.[4] At present they are described as in general good vaulted chambers, well lighted, free of humidity, and of such size as to allow the prisoner to take a little exercise.[5] But even those who give the most favourable description of these abodes admit that nothing can

pointed to that office. Montanus, pp. 34, 35

[1] Llorente, i. 314, 315. Montanus, 54—57. False witnesses are either such as falsely accuse a person of heresy, or such as, when interrogated, falsely declare that they know nothing against the person accused. "In the course of my researches," says Llorente, "I have often found witnesses of this second class punished, but seldom or never those of the first." (P. 232.)

[2] Llorente, ii. 311. Montanus, 41.

[3] Instrucciones de ann. 1561, art. 36.

[4] Montanus, 105. Frampton's Narrative of his Imprisonment, in Strype's Annals, i. 239.

[5] Llorente, i. 300. An intelligent native of Spain, who had inspected the secret prisons of the Holy Office at Barcelona, confirmed to me the account given by Llorente; adding, however, that there was one of them below ground, which answered in every respect to the description given by Montanus.

be conceived more frightful than the situation of the individual who is immured in them, left as he is to conjecture respecting his accuser and the particular crime with which he is charged; kept in ignorance of the state of his process; shut out from every kind of intercourse with his friends; denied even the consolation of conversing confidentially with the person to whom his defence has been intrusted; refused all use of books; afraid, if he has a fellow-prisoner for a few days, to do more than exchange salutations with him, lest he should be confiding in a spy; threatened if he hum a tune, and especially a sacred one, to relieve his languor; plunged, during the rigour of the winter months, in total darkness for fifteen hours of every day in an abode that never saw the cheerful blaze of a fire; and, in fine, knowing that if ever he should be set free, he must go out to the world lost for ever in public opinion, and loaded with an infamy, heavier than that of the pardoned assassin or parricide, which will attach to his children of the remotest generation. What wonder that such prisoners as are not induced, at an early period of their confinement, to confess guilt, become a prey to dejection, and seek relief from their miseries in death, or else sink into a hopeless and morbid insensibility, from which the rack itself is scarcely sufficient to rouse them?

That part of the process which relates to the torture is a monstrous compound of injustice and barbarity. If, after the evidence is closed, the tribunal find that there is only a demi-proof of guilt against the prisoner, it is warranted, by its instructions, to have recourse to the torture, in order to force him to furnish additional evidence against himself.[1] He is allowed, indeed, to appeal to the Council of the Supreme against the sentence of the inquisitors ordering him to be tortured; but then, by a refinement in cruelty, it is provided that the inquisitors shall be judges of the validity of this appeal, and, "if they deem it frivolous, shall proceed to the execution of their sentence without delay."[2] In this case, the appeal of the poor prisoner is as little heard of as are the shrieks which he utters in the subterraneous den to which he is conducted without delay, where every bone is moved from its socket, and the blood is made to start from every vein of his body. But it is not my intention to shock the feelings of the reader by any description of the infernal operation; and, instead of trusting myself to make any reflections of my own on a practice so disgraceful to human nature, I shall merely quote those of the late historian and ex-secretary of the Inquisition. "I do not stop," says he, "to describe the several kinds of torture inflicted on the accused by order of the Inquisition; this task having been executed with sufficient exactness by a great many historians. *On this head, I declare that none of them can be accused of ex-*

[1] Instruc. de ann. 1484, art. 15. By this regulation, the prisoner, if he confesses during the torture, and ratifies his confession next day, is held as convicted, and consequently is relaxed, or doomed to the fire. The regulations of Valdes profess to qualify that law, but still in the way of leaving it to the discretion of the inquisitors to act up to it in all its severity. Instruc. de ann. 1561, art. 53.

[2] Instruc. de ann. 1561, art. 50.

aggeration. I have read many processes which have struck and pierced me with horror, and I could regard the inquisitors who had recourse to such methods in no other light than that of cold-blooded barbarians. Suffice it to add, that the Council of the Supreme has often been obliged to forbid the repetition of the torture in the same process; but the inquisitors, by an abominable sophism, have found means to render this prohibition almost useless, by giving the name of *suspension* to that cessation from torture which is imperiously demanded by the imminent danger to which the victim is exposed of dying among their hands. My pen refuses to trace the picture of these horrors, for I know nothing more opposed to the spirit of charity and compassion which Jesus Christ inculcates in the Gospel, than this conduct of the inquisitors; *and yet, in spite of the scandal which it has given, there is not, after the eighteenth century is closed, any law or decree abolishing the torture.*"[1]

Of the punishments inflicted by the Inquisition, of the San-benito or coat of infamy, and of the Auto-da-fé, with all its dread accompaniments, we shall have too much occasion to speak in the sequel.

The principles of the ancient and modern Inquisition were radically the same, but they assumed a more malignant form under the latter than under the former. Under the ancient Inquisition, the bishops had always a certain degree of control over its proceedings; the law of secresy was not so rigidly enforced in practice; greater liberty was allowed to the accused on their defence; and in some countries, as in Aragon, in consequence of the civil rights acquired by the people, the inquisitors were restrained from sequestrating the property of those whom they convicted of heresy.[2] But the leading difference between the two institutions consisted in the organisation of the latter into one great independent tribunal, which, extending over the whole kingdom, was governed by one code of laws, and yielded implicit obedience to one head. The inquisitor-general possessed an authority scarcely inferior to that of the king or the pope; by joining with either of them, he proved an overmatch for the other; and when supported by both, his power was irresistible. The ancient Inquisition was a powerful engine for harassing and rooting out a small body of dissidents; the modern Inquisition stretched its iron arms over a whole nation, upon which it lay like a monstrous incubus, paralysing its exertions, crushing its energies, and extinguishing every other feeling but a sense of weakness and terror.

In the course of the first year in which it was erected, the Inquisition of Seville, which then extended over Castile, committed two thousand persons alive to the flames, burnt as many in effigy, and condemned seventeen thousand to different penances.[3] According to a moderate computation, from the same date to 1517, the year in which Luther made his appearance, thirteen thousand persons were burnt alive, eight thousand seven hundred were burnt in effigy, and one hundred and

[1] Llorente, i. 306—309. [2] Ibid. p. 168. [3] Mariana, Hist. Hisp. lib. xxiv. cap 17.

sixty-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty-three were condemned to penances; making in all one hundred and ninety-one thousand four hundred and twenty-three persons condemned by the several tribunals of Spain in the course of thirty-six years.[1] There is reason for thinking that this estimate falls much below the truth. For from 1481 to 1520 it is computed that in Andalusia alone thirty thousand persons informed against themselves, from the dread of being accused by others, or in the hope of obtaining a mitigation of their sentence.[2] And down to the commencement of the seventeenth century, the instances of absolution were so rare, that one is scarcely to be found in a thousand cases; the inquisitors making it a point that, if possible, none should escape without bearing a mark of their censure, as at least suspected *de levi*, or in the lowest degree.[3]

It was to be expected that the inquisitors would exert their power in checking the cultivation of biblical learning. In 1490 many copies of the Hebrew Bible were committed to the flames at Seville by the order of Torquemada; and in an auto-da-fé celebrated soon after at Salamanca, six thousand volumes shared the same fate, under the pretext that they contained judaism, magic, and other illicit arts.[4] Deza, Archbishop of Seville, who had succeeded Torquemada as inquisitor-general, ordered the papers of Lebrixa to be seized, and passed sentence against him as suspected of heresy, for the corrections which he had made on the text of the Vulgate, and his other labours in elucidation of the Scriptures. "The archbishop's object," says Lebrixa, in an apology which he drew up for himself, "was to deter me from writing. He wished to extinguish the knowledge of the two languages on which our religion depends; and I was condemned for impiety, because, being no divine but a mere grammarian, I presumed to treat of theological subjects. If a person endeavour to restore the purity of the sacred text, and point out the mistakes which have vitiated it, unless he will retract his opinions, he must be loaded with infamy, excommunicated, and doomed to an ignominious punishment! Is it not enough that I submit my judgment to the will of Christ in the Scriptures? must I also reject as false what is as clear and evident as the light of truth itself? What tyranny! to hinder a man, under the most cruel pains, from saying what he thinks, though he express himself with the utmost respect for religion! to forbid him to write in his closet or in the solitude of a prison! to speak to himself, or even to think! On what subject shall we

[1] Llorente, iv. 251—256. These numbers are taken from the calculation made by Llorente, after he had, with great care and impartiality, lowered his estimates, and corrected some errors into which he had fallen in an early part of his work, owing to his not having attended to the exact years in which some of the provincial tribunals were erected. Tom. i. 272—281, 341, 360.

[2] Puigblanch, Inquisition Unmasked, i. 158. According to this author the number of the reconciled and banished in Andalusia, from 1480 to 1520, was a hundred thousand; while forty-five thousand were burnt alive in the archbishopric of Seville. Ibid. vol. ii. p. 180.

[3] Llorente, i. 319—321. Hence the proverb:—

Devant l'Inquisition, quand on vient a jube,
Si l'on ne sort roti, l'on sort au moins flambe.

[4] Ibid. i. 281, 456.

employ our thoughts, if we are prohibited from directing them to those sacred oracles which have been the delight of the pious in every age, and on which they have meditated by day and by night ?" [1]

Arbitrary as this court was in its principles, and tyrannical and cruel as it has proved in its proceedings, so blinded did the Spanish nation become as to felicitate itself on the establishment of the Inquisition. The cities of ancient Greece vied with one another for the honour of having given birth to Homer. The cities of modern Germany have warmly disputed the honour of having invented the art of printing. Even the credit of having first adopted this German invention has given rise to an honourable rivalry among the states of Italy; and the monastery of St Subiac, in the Campagna di Roma, has endeavoured to wrest the palm from both Milan and Venice.[2] But the cities of Spain have engaged in a more than inglorious contest for the credit of having been the first seat of an institution which, after failing to strangle learning in its birth, has all along persecuted it with the most unrelenting malice. The claims of the inhabitants of Seville are engraven on a monument erected in their city to the memory of this event. Segovia has contested this honour with Seville, and its historians are seriously divided on the question whether the Holy Office held its first sitting in the house of the Marquis de Moya or in that of the Majorat de Caceres.[3]

It is but justice, however, to the Spaniards to state, that this perverted and degrading sentiment was the effect of the Inquisition, and formed no original trait in the national character. The fact is now ascertained beyond all question, that the erection of this tribunal was viewed by the nation with the greatest aversion and alarm.[4] Talavera, the excellent Archbishop of Granada, resisted its introduction with all his influence. The most enlightened Spaniards of that age spoke of its proceedings with horror and shame. "The losses and misery which the evil ministers of the Inquisition have brought on my country can never be enough deplored," says the Chevalier de Cordova, Gonzalez de Ayora, in a letter to the secretary of King Ferdinand.[5] "O unhappy Spain, mother of so many heroes, how unjustly disgraced by such a horrible scourge!" exclaims Peter Martyr.[6] D'Arbues, the first in-

[1] Anton. Nebriss. Apologia pro scipso: Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Nova, tom. ii. 138. Llorente, i. 345.

[2] Ginguené, Hist. Liter. d'Italie, tom. iii. p. 271.

[3] Llorente, i. 151. This is astonishing; but what follows is still more so. "During my residence in London," says Llorente, "I heard some Catholics say that the Inquisition had been useful in Spain by preserving the Catholic faith; and that it would have been well for France if she had had a similar establishment." "An English Catholic priest, in my hearing, made an apology for it." Ibid. pref. p. xxi., and tom. ii. p. 288.

[4] Mariana, Hist. Hisp. lib. xxiv. cap. 17. Pulgar, Cronic. de los Reyes Catol. part ii. cap. 77. Llorente refers, as witnesses of the fact, to Galindez de Carabajal, historiographer to Ferdinand and Isabella, and to Andres Bernaldez, chaplain to the inquisitor-general Deza. Tom. i. p. 185. Pulgar, a contemporary writer of great judgment and taste, was not merely an enemy to the Inquisition, but opposed the corporal punishment of heretics, and maintained that they ought to be restrained only by pecuniary mulcts. Ferdinandi de Pulgar Epistolæ, a Juliano Magon, p. 17—19.

[5] This letter, preserved in the Royal Library of Madrid, is not to be found in the edition of Ayora's Letters. Llorente, i. 349.

[6] Martyris Epistolæ, ep. 393. Martyr's Letters, being published out of Spain, escaped the hands of the *expurgatores*.

quisitor of Aragon, and afterwards canonised as a martyr, was not the only individual who fell a sacrifice to the indignation against the Inquisition, shared by all classes of the community. Torquemada, the first inquisitor-general, was obliged to adopt the greatest precautions for his personal safety. In his journeys he was uniformly accompanied by a guard of fifty familiars on horseback, and two hundred on foot; and he had always on his table the tusk of a wild animal, to which he trusted for discovering and neutralising poisons.[1] In Aragon, where the inhabitants had been accustomed to the old Inquisition for two centuries and a half, the introduction of it in its new form excited tumults in various places, and met with a resistance almost national.[2] No sooner had the inhabitants of Castile felt the yoke, than they sought to throw it off; and the cortes of that kingdom joined with those of Aragon and Catalonia in representing the grievances which they suffered from the Inquisition, and in demanding a radical reform on its iniquitous and oppressive laws.[3] It is unnecessary to say that these attempts, which were renewed at intervals during thirty years from the establishment of that tribunal, proved finally abortive.

This unfortunate issue was in no small degree owing to Cardinal Ximenes, who contributed more than any other individual to rivet the chains of political and spiritual despotism on his native country. Possessed of talents which enabled him to foresee the dire effects which the Inquisition would inevitably produce, he was called to take part in public affairs at a time when these effects had decidedly appeared. It was in his power to abolish that execrable tribunal altogether as an insufferable nuisance, or at least to impose such checks upon its procedure as would have rendered it comparatively harmless. But he not only allowed himself to be placed at its head, but employed all his influence and address in defeating every attempt to reform its worst and most glaring abuses. In 1512 the New Christians made an offer of six hundred thousand crowns to Ferdinand, to assist him in carrying on the war in Navarre, on condition that a law was passed enjoining the testimonies of the witnesses, in processes before the Inquisition, to be made public. With the view of diverting the king from acceding to this proposal, Ximenes seconded his remonstrances against it by placing a large sum of money at the royal disposal. And in 1516, when a similar offer was made to the ministers of Charles V., and when the universities and learned men of Spain and Flanders had given their opinion that the communication of the names and depositions of the witnesses was conformable both to divine and human laws, the cardinal again interposed, and by messengers and letters urged the rejection of the measure, upon the wretched plea that a certain nameless witness had been assassinated, and that the person of the king was put in

[1] Llorente, chap. vi. art. 3; chap. viii. art. 6.
[2] Ibid. chap. vi. art. 6.
[3] Ibid. chap. x. art. 8; chap. xi. art. 1, 2, 3. Martyris Epist. ep. 342, 370. Quintanilla p. 169.

danger by the admission of converted Jews into the palace.[1] He exerted himself with equal zeal in resisting the applications which the New Christians made to the court of Rome for the same object.[2] During the eleven years that he was at the head of this tribunal, fifty-one thousand one hundred and sixty-seven persons were condemned, of whom two thousand five hundred and thirty-six were burnt alive.[3] Not satisfied with perpetuating the Inquisition in his native country, he extended the precious boon to two quarters of the globe, by establishing one tribunal at Oran in Africa, and another at Cuba in America. With the exception of the check which, at the commencement of his ministry, he put on the mad proceedings of the inquisitor Luzero, who, by listening to false accusations, had harassed the good Archbishop of Granada, the Marquis of Pliego, and many of the most respectable persons of the kingdom,[4] the reforms which the cardinal made on the Inquisition are confined to the substitution of a St Andrew's cross in place of the ordinary one on the san-benito, and the allotment of separate churches for the New Christians.[5] If mankind were to be treated as their foolish admiration of talents merits, they would be left to groan under the rod of oppression. Ximenes has obtained the title of a great man, from foreigners as well as natives of Spain.[6] But in spite of the eulogiums passed upon him, I cannot help being of opinion, with a modern writer,[7] that Ximenes bore a striking resemblance to Philip II., with this difference, that the cardinal was possessed of higher talents, and that his proceedings were characterised by a certain openness and impartiality, the result of the unlimited confidence which he placed in his own powers. His character was essentially that of a monk, in which the severity of his order was combined with the impetuosity of blood which belongs to the natives of the south.

The cardinal would be still more inexcusable if he were the author of an unpublished work which has been ascribed to him. It is a fictitious composition, after the manner of the Utopia of Sir Thomas More, and treats of the best mode of governing a kingdom. In one part of it, the abuses of the Holy Office are discussed freely and at large in the presence of Prudenciano, monarch of the kingdom of Truth, who, after hearing the inquisitors, decides, with the advice of his counsellors, that all persons accused of heresy shall be put in possession of the names and depositions of the witnesses; that they shall have the same liberty

[1] Quintanilla, p. 173. Llorente, i. 365—367

[2] Ibid. *ut supra.*

[3] Llorente, iv. 255.

[4] Martyris Epist. ep. 333, 334, 342, 370, 393. Quintanilla, p. 168, 169. Llorente, i. 345—353. See also the letter of the archbishop to the Catholic king, published in Llorente's Appendix, no. IX. Martyr speaks of Luzero as condemned; but Quintanilla says he was pronounced innocent, and it is certain he continued to enjoy his bishopric. After settling that affair, Ximenes held an auto-da-fé, in which fifty Jews were burnt alive; "one of the best *singeings*," says Quintanilla, "that had yet been seen:" "*la mejor chamusquina que se avia visto.*"

[5] Llorente, i. 359—361.

[6] As an instance of the illusion which a great name throws over the mind of an impartial writer, it may be noticed that Llorente begins his account of the number of victims who suffered during the time that Ximenes was inquisitor-general, with these words: "Ximenes *permitted* the condemnation," &c. Tom. i. p. 360.

[7] Sismondi.

of holding intercourse with their advocates, procurators, and friends, which is granted to other prisoners; that they shall not be excluded from the benefit of divine service during their confinement; that New Christians, and the descendants of heretics, shall be admissible to all offices, and exempted from every stigma; that, to prevent ignorant convictions, the tribunals of the Inquisition shall be provided with judges well instructed in questions of faith; that the confiscation of the goods of those condemned for heresy shall be limited to the property which they actually possess at the time, and shall not extend to the portions which they had previously given to their married children, nor interfere with the fulfilment of any lawful engagement which they had contracted; and, in general, that processes before the Inquisition shall be conducted on the maxims which regulate other courts of criminal judicature.[1] This treatise, drawn up during the minority of Charles V., was intended for the instruction of that young prince, and proves that Spain possessed at that time persons of superior illumination; but we may safely acquit Cardinal Ximenes from the suspicion of being the author of a work containing principles of liberal policy and enlightened justice, which there is no reason to think that ghostly statesman ever entertained at any period of his life.

The history of the Inquisition, during the first thirty years after its erection, discloses a series of intrigue, in which it is hard to say whether the Court of Rome, the Court of Spain, or the Holy Office, acted the most deceitful and unprincipled part. While they combined to oppress and impoverish the people of Spain, each of them sought to overreach the other and to promote its own selfish designs. The court of Rome readily gave its sanction to the establishment of the Inquisition; and Sixtus IV., in a letter to Queen Isabella, signified that "he had felt the most lively desire to see it introduced into the kingdom of Castile."[2] Notwithstanding this, the papal court both secretly and openly encouraged the New Christians to appeal to Rome, reversed the sentences which the Inquisition had pronounced against them in Spain, and admitted them to reconciliation in secret. But after it had extorted large sums of money for these favours, no sooner did the Spanish monarch, at the instigation of the inquisitors, reclaim against these proceedings, than it revoked its decisions, suspended the execution of its bulls, and left the victims of its avarice and duplicity to the vengeance of their incensed persecutors.[3] It was evidently on the same avaricious principle that Leo X., in the year 1517, authorised the inquisitors at Rome to judge in complaints of heresy against natives of Spain. On that occasion, Gerónimo Vich, the Spanish ambassador, received orders from his court to remonstrate against this decree, as inflicting a stigma on a

[1] The work is entitled *Del regimento de Principes*, and is preserved in MS. in the library of St Isidore at Madrid. That part of it which relates to the Inquisition has been published by Llorente, in the Appendix to his work, No. X., and is a most interesting document. Llorente produces no evidence to support his opinion that it was the production of Ximenes.

[2] Llorente, i. 164. [3] Ibid. p. 239—256.

nation which had testified such zeal for the Catholic faith, and to request that the remedy against heresy should be applied equally to those of other countries. To this representation Leo gravely replied, that so far from wishing to inflict a disgrace, he had intended to confer an honour on the Spanish nation; that he had dealt with them as a rich man does with his jewels, which he guards with greater care than the rest of his property; and thought that, as the Spaniards entertained so high an esteem for the Inquisition at home, they would not be offended with it abroad.[1]

The conduct of the Inquisition presented the same glaring contradiction of the avowed principles on which it was founded. Amidst all their professions of zeal for the purity of the faith, the inquisitors carried on the scandalous traffic of commuting canonical censure for pecuniary mulcts. To retain Christians within the sacred enclosure of the Catholic church, and in dutiful subjection to its supreme head, was the grand object of the institution of the Holy Office; and the exercise of its powers was delegated to the monks, who were the most devoted supporters of the Roman pontiff, and held that his decrees in matters of faith, when pronounced *ex cathedra*, were infallible. Yet when the decrees of the Holy See were opposite to their own determinations, or interfered with their particular interests, they made no scruple of resisting them, and engaging the government of the country in their quarrel.[2]

It was not to be expected that the conduct of the Court of Spain would be less selfish. All are agreed that Ferdinand, in supporting the Inquisition, regarded it, not as a means of preserving the purity of religion, but as an instrument of tyranny and extortion. Nor was his grandson, Charles V., actuated by higher motives. On assuming the reins of government in Spain, he swore to observe certain equivocal regulations for correcting the abuses of the Inquisition; but he declared at the same time in private, that this promise had been extorted from him by the importunity of the representatives of certain cities. Despairing of any relief from this quarter, the Cortes of Aragon sent deputies to Rome, and, by the distribution of a sum of money among the cardinals, obtained three briefs reforming the Inquisition, and placing its procedure on the footing of common law. Charles, who wished to employ that formidable tribunal as an engine for suppressing the tumults which his arbitrary measures had excited in various parts of the kingdom, applied to Leo X. for a bull annulling the obnoxious briefs. The negotiation which ensued, and was protracted during three years, is equally disgraceful to both parties. His holiness told Senor de Belmonte, the Spanish ambassador, that he had been informed by credible persons, that the Inquisition was the cause of terrible mischief

[1] The despatch of the Spanish court on this occasion, and the reply made to the ambassador, are given by Argensola, in his Annales de Aragon, p. 373—376.

[2] Llorente, i. 240, 247, 392, 395; ii. 81.

in Spain; to which the ambassador bluntly replied, that the persons who gave this information were believed, because they were liberal of their money. At the same time he advised his master to have recourse to that system of bribery of which he complained. "Cardinal Santiquatro," writes he, "can be of great service in this affair, because he draws as much money as possible to his master and himself. It is only on this condition that he is authorised by the pope to act, and he executes his task with great adroitness. The Cardinal of Ancona is a learned man, and an enemy to the former. He is minister of justice, and can be useful, as he is well disposed, to serve your majesty; but he is reckoned as great a thief as his colleague." In another missive he says: "Always I am assured that, in what relates to the Inquisition, money is a means of gaining over these cardinals." And after soliciting instructions from his court, he adds: "All this is necessary, and something besides; for money does much here. The pope expects (from Aragon and Catalonia) forty-six or forty-seven thousand ducats." The cardinals were too "wise in their generation" to be deceived by the flattering representations which the ambassador made of his master's disinterestedness, and laughed at the idea of sovereigns supporting the Inquisition "from pure zeal for religion." In vain did Charles himself endeavour to quicken the tardy steps of Leo, by writing that "the world surmised that his holiness and he understood one another, and wished to squeeze as much money as possible from the bull in question." The crafty pontiff, assuming the tone of justice, threatened, by a decree of the sacred Rota, to annul all the sentences of confiscation pronounced against those Spaniards who had made a voluntary confession of heresy; "and I am told," says the ambassador, "that if this measure pass, as is expected, your majesty will be obliged to restore more than a million of ducats acquired in that way."[1] A few persons, through perversion of judgment, have burnt men alive *for the love of God*, but, in the greater number of instances, I apprehend it will be found that this has been done *for the love of money.*

Leo X. having died during this dispute, was succeeded by Adrian, the preceptor of Charles V., who continued to hold the situation of inquisitor-general of Spain, along with that of supreme pontiff, for nearly two years. This union of offices, in the person of the spiritual adviser of the young monarch, led to measures which extinguished every hope of procuring a reform of the Holy Office. Despairing of relief, the nation submitted to the yoke; habit reconciled them to it; and, making a virtue of necessity, they soon came to congratulate themselves on an institution which they had regarded as an engine of the most intolerable and degrading servitude.

Other causes contributed, along with the Inquisition, to rivet the chains of religious bondage on the minds of the Spaniards, and to render the prospect of ecclesiastical reform among them next to hopeless.

[1] Llorente, chap. xi. art. 5.

One of these causes was the suppression of their civil liberties. Formerly the victims of persecution had often found shelter within the independent domains of the nobles, or the privileged walls of great cities. Cardinal Ximenes, by flattering the commons without adding to their real consequence, had succeeded in breaking the power of the nobility. Charles pursued the line of policy which his minister had begun, by invading the rights of the people. Irritated by the assistance which the latter had given to the attack on their immunities, the nobles either stood aloof from the contest which ensued, or sided with the crown. The consequence was that the commons, after an enthusiastic resistance, were subdued; the cortes and the chartered towns were stripped of their privileges; and the authority of the sovereign became absolute and despotical throughout the united kingdom.

The great accession of wealth and reputation which Spain had acquired by the discovery of the New World, proved no less fatal to her religious than to her political liberty. Columbus appears to have been at first actuated solely by an enthusiastic passion for nautical discovery; but during the discouragements with which his ardent and unconquerable spirit had to contend, another feeling arose of a no less powerful kind, which was cherished, if not infused, by the monks of La Rabida, among whom he resided for some time, and who zealously assisted him in his applications to the court of Castile, and in his exertions to fit out the fleet with which he entered on his daring enterprise. His imagination was now fired with the idea of not only adding to the boundaries of the known world, but also of enlarging the pale of the Catholic Church, by converting to the Christian faith the inhabitants of those rich and populous countries with which he hoped to open a communication, by stretching across the waters of the western ocean. Similar views, but associated with baser feelings, were adopted by the successors of Columbus. As the See of Rome, in virtue of the universal authority which it arrogated, had granted to Spain all the countries which she might discover beyond the Atlantic, the conquerors of America looked upon themselves as the servants of the church as much as of the sovereigns from whom they immediately received their commission. Their cupidity was inflamed by fanaticism; and the consideration that every battle which they won was subservient to the spread of the Catholic faith, atoned for, and sanctified in their eyes the unheard-of cruelties which they inflicted on the intimidated and unoffending natives of the New World. Sanctioned as they were by the government and clergy, these views were easily diffused through the nation. Astonished at the intelligence which they received from their countrymen who had visited the newly discovered regions, elated by the splendid success which had crowned their undertakings, and flushed with the hopes of the inexhaustible riches which would continue to flow in upon them, the Spaniards were thrown into a feverish intoxication, which, meeting with other causes, produced an important change on their sentiments and character.

New feelings sprung up in their breasts; and late transactions were seen by them in a light different from that in which they had formerly viewed them. Reflecting that they had expelled the Jews, the hereditary and inveterate enemies of Christianity, from their coasts, overturned the Mahometan empire which had been established for ages in the Peninsula, and planted the standard of the cross among Pagans on a new continent of incalculable extent, they began to consider themselves as the favourites of Heaven, destined to propagate and defend the true faith, and bound, by national honour as well as duty, to preserve their sacred soil from being polluted by the slightest taint of heretical pravity.

To these causes must be added the vast increase of strength which the Spanish monarchy received by the succession of its youthful sovereign to his paternal dominions in the Low Countries, Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary, and by his elevation to the imperial throne of Germany under the name of Charles V. The chief obstacle which this presented to the spread of the reformed opinions in Spain, did not lie in the ease with which it enabled him to crush the least symptom of revolt from the established faith. Independently of all personal convictions, Charles, in seeking to realise his towering projects of universal empire, must have seen it his interest to cultivate the friendship of the court of Rome; and although he was involved in contests with particular pontiffs, and held one of them for some time a prisoner in his own castle, yet he uniformly testified the warmest regard for the Catholic faith, and the honour of the popedom. In the forcible measures to which he had recourse for suppressing the Reformation in Germany, he relied chiefly on the troops which he drew from Spain, whose detestation of heresy was heightened by the hostilities which they waged against its professors. To their countrymen at home, who already regarded them as the champions of the faith, they transmitted the most hateful representation of the Protestants, whom they described as at once the pest of the church and the great obstacle to the execution of the splendid schemes of their beloved monarch. Thus the glory of the Spanish arms became associated with the extirpation of heresy. And when the Protestant cause ultimately triumphed over the policy and power of the Emperor, the mortification felt by the Spaniards settled into a deadly antipathy to everything which proceeded from Germany, and a jealous dread lest the heresy with which it was infected should secretly find its way into their own country.

CHAPTER IV.

INTRODUCTION OF THE REFORMED DOCTRINE INTO SPAIN.

THE boldness with which Luther attacked, first the abuses and afterwards the authority of the Roman See, soon attracted general attention throughout Christendom. Nor could his opinions remain long unknown in Spain, especially after the intercourse between that country and Germany became frequent, in consequence of the advancement of the Spanish monarch to the Imperial throne.

So early as the beginning of the year 1519, John Froben, a celebrated printer at Basle, sent to Spain a quantity of a collection of tracts by Luther, which he had lately reprinted.[1] These were in Latin, and consequently were confined to the learned. But, in the course of the following year, the reformer's Commentary on the Galatians, a work which exhibited his doctrinal sentiments on the most important points, was translated into Spanish.[2] This was followed by translations into the same language of his Treatise on Christian Liberty, and his reply to Erasmus on free-will.[3] These books appear to have been translated and printed at Antwerp, a place of great trade within the paternal dominions of Charles V., from which the Spanish merchants, who were at the expense of the publication, could most easily get copies conveyed to their native country.[4]

Alfonso Valdes, a young man of talents who, as secretary to Charles V., accompanied him to his coronation in 1520, sent to Spain, at the request of Peter Martyr, a particular account of the religious dispute in Germany, from the first declaration of Luther against indulgences to his burning of the pontifical decrees at Wittenberg. In another letter, written during the following year, he continued his account to the close of the Diet of Worms. His narrative is in general correct; and although he expresses great horror at the boldness with which the

[1] This is stated in a letter from Froben to Luther, dated 14th Feb. 1519, (Luther's Sämtliche Schriften, edit. Walch, tom. xv. pp. 1631, 1632); and in a letter from Wolfg. Fabricius Capito to the same, dated 12 calend. Martii, 1519. Fabricii Centifolium Lutheranum, tom. i. p. 318. From Froben's letter it appears that he had also sent copies of the book to England.

[2] Beausobre, Hist. of the Reform. vol. i. p. 262.

[3] Gerdesii Hist. Reform. tom. iii. 168, note g.

[4] Pallavicini, Istor. Concil. Trent. p. 33. The cardinal says that the persons who procured these works "must have sprung from Moorish blood; for who would suspect the Old Christians of Spain of such an action?"

reformer attacked the papal authority, he acknowledges the necessity of reform, and ascribes the continuance of the evil to the aversion of the pope to a general council, and "his preferring his private interest to the public good." "While he tenaciously adheres to his rights," says he, "and, shutting his ears, under the influence of a pious feeling perhaps, wishes to have Luther devoted to the flames, the whole Christian commonwealth is going to ruin, if God interpose not."[1] Martyr, who seems to have felt in the same way with his correspondent, imparted these letters to his friends; but it may be mentioned as a proof of the state of feeling in Spain, that he declined giving them any account of Luther's opinions, referring them for this to the writings of his opponents, "which they could easily procure if they wished them, and in which they would find the antidote along with the poison."[2]

Another Spaniard of greater authority, who was in Germany at the same time, felt somewhat differently from Valdes. Francisco de Angelis, provincial of the religious order called Angeli in Spain, had been present at the coronation of the Emperor, by whom he was despatched, after the Diet of Worms, to assist in quelling the revolt which had broken out in Castile. On his way home he stopped at Basle, where he had a long conversation with Conrad Pellican on the opinions of Luther, with whom he professed to agree upon most points.[3]

Who would have thought of the Spanish ambassador at Rome writing home in favour of Luther? We have already adverted to the difficulty which Charles found in procuring the recall of certain briefs which the pope had issued for the reform of the Inquisition. It occurred to Don Juan de Manuel, as a stroke of policy, that his master should give countenance to another species of reform which his holiness dreaded. Accordingly, in a letter dated 10th May 1520, he advises his majesty "to undertake a journey to Germany, and to appear to show a little favour to a certain friar, Martin Luther, at the Court of Saxony, who gives great uneasiness to the sovereign pontiff, by certain things which he preaches and publishes against the papal authority. This monk," adds the ambassador, "is said to be very learned, and creates great embarrassment to the pope." Nor was this a mere passing thought; for he recurs to the subject in a subsequent letter. "As to the affair of Liege, the pope appears much more discontented, because it has been told him that the bishop favours friar Martin Luther, who condemns the pontifical power in Germany. He is also displeased with Erasmus in Holland, and for the same reason. I say, they complain here of the Bishop of Liege in the affair of Luther, who gives them more distress than they could wish."[4]

On the 20th of March 1521, Leo X. issued two briefs, one addressed to the Constable and the other to the Admiral of Castile, who governed the

[1] Valdes's first letter is dated from Brussels, prid. cal. Sept. 1520; and his second from Worms, 3 id. Maii 1521. Martyris Epist. ep. 689, 722. There is some reason to think that the first of these letters was printed at the time. Ukert, Luther's Leben, ii. 100.

[2] Martyris Epist. p. 412.

[3] Vita Pellicani: Melch. Adami Vitæ Germ. Theol. p. 288.

[4] Llorente, i. 398.

kingdom in the absence of Charles V., requiring them to adopt measures for preventing the introduction of the books of Luther and his defenders into Spain. In the course of the following month, Cardinal Adrian charged the inquisitors to seize all books of this description ; and this charge was reiterated by him in the year 1523, after he had ascended the papal throne, on which occasion he required the Corregidor of Guipuscoa to furnish the officers of the Inquisition with every assistance which they might require in the execution of this duty.[1]

These were not measures of mere precaution, or intended only for the purpose of display ; for the works of Luther were read and approved of in Spain. The report of this fact drew from Erasmus the sarcasm which gave great offence to the Duke of Alva, "that the Spaniards favoured Luther, in order that they might be thought Christians."[2] So eager were the inquisitors in their search after the disciples of the new doctrine, that they fixed their suspicions on the venerable Juan de Avila, commonly called the Apostle of Andalusia. In his preaching, which was recommended by the exemplary piety and charity of his life, he adhered to the simplicity of Scripture, rejecting the abstruse and foolish questions of the schools. Irritated by his reproofs, and envious of his fame, the monks, in 1525, denounced to the Inquisition some propositions advanced by him as Lutheran, or savouring of Lutheranism and the doctrine of the Illuminati. He was thrown into prison, and would have been condemned had not Manrique, one of the mildest of the inquisitors-general, who felt a high respect for his character, extended to him the shield of his powerful protection, which did not however prevent his works from being afterwards put into the list of prohibited books.[3]

The Spanish monks were diverted for a time from searching after the writings of Luther, by their anxiety to suppress those of Erasmus, from which they dreaded more immediate danger. This learned man, to whom the name of the forerunner of Luther has not unjustly been given, had many friends in Spain who were so confident in their strength as to write him that they expected to be victorious in the contest. They were mistaken ; for his adversaries outnumbered them in an ecclesiastical junta held at Madrid in the year 1527 ; and in consequence of this his Colloquies, his Praise of Folly, and his Paraphrase of the New Testament, were censured, and prohibited to be explained in schools, or to be sold or read.[4] "How I am to be pitied!" exclaims he ; "the Lutherans attack me as a convicted papist, and the Catholics run me down as a friend of Luther."

[1] Llorente, i. 419, 457.

[2] Vives Erasmo, 19 Jan. 1522 : Epistolæ Thomæ Mori et Lud. Vives, col. 91.

[3] Llorente, ii. 6, 7, 423. Vives, in a letter to Erasmus, intimates that Manrique wished to restrain the fury of the Inquisition. Epistolæ, *ut supra*, col. 109.

[4] Erasmi Epistolæ, ep. 884, 907, 910. Burscheri Spicilegia Autogr. Erasm. spic. v. pp. 12, 20, 24. Llorente, i. 459—462. A Spanish translation of the Enchiridion of Erasmus was printed in 1517, and met with such encouragement that it was intended to publish his Paraphrase in the same language. Epistolæ T. Mori et L. Vives, col. 107: conf. Schlegel, Vita Spalatini, p. 111, note l. John Maldonat, Councillor to Charles V., in a letter dated Burgos, 3 cal. Dec. 1527, after

The patrons of ignorance resolved to pursue their victory, and prosecutions for heresy were immediately commenced against some of the most learned men in the kingdom. Pedro de Lerma, Professor of Divinity and Chancellor of the University of Alcala, was denounced to the Inquisition of Toledo, as suspected of the Lutheran opinions, and fled to Paris. His nephew and successor, Luis de Cadena, soon fell under the same suspicion, and followed his example.[1] Juan de Vergara, one of the editors of the Polyglot, and his brother Bernardin Tobar, were less fortunate; for, being seized by the orders of the inquisitors of Toledo, they were not permitted to leave the dungeons of the holy office until they had abjured the heresy of Luther as persons slightly suspected, received absolution *ad cautelam*, and submitted to certain penances.[2]

Two events which happened at this time had considerable influence in turning the attention of the Spaniards to the cause of Luther, and giving them a more favourable impression of his opinions. The first was the dispute between Charles V. and Pope Clement VII., which led, in 1527, to the sack of Rome and imprisonment of the pontiff. Though Charles on that occasion ordered the public rejoicings for the birth of his son Philip to be suspended as a mark of his sorrow for so untoward an occurrence, yet it was regarded as a triumph by the nation, and gave occasion to satirical ballads against the pope and see of Rome.[3] The other event was the presentation of the Protestant Confession of Faith to the imperial Diet of Augsburg in 1530, at which Charles was present, attended by a great body of Spanish nobles and clergy.[4] This had no inconsiderable effect in dissipating the false idea of the opinions of Luther, which had hitherto been industriously propagated. At the Diet of Worms in 1521, the Spanish attendants of the Emperor, instead of admiring the heroism

mentioning a certain Dominican who had been active in inflaming the minds of his brethren against Erasmus, adds: "He has acted in the same way with certain intermeddling nuns, and with some noble women, who in this country have great influence over their husbands in what relates to religion." Burscheri Spicil. *ut supra*, p. 24.

[1] Llorente, ii. 430, 454. Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Nova, ii. 29. Gomez, while he eulogises the talents and services of Lerma and Cadena, passes over the cause of their disgrace. Vita Ximenii, pp. 79, 83, 224, 225.

[2] Llorente, ii. 7, 8. Vives, in a letter to Erasmus, 10th May 1534, says: "We live in difficult times, in which one can neither speak nor be silent without danger. Vergara and his brother Tovar, with some other learned men in Spain, have been apprehended." Epistolæ T. Mori et L. Vives, col. 114.

[3] The following is a specimen of one of the poems composed at that time in Spain:—

La gran sobervia de Roma
Agora Espana la refrena,
Por la culpa del pastor
El ganado se condena.
. . . . .
El governalle quitado
La aguja se desgovierna,
Gran agua coge la bomba,
Menester tiene carena,
Por la culpa del piloto
Que la rige y la govierna.

Depping, Sammlung der besten alten Spanischen Romanzen, p. 447.

We have mentioned elsewhere the ridicule with which the Germans in the imperial army treated Clement VII. during his imprisonment. Hist. of the Reformation in Italy, p. 42—43. It appears that the Spaniards took part in the scene. They composed a new pater-noster in verse, with which they serenaded his holiness. The following is one of the coplas, alluding to his claims on Milan:

Padre nuestro en quanto Papa,
Soys Clemcynte, sin que os quadre:
Mas reniego yo del Padre,
Que al hijo quita la capa.

Dos Tratados, p. 216.

[4] Buschingii Comment. de Vestigiis Lutheranismi in Hispania, sect. 2, note (d.) Goetting. 1755.

displayed by Luther, treated him with insult as he retired from the court-room to his lodgings.[1] But there was a marked difference in their behaviour on the present occasion. Persons of note, including the Emperor's confessor, who was a native of Spain, acknowledged that they had hitherto been deceived.[2] When Charles asked the advice of the Spanish nobility who were present, they replied, after perusing the Confession in a French translation, that if his Majesty found it contrary to the articles of faith, he ought to suppress the Lutherans; but if it merely required the abolition of certain ceremonies and such like things, he ought not to have recourse to violent measures against them; and they gave it as their advice that the litigated points should be submitted to some pious persons who were addicted to neither party.[3] Alfonso Valdes, the Emperor's secretary, of whom we have already spoken,[4] had several friendly and confidential interviews with Melanchthon at this important crisis. He read the Augsburg Confession before it was presented to the Diet; and the only objection which he appears to have made to it was, that its language was rather too severe for its opponents.[5] In one of the conversations between these two learned men, held in the presence of Cornelius Scepper, an agent of the King of Denmark, Melanchthon lamented the strong prejudices which the natives of Spain entertained against the reformers, and said that he had frequently endeavoured, both by word of mouth and by letters, to convince them of the misconceptions under which they laboured, but with very little success. Valdes acknowledged that it was a common opinion among his countrymen that Luther and his followers believed neither in God nor the Trinity, in Christ nor the Virgin; and that in Spain it was thought as meritorious an action to strangle a Lutheran as to shoot a Turk.[6] He added that his influence had been exerted to relieve the mind of the Emperor from such false impressions; and that at a late interview he had received it in charge to say that his Majesty wished Melanchthon to draw up a clear summary of the opinions of the Lutherans, contrasted, article by article, with those of their opponents. The reformer readily complied with this request, and the result of his labours was communicated by Valdes to Campegio the papal legate.[7]

[1] Luther's Sämtliche Schriften, tom. xv. p. 2309.

[2] Christ. Aug. Salig, Historie der Augspurgischen Confession, tom. i. p. 225.

[3] This is the advice of which Melanchthon speaks with satisfaction, in a letter to Luther (Epist. Melanch. lib. i. ep. 5), and which is highly praised by Spalatinus. Annales, pp. 143, 144. "But where were these pious impartial persons to be found?" says Salig. Historie, *ut supra*, p. 227.

[4] See above, p. 60.

[5] Melanchthonis Epist. lib. iv. ep. 95: conf. lib. i. ep. 2, lib. iv. ep. 99. Valdes translated the Augsburg Confession into Spanish. Salig, i. 224. The same task was afterwards performed by Sandoval. Fabricii Centif. Lutheran. i. 111. But it is probable that neither of these translations was printed. Ukert, Luther's Leben, i. 279.

[6] The following is a specimen of the manner in which the Spanish poets were accustomed to couple the reformers with the worst heretics and greatest enemies of religion:

El Germano Martin la despedaza:
Arrio, Sabello, Helvidio y Justiniano
Siguen de Cristo la homicida caza,
Calvino con Pelagio y el Nestoriano
Como tras fiera van tras El a caza:
Quien toma pierna o pie, quien brazo o mano:
Denuncia guerra Acab contra Miquea,
Y Malco a Dios de nuevo abofetea.

Francisco de Aldana, Obras: Floresta de Rimas Antiguas Castellanas, vol. i. p. 180.

[7] Salig, i. 186, 187. Schlegel, Vita Spala-

These proceedings did not escape the vigilant eye of the Inquisition. When Valdes returned soon after to his native country, he was accused before the Holy Office, and condemned as a suspected Lutheran; a censure which he incurred by his exertions to promote polite letters in his native country, as well as by the familiarity which he had cultivated with the reformers of Germany.[1] Alfonso de Virves met with the same treatment as his friend Valdes, and for the same reasons. This learned Benedictine was chaplain to Charles V., who had taken him along with him in his late visits to Germany, and was so fond of him that, on his return to Spain, he would hear no other preacher. Virves had favoured, though with much reserve, the writings of Erasmus, and was known to have conversed with some of the principal reformers.[2] On these grounds his conduct was watched, and he soon found himself in the hands of the inquisitors at Seville. In vain did he appeal to a work against Melanchthon which he had prepared for the press; and, what is more singular, in vain did the Emperor interpose to stop the process, banish the inquisitor-general from Seville, and signify his displeasure against the other members of the Council of the Supreme. Virves was kept in the secret prisons for four years, during which, to use his own words, "he was occupied, without breathing or respite, with charges, replies, rejoinders, depositions, defences, arguments, acts, words (the very utterance of which made him shudder), errors, heresies, schisms, blasphemies, anathemas." At last, in 1537, a definitive sentence was pronounced, condemning him, as suspected of holding the errors of Luther, to make a formal abjuration, to be absolved *ad cautelam*, to be confined in a monastery for two years, and to be prohibited from preaching for other two years. He was accordingly obliged to abjure, on the day of his auto-da-fé in the metropolitan church of Seville, all the heresies of Luther in general, and those in particular which he was suspected of entertaining. The Emperor procured a brief from the pope, absolving his favourite preacher from the remaining pains of censure; but when he afterwards presented him to the bishopric of the Canaries, it was with the utmost reluctance that his holiness granted the bull of confirmation to a man who had incurred the suspicion of heresy in the eyes of the Inquisition.[3] "Many have adopted the maxim," says Virves, speaking of the proper manner of converting heretics, "that it is lawful to abuse a heretic by word and writing, when they have it not in their power to kill or torture him. If they get a poor man, whom they can persecute with

tini, pp. 121, 122. Coelestin has inserted what he considered as the paper referred to, consisting of 17 articles. Hist. Aug. Comit. tom. i. f. 94. But Seckendorf is of opinion that it is not the work of Melanchthon. Hist. Lutheranismi, lib. ii. p. 166.

[1] Llorente, ii. 280, 281. Burscheri Spicil. v. pp. 17, 20.

[2] In a letter, dated Valeoleti, 13 kal. Jun. 1527, Virves blames Erasmus for taking freedoms in his writings which were offensive to himself and others of his friends. In another letter to him, dated Ratispona, 15th April 1532, he says: "In the mean time I am busy with preaching, having this for my object, that if I cannot reclaim the Germans from error, I may at least preserve the Spaniards from infection." Burscheri Spicil. v. pp. 12—14, 16.

[3] Llorente, ii. 8—14.

impunity, into their hands, they subject him to a disgraceful sentence; so that, though he prove himself innocent and obtain an acquittal, he is stigmatised for life as a criminal. If, on the other hand, the unhappy person has fallen into error through inadvertence, or the conversation of those with whom he associated, his judges do not labour to undeceive him by explaining the doctrine of Scripture, soft persuasion, and paternal advice, but, in spite of the character of fathers to which they lay claim, have recourse to the prison, the torture, chains, and the axe. And what is the effect of these horrible means? All these torments inflicted on the body can produce no change whatever on the dispositions of the mind, which can be brought back to the truth only by the word of God, which is quick, powerful, and sharper than a two-edged sword."[1]

These reflections are so excellent in themselves, and so refreshing as coming from the pen of a Spanish Catholic of the sixteenth century, that, in reading them, we feel disposed to rejoice, instead of grieving at that imprisonment which, if it did not suggest them, must have served to deepen their impression on his mind. No thanks, however, to the persecutors. Some writers have expressed their surprise that the proceedings against Virves and others did not open the eyes of Charles V. to the iniquity of the Inquisition; and they think he continued to be its protector from horror at Lutheranism.[2] But Charles was instructed in the nature of that court, and had given it his decided support, before the name of Luther became formidable. A despotical monarch may be displeased at the procedure of a tribunal of terror when it happens to touch one of his favourites, and may choose to check its encroachments on his own authority, without feeling the slightest wish to weaken its power as an engine for enslaving and oppressing his subjects.

In the mean time every method was taken to prevent the spread of Lutheran books and opinions. The Council of the Supreme, in 1530, addressed a circular letter to the inquisitors dispersed over the kingdom, informing them that the writings of Luther had made their way into the country under fictitious names, and that his errors were introduced in the form of notes appended to the works of Catholic authors; and therefore requiring them to add to the annual edict of denunciation a clause relating to such books, and to examine all public libraries with the view of discovering them. This led to the domiciliary visits which the familiars of the Inquisition were accustomed, at a subsequent period, to pay to private houses. During the following year the inquisitors were authorised to strike with the sentence of excommunication all who hindered them in the discharge of their duty, and all who read or kept such books, or who did not denounce those whom they knew to be guilty of that offence. The same penalty was extended to the parish priests who did not publish the edict in every city, town, and village; and all prelates of the regular orders, confessors, and preachers, were laid under

[1] Virves, Philippicæ Disputationes, apud Llorente, ii. 15. [2] Llorente, ii. 13.

an obligation to urge their hearers and penitents, under the pain of incurring mortal sin, to inform against themselves and others. The edict enumerated the different articles of the Lutheran heresy, down to the slightest deviation from the ceremonies of the church, and required the informers to declare "if they knew or had heard it said, that any person had taught, maintained, or entertained in his thoughts, any of these opinions."[1]

Hitherto we have not met with a single Spaniard who avowed the reformed tenets, or who was convicted on good grounds of holding them. We have every reason, however, to think that there were persons of this description in Spain, though their names have not come down to us. If this had not been the case, the inquisitors would have been guilty of the grossest indiscretion, in exposing the ears of the people to the risk of infection by publishing, with such particularity, the opinions of the German heretic in every parish church of the kingdom. Yet it must be acknowledged that, in their eagerness to discover what did not exist, and to aggravate the slightest deviation from the received faith into a dangerous error, they were sometimes instrumental in propagating what they sought to extirpate. A simple countryman was brought before the inquisitors of Seville, accused of having said among his friends that he did not think there was any purgatory but the blood of Christ. He confessed that he had thought so, but understanding that it was offensive to the holy fathers, declared himself ready to retract the sentiment. This was by no means satisfactory to the inquisitors, who told him, that by adopting that one error he had involved himself in a multitude; for, if there was no purgatory, then the pope, who had decreed the contrary, was not infallible, then general councils had erred, then justification was by faith; and so on. In vain did the poor man protest that such ideas had never once entered into his mind; he was remanded to prison until he should be prepared to retract them. The consequence was, that he was led seriously to think on these topics, and came out of the Inquisition a confirmed Lutheran.[2]

The study of polite letters had been communicated from Spain to Portugal,[3] and the knowledge of the reformed opinions proceeded in the same course. As early as 1521, Emanuel, the Portuguese monarch, addressed a letter to the Elector of Saxony, urging him to punish Luther, and extirpate his pernicious tenets, before they should spread farther in Germany and penetrate into other Christian countries.[4] In 1534, Pope Clement VII. being informed that the reformed opinions were daily making progress in Portugal, appointed Diego de Silva as inquisitor of

[1] Llorente, i. 457—459; ii. 1, 2.

[2] Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus, Inquisitionis Hispanicæ Artes Detectæ, p. 31—33. Heydelbergæ, 1567, 8vo.

[3] An accurate account of the state of learning in Portugal during the first part of the sixteenth century is given by Dr Irving in his Memoirs of Buchanan, p. 75—88. Diego Sigea is said by Vassæus, in his Chronicle of Spain, to have been the first or among the first restorers of polite letters in Portugal. He was the father of two learned females, Luisa and Angela, the former of whom was skilled in Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic, as well as in Latin and Greek. Colomesii Italia et Hispania Orientalis, pp. 236, 237. Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Nov. tom. ii. pp. 71, 72.

[4] Fabricii Centifol. Luth. tom. i. p. 85—88.

that kingdom, and in the following year we find the king representing to the court of Rome that a number of the converted Jews had become Protestants.[1]

It has been conjectured that the first converts to the reformed doctrine in Spain belonged to the religious fraternity of Franciscans, because the pope, in 1526, granted power to the general and provincials of that order to absolve such of their brethren as had imbibed the new opinions, and were willing to abjure them.[2] But this is rather to be viewed in the light of a privilege, craved by the Franciscans to exempt them from the jurisdiction of the inquisitors, who were at first chosen from the rival order of Dominicans. Few of those who afterwards became Protestants belonged to the brotherhood of St Francis.

Juan Valdes, with whom we have met elsewhere,[3] was the first person, so far as I can discover, who embraced and was active in spreading the reformed opinions in Spain. He was of a good family, and had received a liberal education. If we may judge from those with whom he was on terms of intimacy, he had studied at the university of Alcala. Having attached himself to the court, he quitted Spain about the year 1535 in the company of Charles V., who sent him to Naples to act as secretary to the Viceroy.[4] The common opinion has been that he became a convert to the Lutheran creed in Germany ; but the fact is that his mind was imbued with its leading tenets before he left his native country. This appears from a treatise drawn up by him under the title of Advice on the Interpreters of Sacred Scripture, which was circulated privately among his acquaintance. It was originally sent in the form of a letter to his friend Bartolomé Carranza, who afterwards became Archbishop of Toledo, but had early incurred the suspicions of the Holy Office by the freedom of his opinions.[5] This tract was found among the papers of the primate when he was subsequently seized by the order of the Inquisition, and formed one of the gravest articles of charge against that distinguished and long-persecuted prelate. The Advice contained the following propositions, among others : First, that in order to understand the sacred Scriptures, we must not rely on the interpretations of the Fathers ; second, that we are justified by a lively faith in the passion and death of our Saviour ; and, third, that we may attain to certainty concerning our justification. The agreement between these and the leading sentiments maintained by Luther, renders it highly probable that Valdes had read the writings of that reformer, or of some of his adherents. At the same time we are told that the principal things in this tract were taken from the Christian Institutes of Tauler.[6] This fact throws light on the sentiments of Valdes, and the

[1] Llorente, ii. 100. [2] Ibid. p. 4.

[3] History of the Reformation in Italy, pp. 71, 76, 104.

[4] Llorente is disposed to identify him with Alfonso Valdes, whom we have already mentioned, and to call him Juan Alfonso Valdes, ii. 478 ; iii. 221. But they were evidently different persons. The latter was a priest (see Burscheri Spicil. v. p. 17); the former was a knight ; the latter is styled Secretary to Charles V. ; the former Royal Secretary at Naples.

[5] Llorente, iii. 185—187.

[6] Ibid. ii. 478 ; iii. 221, 244, 245.

peculiar cast of his writings. John Tauler was a distinguished German preacher of the fourteenth century, and one of those writers in the church of Rome who have obtained the name of Mystics. They were disgusted with the intricate and jejune theology of the scholastic divines, and with the routine of exterior services which constituted the whole practice of piety in the convents; but, being imperfectly instructed in the doctrine of the Gospel, in flying from the vice of their age they fell into the opposite extreme. They resolved religion almost entirely into contemplation and meditation; their discourses, consisting of soliloquies on the love of God and the sufferings of Christ, were chiefly calculated to stimulate the passions; and they occasionally made use of extravagant and hyperbolical expressions, which implied that the soul of the devotee was absorbed in the divine essence, and, when favoured with supernatural visitations, was rendered independent upon and superior to external means and ordinances. The Exercises, or Meditations on the Life of Christ, by Tauler, bear a strong resemblance to the better known work of Thomas à Kempis on the Imitation of Christ. They have the same excellencies and the same faults; breathe the same rich odour of spiritual devotion, and labour under the same deficiency of clear and distinct views of divine truth.[1] Those who are well grounded in the doctrines of Christianity may reap great advantage from a perusal of them. Candidates for the ministry will find in them an excellent supplement to a course of systematic divinity; but in minds warm and uninformed, they are apt to foster a self-righteous and servile disposition, and to give rise to enthusiastic notions.[2]

The mystic theology had its votaries in Spain. A Spanish translation of the Imitation of Christ, and of an earlier work of the same character, entitled the Ladder of Paradise, were published at the close of the fifteenth century.[3] Juan de Avila, Luis de Granada, confessor to the Queen Regent of Portugal, and St Francis de Borgia, Duke of Gandia, and third General of the Order of Jesuits, were the authors of works for which they were prosecuted before the Inquisition as mystics and illuminati.[4] Several of the Protestants, who were afterwards brought to the stake at Valladolid, appealed to the writings of the two last-named individuals as containing sentiments similar to those which they held on the head of justification.[5]

[1] Marco Antonio Flaminio, in a letter to Carlo Gualteruccio, has given a just character of the work of Thomas à Kempis. After recommending it highly, he says: "One fault I find with this book; I do not approve of the way of fear which he recommends. Not that I would set aside every kind of fear, but merely penal fear, which proceeds either from unbelief or weak faith." The whole letter is excellent. Cardinal Quirini produced it with the view of showing that the writer was not a Protestant, whereas there cannot be a stronger proof to the contrary, so far as doctrine is concerned. Quirini Præfat. pp. 69, 70. Ad Collect. Epist. Poli. vol. iii.

[2] The most distinguished of the mystic authors of the middle ages, besides A Kempis and Tauler, were Ruysbrok and Harph. Those who wish information respecting this class of writers, will find it in Gottf. Arnoldi Historia Theologiæ Mysticæ Veteris et Novae; in Andr. de Saussay de Mysticis Galliæ Scriptoribus; and in the Preface to the edition of Tauler's works by Philip James Spener.

[3] Pellicer, Ensayo, p. 124—134.

[4] Llorente, iii. 103—107, 123. The illuminati of Spain in the sixteenth century, if we may judge from the accounts of the inquisitors, resembled the Quakers rather more than the Quietists of France. Ibid. ii. 3.

[5] Ibid. iii. pp. 106, 123.

Valdes may have become acquainted with the writings of Tauler through the recommendation of Luther, who, at one period of his life, was enamoured with them, and republished, with a commendatory preface, a work written in the same strain, but more liable to exception, under the title of German Theology. In a letter to his friend Spalatin, the reformer says: "If you wish to read in your own language the ancient and pure divinity, procure Tauler's sermons, of which I now send you an abstract; for nowhere, either in Latin or German, have I met with a theology more wholesome and accordant to the Gospel.[1] The doctrines of justification by faith in Christ, and of regeneration by the agency of the Spirit, form the groundwork in the writings of Valdes, and so far his creed is Lutheran or Protestant; but we can trace in them the influence of the transcendental divinity which he had caught from Tauler. More intellectual and speculative than the mystic divines, he exhibits in his works the *rationale* of their creed rather than an exemplification of their mode of writing, and hazards some sentiments which gave just offence to several of the principal reformers.[2] It is amusing to observe his natural inquisitiveness contending with and overcoming that principle in his creed which led him to condemn as sinful all curious inquiries into matters of religion, or indeed into any other matter.

Valdes left his native country at an early period, but he contributed greatly to the spread of the reformed opinions in it by his writings, several of which were published in Spanish.[3] Though he had remained, his personal presence would most probably have produced little effect. It required a person of less caution and more adventurous spirit to burst the terrible barrier which opposed the entrance of the Gospel into Spain, and to raise the standard of truth within sight of the flames of the Inquisition. Such a person was found in the man of whom I am now to speak.

[1] Luther's Sämtliche Schriften, tom. xxi. p. 566. Philip Marnix, Sieur de St Aldegonde, had a less favourable opinion of Tauler, whom he calls "delirus monachus." He was afraid of certain enthusiasts in the Low Countries, who sought to gain credit to their cause by the name of that preacher, while they taught that God was the soul of the universe, and deified not only men, but brutes and vegetables. Scrinium Antiquarium, tom. iv. pp. 544, 545.

[2] Beza was chiefly offended with Valdes for leading his readers from the Scriptures to revelations of the Spirit. That he had good reason, must appear to any one who reads the sixty-third chapter of the Divine Considerations. Its title is: "By seven conformities is showed that the Holy Scripture is like a candle in a dark place, and that the Holy Spirit is like the sun." To the English translation of the work, printed in 1646, George Herbert added notes, qualifying the most exceptionable passages.

[3] His commentary on the Epistle to the Romans was published in Spanish at Venice in 1556, with a dedication, by his countryman Juan Perez, to Julia Gonzaga. Gerdesii Italia Reformata, p. 344. The following is the title of another of his commentaries: "Commentario breve, ò declaracion compendiosa, y familiar, sobre la primera epistola de San Pablo à los Corinthios, muy util para todos los amadores de la piedad Christiana." In the Spanish Index Expurg. this work is mentioned both with and without the author's name. Bayle, Dict. v. Valdes. Schelhorn promised to "produce not a few testimonies to the truth" from a work by the same author, of which two editions were published in Italy, translated from Spanish, and entitled, "Due Dialoghi: l'uno di Mercurio et Caronte; l'altro di Lattantio et di uno Archidiacono." Amœn. Hist. Eccl. et Lit. tom. ii. p. 51. He elsewhere ascribes to him a work entitled, "Modo di tenere, nell' insegnar et nel predicar, al principio della Religion Christiana." Ergötzlichkeiten, ii. 31. Both these works are in the Index Libr. Prohib. a. 1559. Llorente makes Valdes the author of another work, which he calls *Acharo*, ii. 478.

Rodrigo de Valer, a native of Lebrixa, distant about thirty miles from Seville, had spent his youth in those idle and dissipated habits which were common among the nobility and gentry of Spain. The love of dress, and of horses and sports, engrossed his attention ; and in Seville, which was his favourite residence, he shone in the first rank among the young men of fashion in every scene of amusement and feat of gallantry. All of a sudden he disappeared from those places of entertainment of which he had been the life and ornament. He was in good health, and his fortune had sustained no injury. But his mind had undergone a complete change ; his splendid equipage was laid aside ; he became negligent of his dress ; and, shut up in his closet, he devoted himself entirely to reading and meditation on religion. Had he become unexpectedly pious, and immured himself in a convent, his conduct would not have excited general surprise among his countrymen ; but to retire from the world, and yet to shun those consecrated abodes, the choice of which was viewed as the great and almost exclusive mark of superior sanctity, appeared to them unaccountable on any other supposition than that of mental derangement. Valer had acquired a slight acquaintance with the Latin language in his youth. He now procured a copy of the Vulgate, the only translation of the Bible permitted in Spain ; and having by dint of application, by day and by night, made himself master of the language, he became, in a short time, so well acquainted with the contents of the Scriptures, that he could repeat almost any passage in them from memory, and explain it with wonderful promptitude and intelligence. Whether he had any other means of instruction, or what these were, must remain a secret ; but it is certain that he was led to form a system of doctrine not different from that of the reformers of Germany, and to lay the foundations of a church in Seville, which was Lutheran in all the main articles of its belief.

When Valer had informed and satisfied his mind as to the truths of religion, he left off that solitary life which had been chosen by him as an instrument and not as an end. He now returned to company, but with a very different spirit and intention. His great desire was now to impart to others those impressions of divine truth which had been made on his own mind. With this view, he courted the society of the clergy and monks, with whom he dealt, first by argument and persuasion, and afterwards in the severer style of reproof. He set before them the general defection, among all classes, from primitive Christianity, both as to faith and practice ; the corruption of their own order, which had contributed to spread infection over the whole Christian community ; and the sacred obligations which they were under to apply a speedy and thorough remedy to the evil before it should become altogether incurable. These representations were uniformly accompanied with an appeal to the sacred writings as the supreme standard in religion, and with an exhibition of the principal doctrines which they taught. When the clergy, weary of the ungrateful theme, shunned his

company, he threw himself in their way, and did not hesitate to introduce his favourite but dangerous topics in the public walks and other places of concourse. His exhortations were entirely without success; but in most instances their effects were such as might have been anticipated from the situation and character of those to whom they were addressed. The surprise excited by his first address gave place to indignation and disdain. It was not to be borne that a layman, and one who had no pretensions to learning, should presume to instruct his teachers, and inveigh against doctrines and institutions which were held in reverence by the universal church, and sanctioned by its highest authority. Whence had he his pretended knowledge of the Scriptures? Who gave him a right to teach? And what were the signs and proof of his mission? To these questions Valer replied with candour, but with firmness, That it was true he had been brought up in ignorance of divine things; he had derived his knowledge, not from the polluted streams of tradition and human inventions, but from the pure fountain of revealed truth, through the teaching of that Spirit by whose influence living waters are made to flow from the hearts of those who believe in Christ: There was no good reason for supposing that these influences were confined to persons of the ecclesiastical order, especially when it was so deeply depraved as at present: Private and illiterate men had convicted a learned sanhedrim of blindness, and called a whole world to the knowledge of salvation; he had the authority of Christ for warning them of their errors and vices; and none would require a sign from him but a spurious and degenerate race, whose eyes could not bear the brightness of that pure light which laid open and reproved their works of darkness.

It was not to be expected that he would be long permitted to continue in this offensive course. He was brought before the inquisitors, with whom he maintained a keen dispute on the church, the marks by which it is distinguished, justification, and similar points. On that occasion some individuals of considerable authority, who had secretly imbibed his sentiments, exerted themselves in his favour. Their influence, joined to the purity of his descent, the station which he held in society, and the circumstance that his judges either believed or wished it to be believed that he was insane, procured for him a milder sentence than that jealous and inexorable tribunal was accustomed to pronounce. He was dismissed with the loss of his property. But neither confiscation of goods, nor the fear of a severer punishment, could induce Valer to alter his conduct. He yielded so far to the importunities of his friends as to abstain from a public declaration of his sentiments for a short time, during which he explained to them in private the Epistle to the Romans.[1] But his zeal soon burst through this restraint. He considered himself in the light of a soldier sent on the forlorn hope, and resolved to fall in the breach, trusting that others, animated by his

[1] Montanus, p. 258.

example, would press forward and secure the victory. Resuming his former reproofs of the reigning errors and superstition, he was a second time denounced to the Holy Office, which condemned him to wear a san-benito, and to be imprisoned for life. When conducted, along with other penitents, to the church of St Salvador, in Seville, to attend public service on festival days, instead of exhibiting the marks of sorrow exacted from persons in his situation, he scrupled not to address the audience after sermon, and to warn them against the erroneous doctrine which they had heard from the preacher, whenever he thought it contrary to the word of God. This of itself would have been reckoned sufficient cause for adjudging him to the flames; but the reasons already mentioned had influence to save him from that fate. To rid themselves in the most quiet way of so troublesome a penitent, the inquisitors came to the resolution of confining him in a monastery belonging to the town of San Lucar, near the mouth of the Guadalquiver, where, secluded from all society, he died about the age of fifty. His san-benito, which was hung up in the metropolitan church of Seville, long attracted curiosity by its extraordinary size, and the inscription which it bore :—"Rodrigo Valer, a citizen of Lebrixa and Seville, an apostate, and false apostle who pretended to be sent of God."[1]

It was about the year 1541 that the final sentence was pronounced on Valer.[2] The most distinguished of his converts was Juan Gil, commonly called Doctor Egidius. He was born at Olvera in Aragon, and educated at the university of Alcala, where he distinguished himself by his skill in scholastic theology, the only science then valued in Spain, except among a few individuals who, by addicting themselves to the study of Scripture in the original languages, were derisively named Biblists. After obtaining the highest academical honours, he was appointed professor of divinity at Siguenza. Such was his celebrity, that when the office of canon-magistral, or preacher, in the cathedral church of Seville became vacant, he was chosen to fill it by the unanimous vote of the chapter, without being required to undergo the comparative trial prescribed in such cases. But though well versed in the writings of Lombard, Aquinas, and Scotus, he proved an unpopular preacher; and not being indifferent to his reputation and usefulness, he felt, after continuing for some years, nearly as anxious to relinquish his situation as the people were to get rid of him. In this state of mind he

[1] Cypriano de Valera has given an account of Rodrigo de Valer in his Dos Tratados :— del Papa, y de la Missa, p. 242—246. The second edition of this work was printed, "En casa de Ricardo del Campo (Richard Field) ano de 1599." An English translation of it appeared under the title of "Two Treatises: the first, of the Lives of the Popes, and their doctrine; the second, of the Masse, &c. The second edition in Spanish, augmented by the author himselfe, M. Cyprian Valera, and translated into English by John Golburne." London, 1600, 4to. But both Cypriano de Valera, and Llorente (ii. 147—149) have borrowed their accounts from that of Reynaldo Gonzalez de Montes (or Montanus) in his Inquisitionis Hispanicæ Artes detectæ, p. 259—264. The narrative of De Montes is original and authentic, as he received the particulars from the mouth of Valer's disciple, Dr Juan Gil (or Egidius) with whom he was intimate at Seville.

[2] Montanus, *ut supra*, p. 259. Cypriano de Valera says, "cerca del ano 1545." Dos Tratados, p. 246.

was accosted by Valer, who had the penetration to discover his feelings, and to perceive the good dispositions, as well as talents, with which he was endowed. He pointed out the defects of his mode of preaching, and exhorted him, as the sure remedy, to give himself to the diligent and serious perusal of the word of God. This advice, frequently repeated, produced at last the desired effect. He took the course pointed out to him, and his "profiting appeared to all." He soon became the most acceptable preacher who had appeared in Seville. Instead of the dry, abstruse, and unprofitable discussions which he had formerly pursued, he brought forward the great truths of the Bible; and the frigid manner in which he had been accustomed to acquit himself in public was succeeded by powerful appeals to the consciences, and affectionate addresses to the hearts of his auditors. Their attention was aroused; deep convictions of the necessity and suitableness of that salvation which the Gospel reveals were made on their minds; and they were prepared for receiving those new views of divine truth which the preacher presented to them, as they were gradually unfolded to himself, and with a caution which regard to the weakness of the people, as well as to his own perilous situation, seemed to warrant and require.[1] In this manner, by a zeal more tempered with prudence than that of his revered instructor, he was honoured not only to make converts to Christ, but to train up martyrs for the truth. "Among the other gifts divinely bestowed on this holy man," says one who owed his soul to him, "was the singular faculty which he had of kindling in the breasts of those who listened to his instructions a sacred flame which animated them in all the exercises of piety, internal and external, and made them not only willing to take up the cross, but cheerful in the prospect of the sufferings of which they stood in jeopardy every hour; a clear proof that the Master whom he served was present with him, by his Spirit engraving the doctrine which he taught on the hearts of his hearers."[2]

Egidius was not left alone in the work of enlightening the citizens of Seville. In addition to those who, like himself, had profited by the conversation of Valer, he was joined by Doctor Vargas and Constantine Ponce de la Fuente, who had been his fellow-students at the university, and were men of superior talents and learning. He imparted to them his knowledge of evangelical truth, and they in their turn contributed by their conversation to the improvement of his ministerial gifts. The three friends concerted a plan, according to which they might co-operate in advancing the common cause. Vargas read lectures to the more learned, in which he expounded the Epistle to the Romans, and subsequently the Book of Psalms; and Constantine, of whom we shall have occasion to speak more particularly afterwards, assisted Egidius occasionally in the pulpit. Their zeal, while it awakened the suspicions, provoked the diligence of the clergy who were devoted to the ancient superstition; and the city was divided in its attachments between the

[1] Montanus, pp. 256—259, 265. [2] Ibid. p. 231.

two classes of preachers. Those of the one class urged the necessity and importance of the repetition of prayers at certain stated hours, the frequent hearing of mass, the visiting of consecrated places, and the regular observance of fasting and of auricular confession; while they exhorted those who aimed at higher degrees of sanctity to dedicate their substance to pious uses, or, renouncing the world, to take on them the triple vow. Those of the other class either passed over these things entirely, or inculcated their inefficacy; exhorted their hearers to rely on the merits of Christ instead of their own works, and to prove the genuineness of their faith by obedience to the commands of God; and, in place of recommending rosaries and scales of devotion, spoke in the warmest style of the advantages to be derived from a serious and daily perusal of the sacred writings. The first class carried along with them the great body of the people, whose religion is the creature of authority and habit. But the eloquence of Egidius and his two associates, their prudence, unaffected piety, and irreproachable morals, and the harmony with which they continued to act, gradually subdued the prejudices of the multitude, and thinned the ranks even of their clerical opponents. Assiduously employed in the duties of their public functions through the day, they met in the evening with the friends of the reformed doctrine, sometimes in one private house and sometimes in another; the small society in Seville grew insensibly, and became the parent stock, from which branches were taken and planted in the adjacent country.

The Inquisition had for some time fixed its jealous eyes on the three preachers; nor were there wanting persons ready to accuse them, and especially Egidius, who was most obnoxious on account of his greater openness of disposition, and his appearing more frequently in the pulpit. Surmises unfavourable to his orthodoxy were circulated, spies were set on his conduct, and consultations held in secret as to the surest method of ruining one who had become popular among all ranks. While these things were going on he was deprived of his two trusty associates—Vargas being removed by death, and Constantine called to the Low Countries. But even after he was thus left alone his enemies were afraid to proceed against him.[1]

So great was the reputation of Egidius, that in 1550 the Emperor nominated him to the vacant bishopric of Tortosa, which was one of the richest benefices in Spain, and had been held by Cardinal Adrian, the preceptor of Charles V., immediately before his elevation to the popedom. This distinguished mark of royal favour inflamed the resentment of his adversaries, and determined them to proceed to extremities. Instead of confining themselves as formerly to murmurs, they now charged him openly with heresy, and predicted that his elevation to the episcopate would prove the most disastrous calamity which Spain had witnessed. He was formally denounced to the Holy Office, and, the preliminary steps having been taken, was thrown into its secret prisons.

[1] Montanus, p. 266.

The charges against him related to the doctrine of justification, assurance of salvation, human merits, plurality of mediators, purgatory, auricular confession, and the worshipping of images. He was also accused of having favoured Rodrigo de Valer on his trial, and opposed the erection of a crucifix in the room of one which had been accidentally burnt. In his defence he drew up an ample statement of his sentiments on the head of justification, with the reasons on which they were founded; a display of frankness which proved hurtful to his cause, as it furnished the procurator-fiscal at once with evidence in support of his charges and materials for increasing their number. The friends of Egidius now became alarmed for his safety. The Emperor, hearing of the danger to which he was exposed, wrote in his favour to the inquisitor-general. The chapter of Seville followed his example. And, what is more strange, the licentiate Correa, one of the most inexorable judges of the Holy Office, became an advocate for him, influenced, it is said, by indignation at the conduct of Pedro Diaz, another inquisitor, who had formerly been a disciple of Valer along with Egidius, whom he now prosecuted with base and unrelenting hostility. In consequence of this powerful intercession, the inquisitors found it necessary to adopt a moderate course, and agreed, instead of remitting the articles of charge to the ordinary *qualificators*, to submit them to two arbiters chosen by the parties.

Egidius, after nominating Bartolomé Carranza and several other individuals, who were either absent from the country or objected to by the inquisitors, at last fixed, with the approbation of his judges, on Domingo de Soto, a Dominican and professor at Salamanca, as his arbiter. Soto came to Seville, and having obtained access to Egidius, with whom he had been acquainted at the university, professed, after mutual explanations, to coincide with him in his views of justification,[1] which was the main article in the indictment, and to think that there would be no difficulty in procuring an amicable adjustment of the affair. It was arranged between them, that each should draw up a paper containing his sentiments on the disputed point expressed in his own words, and that these papers should be read in the presence of the inquisitors. As the cause had excited great interest from its relation to a bishop-elect and a preacher so popular in Seville, it was thought proper that it should be discussed at a public meeting held in the cathedral. On the day appointed for the trial, pulpits were allotted for Egidius and his arbiter Soto; but, either from design or accident, they were placed at a great distance from one another. After sermon was ended, Soto read the declaration of his sentiments. Egidius, owing partly to the distance at which he sat, and partly to the bustle prevailing in a crowded and anxious assembly, was unable to follow the speaker; but taking it

[1] Soto was a disciple of St Thomas, and addicted to the sentiments of Augustine, as appears from his treatise de Natura et Gratia, addressed to the Fathers of Trent, in opposition to Catharinus, and appended to his Commentary on the Romans, printed at Antwerp in 1550.

for granted that what was read agreed with what had passed between them in conversation, he nodded assent to it, as Soto raised his voice and looked toward him at the end of every proposition. He then proceeded to read his own declaration, which in the judgment of all who were present, whether friends or foes, contradicted the former on all the leading points. The inquisitors availed themselves of this variance between his gestures and language to raise an outcry against him. The two declarations were instantly joined in process, and sentence was given forth, declaring him violently suspected of the Lutheran heresy, and condemning him to abjure the propositions imputed to him, to be imprisoned for three years, to abstain from writing or teaching for ten years, and not to leave the kingdom during that period, under the pain of being punished as a formal and relapsed heretic, or, in other words, of being burnt alive. Confounded at the unexpected issue of the process, abashed by the exultation of his enemies, and half-convinced, by the mortification which he read in the countenances of his friends, that he must have said something far wrong, Egidius lost courage, and silently acquiesced in the sentence pronounced against him. It was not until some time after he had returned to his prison that he learned from one of his companions the base treachery of the friend in whom he had confided.[1]

Such is the account of the process given by De Montes. The late historian of the Inquisition is disposed to call in question the truth of his statement so far as concerns the artifice imputed to the Professor of Salamanca; upon this ground, that Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo, during his trial, retaliated upon Soto by accusing him of "having been too indulgent in regard to Doctor Egidius of Seville."[2] But this objection is by no means conclusive. For, in the first place, Llorente bears witness to the general accuracy of De Montes, who expressly asserts that he received his information from Egidius in prison. In the second place, the charge of Carranza is not irreconcilable with the narrative which has been given, for De Montes states that Soto claimed the merit of having procured a lenient sentence for Egidius.[3] In fine, Llorente has shown, in reference to another case, that Soto was perfectly capable of the disgraceful conduct imputed to him on this occasion.[4]

No sooner was it known that Egidius was condemned, than a flight of

[1] Montanus, p. 266—272.

[2] Llorente, ii. 144—147.

[3] Montanus, p. 271.

[4] Speaking of his letters produced on the trial of Carranza, Llorente says: "All these documents prove that F. Domingo Soto was guilty of collusion in regard to two parties, which he cheated, first the one after the other, and afterwards both of them at the same time." ii. 146.

The ex-secretary of the Inquisition might have spared the strictures which he subjoins on the Protestant prejudices of his countryman De Montes, and on his fanaticism in regarding it as a mark of divine justice that three of the capital persecutors of Egidius died during his imprisonment. The zeal of the friend of Egidius may have carried him too far in interpreting the ways of Providence; but what means the following sentence? "One cannot help rejoicing at the disgrace which Providence had reserved for F. Domingo Soto, to serve as a lesson to men of his character." Llorente, *ut supra*.

hungry applicants gathered round the fat benefice of Tortosa like crows round carrion. The holy fathers assembled at Trent were not so intently occupied in watching over the interests of the Catholic church as not to have one eye turned to Spain, and ready to discern what might happen there to their advantage. While the trial of the bishop-elect was in dependence, Cardinal Granville, then Bishop of Arras and prime minister of Spain, had his table covered with applications, in which the incense of adulation was thickly sprinkled on rancid avarice. In a letter, dated from Trent on the 19th of November 1551, the titular Bishop Jubin, *in partibus Infidelium*, writes: "We have received intelligence here, that the bishop-elect of Tortosa has been condemned to perpetual imprisonment. I shall be infinitely obliged to you to think of me—the least of your servants—provided his lordship of Elna shall be translated to the bishopric of Tortosa, now vacant by this means."[1] On the preceding day, the Bishop of Elna had addressed a letter to the same quarter, in which, without giving the least hint of the object he had in view, he begs the premier to command him "as the meanest domestic of his household;" calls himself "his slave;"[2] and assures him that the rare qualities of his Eminence, his native goodness, and the favours he had conferred, were so deeply seated in the heart of his servant, that he remembered him without ceasing, especially "in his poor sacrifices,[3] the fittest time to make mention of one's masters." Two days after, the modest bishop has acquired as much courage as to name his request: he acknowledges that the bishopric of Tortoso was "too weighty a burden for his weak shoulders," but urges that he could discharge his episcopal functions better in such a tranquil spot than in the frontier province of Roussillon, where his pious exercises were interrupted by the noise of warlike instruments, and that he "felt a strong desire to end his days in tending his infirm sheep in the peace of God."[4] The Bishop of Algeri was equally disinterested as his brethren in seeking promotion. "It was not avarice that induced him to ask the favour" to be translated from the island of Sardinia; he only wished to "have his residence on *terra firma*," that his spirit being relieved from the continual agitation in which it was kept by the restless waves which surrounded him, he might be "at more liberty to serve God, and pray for the life of the king and his minister."[5] The Bishop of Elna having been unsuccessful in his application, renewed it in the course of the following year, when he had recourse to a new line of argument in its support. After telling the premier "that his hands had made him," he requests him to remember, "if he pleased," that his majesty had certain rights in Valencia called *les bayles de Morella*, of which large sums were due to the treasury, as would appear from the lists which he had procured and took the liberty to transmit to his Eminence; that

[1] Lettres et Mémoires de François de Vargas, traduits par Mich. le Vassor, pp. 194, 195.

[2] "Esclavo."

[3] "Mis pobres sacrificios."

[4] Lettres et Mémoires de Vargas, pp. 193, 195, 196.

[5] Ibid. p. 303.

most luckily the diocese of Tortosa included that district, though the episcopal seat was in his native country of Catalonia; and that, if it should please his majesty to gratify him with that bishopric, he could see to the payment of these dues without leaving his diocese; and "thus would have it in his power to serve God and the king at the same time."[1]

O the duplicity, the selfishness, the servility of the clergy! What good cause but one would they not have ruined? And how deeply has that been marred by them! Boccaccio relates (it is a tale, but deserves to be repeated for the sake of the moral it teaches) that two persons, a Christian layman and a Jew, lived together in a retired spot on the northern boundary of Italy. The Christian had long piously laboured to convert his neighbour, and had succeeded so far as to be in daily expectation of his submitting to baptism, when all at once the idea struck the latter that he would previously visit the capital of Christendom. Dreading the effects of his journey, the Christian endeavoured to divert him from it; but in vain. After an absence of some weeks the Jew returned, and repairing to the house of the Christian, who had given up his convert for lost, surprised him with the intimation that he was now ready to be baptized; "for," added he, "I have been at Rome, and have seen the pope and his clergy, and I am convinced that if Christianity had not been divine, it would have been ruined long ago under the care of such guardians."

All the applicants for the bishopric of Tortosa took care to urge the services which they had done to the Emperor at the Council of Trent. Several authors have spoken in high terms of the liberal views and independent spirit displayed by the Spanish divines who sat in that council; and Father Simon, in particular, asserts that they were ready, upon the refusal of the ecclesiastical reforms which they sought, to join with the French church in throwing off the authority of the court of Rome, if Charles V. had not, from political motives, discouraged them by withdrawing his support.[2] A perusal of their correspondence and that of the imperial embassy serves to abate, in no small degree, the high opinion which these commendations are calculated to produce. If the Italian bishops were passive tools in the hands of the papal legates, their brethren of Spain were not less under the influence of the imperial ambassadors; and it is quite as clear that their zeal for the reformation of abuses was at first excited, as that it was afterwards restrained, by the policy of the Emperor. Several of the reforms which they demanded were in favour of their own order, and would have added to their power and wealth in proportion as they diminished those of the papal see; a circumstance which did not escape the observation of the court of Spain.[3] At the same time they satisfied themselves

[1] Lettres et Mémoires de Vargas, pp. 514, 515, 522.

[2] Simon, Lettres Choisies, i. p. 252—254.

[3] See their Postulata to the Council in Schelhorn, Amœnit. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 584—590. Conf. Vargas, Lettres et Mémoires, p.

with murmuring in private at the shameful arts by which the council was managed, and had not the courage to resent the attacks made on its freedom, or the insults openly offered to their colleagues. The Bishop of Verdun happening to apply the term *pretended reformation* to some of the plans proposed in the council, the papal legate, Cardinal Crescentio, assailed him publicly with invective, calling him a thoughtless young man and a fool, and ordering him to be silent. "Is this a free council?" said the elector of Cologne to the Spanish bishop of Orense, who sat next him. "It ought to be free," replied the bishop, with a caution which would not have disgraced an Italian. "But tell me your opinion candidly. Is the synod free?" "Do not press me at present, my lord," rejoined the prudent bishop; "that's a difficult question; I will answer it at home."[1] It has been alleged that the papal influence over the council was confined to matters of discipline and ecclesiastical polity, and did not extend to points of faith, in the decision of which all the members were of one accord.[2] But this is contradicted by unquestionable documents. Some of the most learned divines who were at Trent were dissatisfied with certain parts of the doctrine of the council, and with the confused and hurried manner in which this important part of the business was transacted.[3] After the article concerning the sacraments of penance and extreme unction had received the formal sanction of the holy and universal council, the divines of Louvain succeeded in convincing the leaders that it was erroneous. What was to be done? They agreed in a private conclave to alter it, after taking precautions to have the whole affair buried in silence, lest they should incur the ridicule of the Lutherans. "A great misfortune," says the Archbishop of Cologne; "but the least of two evils." The reflections of the counsellor of the imperial embassy are more unceremonious. "I believe," says he, "that God has permitted this occurrence to cover them with shame and confusion. Surely after this they will open their eyes, according to the saying of the psalmist: *Fill their faces with shame, that they may seek Thy name.* God grant they may comprehend this; but I dare not hope for so much, and have always said that nothing short of a miracle will work a change."[4] It is impossible to conceive anything more deplorable than the picture of the council drawn in the confidential correspondence of Vargas, who was attached, as legal adviser, to the embassy sent by Charles V. to Trent. "The legate is always the same," says he in a letter to the

210. The Royal Council of Castile addressed a memorial to the Council of Trent, urging a variety of ecclesiastical reforms. But desirable as many of these certainly were, we cannot help feeling pleased at the rejection of the whole, when we find the following article among them: "That the pope shall support the Inquisition, and attempt nothing to the prejudice of an institution so necessary to the welfare of these kingdoms: Porque el officio de la santa Inquisicion es muy necessario en estos reynos, conviene ser muy favorécido." Vargas, *ut supra*, pp. 162, 167.

[1] Vargas, pp. 235, 254. The name of this bishop was Francisco Blanco. In 1558 he gave a recommendation to the catechism of Carranza, but retracted it during the prosecution of the author for heresy, and was rewarded with the archbishopric of Santiago. Llorente, iii. 301, 302.

[2] Simon, Lettres Choisies, tom. i. p. 254.

[3] Vargas, pp. 43, 57, 224, 233.

[4] Ibid., pp. 66, 246—248.

Cardinal-bishop of Arras; "he is a man lost to all shame. Believe me, sir, I have not words to express the pride and effrontery which he displays in the affairs of the council. Perceiving that we are timid, and that his majesty is unwilling to hurt or offend the pope, he endeavours to terrify us by assuming stately airs and a haughty tone. He treats the bishops as slaves; threatens and swears that he will depart. It is useless for his majesty to continue longer to urge the pope and his ministers. It is speaking to the deaf, and trying to soften the stones. It serves only to make us a laughing-stock to the world, and to furnish the heretics with subjects for pasquinades. We must delay till the time when God will purify the sons of Levi. That time must soon come; and, in my opinion, this purification will not be accomplished without some extraordinary chastisement. Things cannot remain long in their present state: the evils are too great. All the nerves of ecclesiastical discipline are broken. The traffic in things sacred is shameful. . . . The prediction of St Paul is about to be accomplished in the Church of Rome: *That day cannot come, unless there come a falling away first.* As to the manner of treating doctrines, I have already written you, that they precipitate everything, examine few questions, and do not submit them to the judgment of the learned divines who are here in attendance. Many of the bishops give their vote, and say *placet* on points which they do not understand, and are incapable of understanding. There is no one here who appears on the side of God, or dares to speak. We are all dumb dogs that cannot bark." Notwithstanding all this, and much more to the same purpose, Vargas adds, like a true son of the church: "As for myself, I obey implicitly, and will submit without resistance to whatever shall be determined in matters of faith. God grant that all may do this."[1]

These facts are not irrelative to the subject. The secrets of the Council of Trent soon transpired; and several individuals, who were afterwards brought to the stake in Spain, acknowledged that their eyes were first opened to the radical corruptions of the Church of Rome by the accounts they received from some of the members of that synod as to the scandalous manner in which its decisions were influenced.[2]

Egidius appeared among the criminals condemned to penance, in an auto-da-fé celebrated at Seville in 1552.[3] The term of his imprisonment having expired in 1555, he, in the course of the following year, paid a visit to Valladolid, where he found a number of converts to the reformed doctrine. His wounded spirit was refreshed by what he saw of the grace of God in that city; and after spending a short time in the company of his brethren, and exhorting them to constancy in the faith, he returned to Seville. But the fatigue of travelling, to which he had been unaccustomed for some years, brought on a fever, which cut him

[1] Vargas, pp. 207-8, 211, 225-6, 233. [2] Llorente, ii. 223; iii. 230, 231. [3] Ibid. ii. 138.

off in a few days. He left behind him a number of writings in his native tongue, none of which appears to have been printed.[1] His bones were afterwards taken from their grave, and committed to the flames, his property confiscated, and his memory declared infamous, by a sentence of the inquisitors, finding that he had died in the Lutheran faith.[2]

The first introduction of the reformed doctrine into Valladolid was attended with circumstances nearly as extraordinary as those which had led to its reception in Seville. Francisco San-Roman, a native of Burgos, and son of the alcayde-mayor of Bribiesca, having engaged in mercantile pursuits, went to the Low Countries. In the year 1540 his employers sent him from Antwerp to Bremen, to settle some accounts due to them in that city. The reformed religion had been introduced into Bremen, and the young Spaniard, curious to become acquainted with that doctrine which was so much condemned in his native country, went to one of the churches, where he heard James Spreng, formerly prior of the Augustinian monastery at Antwerp, and one of the first persons of note who embraced the opinions of Luther in the Netherlands.[3] The sermon made so deep an impression on the mind of San-Roman, that he could not refrain from calling on the preacher, who, pleased with his candour and thirst for knowledge, introduced him to the acquaintance of some of his pious and learned friends. Among them was our countryman Doctor Maccabeus,[4] then at Bremen, by whose conversation he profited greatly. Like some young converts, he flattered himself that he could easily persuade others to embrace those truths which appeared to his own mind as clear as the light of day; and he burned with the desire of returning home and imparting the knowledge which he had received to his relations and countrymen. In vain did Spreng endeavour to restrain an enthusiasm from which he had himself suffered at an earlier period of his life. In the letters which he wrote to his employers at Antwerp, San-Roman could not help alluding to the change which his religious sentiments had undergone, and lamenting the blindness of his countrymen. The consequence was, that on his return to that city he was immediately seized by certain friars, to whom the contents of his letters had been communicated; and a number of Lutheran books and satirical prints against the Church of Rome being found in his possession, he was thrown into prison. After a rigorous confinement of eight months, he was released at the solicitation of his friends, who represented that his zeal had now cooled, and that he would be duly watched in his native country. Going to Louvain, he met with Francisco Enzinas, one of his fellow-citizens, of whom we shall afterwards speak, who urged him not to rush upon cer-

[1] Montanus, p. 273. Histoire des Martyrs, pp. 500, 501. De Montes praises his Commentaries on Genesis, on some of the Psalms, the Song of Solomon, and the Epistle to the Colossians; but especially a treatise on bearing the cross, which he composed in prison.

[2] Montanus, p. 274. Llorente, ii. 139, 144, 273.

[3] Erasmi Epistolæ, ep. 427. Luther's Sämtliche Schriften, tom. xv. Anhang. p. 192; tom. xxi. pp. 790, 806. Gerdesii Hist. Reform. tom. ii. p. 131; tom. iii. p. 25.

[4] Life of John Knox, Note I.

tain danger by an indiscreet or unnecessary avowal of his sentiments, and to confine himself to the sphere of his proper calling, within which he might do much good, instead of assuming the office of a public teacher, or talking on religious subjects with every person who fell in his way. San-Roman promised to regulate his conduct by this prudential advice; but having gone to Ratisbon, where a diet of the empire was then sitting, and being elated at hearing of the favour which the Emperor showed to the Protestants,[1] with the view of securing their assistance against the Turks, he forgot his prudent resolutions. Obtaining an introduction to Charles, he deplored the state of religion in his native country, and begged him to use his royal power in restraining the inquisitors and priests, who sought, by every species of violence and cruelty, to prevent the entrance of the only true and saving doctrine of Jesus Christ into Spain. By the mild answer which he received from the Emperor, he was emboldened to renew his application, at which some of the Spanish attendants were so incensed that they would have thrown him instantly into the Danube, had not their master interposed, by ordering him to be reserved for trial before the proper judges. He was accordingly cast into chains, and conveyed, in the retinue of the Emperor, from Germany to Italy, and from Italy to Africa. After the failure of the expedition against Algiers, he was landed in Spain, and delivered to the Inquisition at Valladolid. His process was short. When brought before the inquisitors, he frankly professed his belief in the cardinal doctrine of the Reformation, that salvation comes to no man by his own works, merit, or strength, but solely from the mercy of God through the sacrifice of the one Mediator; and he pronounced the mass, auricular confession, purgatory, the invocation of saints, and the worshipping of images, to be blasphemy against the living God. If his zeal was impetuous, it supported him to the last. He endured the horrors of a protracted imprisonment with the utmost fortitude and patience. He resisted all the importunities used by the friars to induce him to recant. He refused, at the place of execution, to purchase a mitigation of punishment by making confession to a priest, or bowing to a crucifix which was placed before him. When the flames first reached him on his being fastened to the stake, he made an involuntary motion with his head, upon which the friars in attendance exclaimed that he was become penitent, and ordered him to be brought from the fire. On recovering his breath, he looked them calmly in the face, and said, "Did you envy my happiness?" at which words he was thrust back into the flames, and almost instantly suffocated. Among a great number of prisoners brought out in this public spectacle, he was the only individual who suffered death. The novelty of the crimes with which he was charged, joined to the resolution which he displayed on the scaffold and at the stake, produced a sensible impression on the spectators. A proclamation was issued by the inquisitors, forbidding

[1] Sleidani Comment. tom. ii. p. 222—236. Edit. Am Ende.

any to pray for his soul, or to express a favourable opinion of such an obstinate heretic. Notwithstanding this, some of the Emperor's body-guards collected his ashes as those of a martyr; and the English ambassador, who happened to be at Valladolid at that time, used means to procure a part of his bones as a relic. The guards were thrown into prison, and the ambassador was prohibited from appearing at court for some time. It is not unworthy of observation, that the sermon at this auto-da-fé was preached by the well known Carranza, who was afterwards tried by the Inquisition, and died in prison after a confinement of seventeen years.[1]

This event took place in the year 1544.[2] The reformed doctrine had previously been introduced into Valladolid, but its disciples contented themselves with retaining it in their own breasts, or talking of it in the most cautious way to their confidential friends. The speculation excited by the martyrdom of San-Roman took off this restraint. Expressions of sympathy for his fate, or of astonishment at his opinions, led to conversations, in the course of which the favourers of the new faith, as it was called, were easily able to recognise one another. The zeal, and even magnanimity, which he evinced in encountering public odium, and braving so horrible a death, for the sake of the truth, provoked to emulation the most timid among them; and within a few years after his martyrdom, they formed themselves into a church, which met regularly in private for the purposes of religious instruction and worship.[3]

[1] Pellicer, Ensayo de una Biblioteca de Traductores Españoles, p. 78. Act. et Monim. Martyrum, f. 122-125, 4to. Histoire des Martyrs, f. 146-148, folio.

[2] Pellicer, following the Latin Martyrology, represents San-Roman's conversion to the Protestant faith as having taken place in 1545; but the large French history of Martyrs places it in 1540, which is ascertained to be the true date from collateral facts mentioned in the text. Llorente gives no account of San-Roman's martyrdom, but in a transient allusion to it (tom. iii. p. 188), seems to say that it happened in 1540. The Histoire des Martyrs, whose authority I am inclined to prefer, fixes on 1544 as the year of his death.

[3] Montanus, p. 273. Llorente, ii. 144.

CHAPTER V.

CAUSES OF THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMED DOCTRINE IN SPAIN.

BEFORE proceeding farther with the narrative of the religious movement in Spain, it may be proper to give an account of some facts which happened without the kingdom. This will furnish the reader with interesting information respecting Spaniards who embraced the Reformation abroad, and whose pious and enlightened exertions, in publishing the Scriptures and other books in their native tongue, had great influence in disseminating a knowledge of the truth among their countrymen at home.

About the year 1540, three brothers, Jayme, Francisco, and Juan, sons of a respectable citizen of Burgos, in Old Castile, were sent to study at Louvain, a celebrated seat of education, to which the Spanish youth had long been accustomed to resort. The family name of the young men was Enzinas, though they were better known among the learned in Germany by their assumed name of Dryander.[1] Polite letters had been for some time cultivated in the university of Louvain, and the students indulged in a freedom of opinion, which was not tolerated at Paris and other places where the old scholastic ideas and modes of teaching were rigidly preserved. Along with a taste for elegant literature, the young Spaniards acquired the knowledge of the reformed doctrines. They lived in terms of great intimacy with the celebrated George Cassander,[2] who corresponded with the leading Protestant divines, and afterwards distinguished himself by a fruitless attempt to reconcile the popish and reformed churches. Dissatisfied with the temporizing principles of this learned man, and the partial reforms in which he was disposed to rest, the three brothers entered with the most cordial zeal into the views of those who had formally separated from the Church of Rome.

[1] Encina in Spanish, like δρυς in Greek, signifies an oak. Pellicer thinks that Francisco Enzinas adopted the name of Dryander for the purpose of concealment, after his escape from prison at Brussels in 1545. Ensayo, p. 80. But we find him subscribing *Franciscus Dryander* to a letter written in 1541. Gerdesii Hist. Reform. tom. iii. append. p. 86. It was customary at that period for learned men to change their names into Greek ones of the same signification; as Reuchlin (smoke) into Capnio, Gerard (amiable) into Erasmus, and Schwartzerd (black earth) into Melanchthon.

[2] Illustrium et clarorum Virorum Epistolæ Selectiores, scriptæ a Belgis vel ad Belgas, pp. 55, 58. Lugd. Bat. 1617. The letter from Jacobus Dryander, inserted in that work, throws much light on his character and family.

Juan Enzinas or Dryander, the younger brother, chose the medical profession, and having settled in Germany, became a professor in the university of Marburg. He was the author of several works on medicine and astronomy, and acquired reputation by the ingenuity which he displayed in the invention and improvement of instruments for advancing these sciences.[1]

Jayme Enzinas, the elder brother, removed in 1541, by the direction of his father, to Paris. During his residence in that city he became confirmed in his attachment to the Reformation, and was successful in communicating his impressions to some of his countrymen who were prosecuting their studies along with him. The expectations which he had formed from the far-famed university of the French metropolis were miserably disappointed. He found the professors to be generally pedants and bigots, and the students equally destitute of good manners and a love for liberal pursuits. It was with the deepest emotion that he beheld the Christian heroism shown by the Protestant martyrs under the cruel treatment to which they were exposed. There was something solemn, though appalling, in the composure with which a Spanish assembly witnessed the barbarous spectacle of an auto-da-fé; but the wanton ferocity with which a Parisian mob shouted, when the executioner, with his pincers, tore the tongue from the mouth of his victim, and struck him with it repeatedly in the face, before binding his body to the stake, was disgustingly horrible and fiendish.[2] Unable to remain in a place where he could find neither learning nor humanity, Jayme Enzinas left Paris and returned to Louvain. Thence he went to Antwerp to superintend the printing of a catechism which he had drawn up in his native language for the benefit of his countrymen.[3] Soon after this he received orders from his father, who entertained sanguine hopes of his advancement in the church, to visit Italy and spend some time in the capital of Christendom. Nothing could be more contrary to his inclinations; but yielding to the dictates of filial duty he set out, leaving his heart with his brothers and other friends in the Netherlands. To a delicate taste and generous independence of spirit, Jayme Enzinas added a tenderness of conscience and candour of disposition which exposed him to peculiar danger in Italy, at a time when the jealousy of the priests was roused by the recent discovery that the reformed tenets had spread extensively in that country. After spending several years in great uneasiness of mind, without being able to procure liberty from his father to return, he resolved at last, in compliance with the urgent

[1] Teissier, Eloges, tom. i. p. 199. Melanchthonis Epistolæ, col. 817. In another letter written in the course of the same year, 1543, Melanchthon bestows great praise on an orrery which Juan Dryander had constructed. Ibid. col. 818.

[2] Jacobus Dryander Georgio Cassandro: Epistolæ Selectiores, *ut supra*, p. 55—65. Eustathius a Knobelsdorf Georgio Cassandro: Ibid. p. 38—45. Had not the facts been attested by two such credible eye-witnesses, we might have suspected the author of the Martyrology of exaggeration in his narrative of the shocking scene. Dryander's letter is dated "20 Februarii;" and that it was written in 1541, appears from comparing it with Histoire des Martyrs, f. 119, b.

[3] Epistolæ Selectiores, p. 66. I have not seen this catechism mentioned elsewhere.

request of his brothers, to repair to Germany, and was preparing to quit Rome, when he was betrayed by one of his countrymen, who denounced him as a heretic to the Inquisition. The circumstance of a Spaniard being accused of Lutheranism, together with the character which he bore for learning, attracted much interest in Rome; and his examination was attended by the principal bishops and cardinals. Undaunted by the solemnity of the court, he avowed his sentiments, and defended them with such spirit that his judges, irritated at his boldness, condemned him instantly to the flames—a sentence which was loudly called for by such of his countrymen as were present. Attempts were afterwards made to induce him to recant, by the offer of reconciliation to the church upon his appearing publicly with the san-benito, according to the custom of his native country. But he refused to purchase his life on such conditions, and died at the stake with the utmost constancy and courage. His martyrdom happened in the year 1546.[1]

About the same time that Enzinas suffered, one of his countrymen and intimate friends met with a still more tragical fate in Germany. Juan Diaz, a native of Cuença, after he had studied for several years at Paris, was converted to the Protestant religion by the private instructions of Jayme Enzinas. Being liberally educated, he had, previously to that event, conceived a disgust at the scholastic theology, and made himself master of the Hebrew language, that he might study the Bible in the original. With the view of enjoying the freedom of professing the faith which he had embraced, he left Paris in company with Matthew Budé and John Crespin, and went to Geneva, where he resided for some time in the house of his countryman Pedro Gales.[2] Having removed to Strasburg in the beginning of the year 1546, his talents and suavity of manners recommended him so strongly to the celebrated Bucer, that he prevailed on the senate to join the Spanish stranger with himself in a deputation which they were about to send to a conference on the disputed points of religion to be held at Ratisbon. On going thither Diaz met with his countryman Pedro Malvenda, whom he had known at Paris, and was now to confront as an antagonist at the conference. To the pride and religious prejudices of his countrymen, Malvenda added the rudeness of a doctor of the Sorbonne, and the insolence of a minion of the court.[3] When informed by Diaz of the change which had taken place in his sentiments, he expressed the utmost surprise and horror, saying that the heretics would boast more of making a convert of a single Spaniard than of ten thousand Germans. Having laboured in vain, at different interviews, to reclaim him to the

[1] Pellicer, Ensayo, pp. 78, 79. Hist. des Martyrs, f. 159. Beza places his martyrdom in 1545, by mistake. Icones, sig. Kk. ij. Gerdes (Hist. Reform. iii. 165) calls him *Nicolas* Ensinas; probably misled by the letter N. put before his name in the Actiones et Monim. Martyrum (f. 151, a.), which merely intimates that the writer of the article was ignorant of the martyr's Christian name. Pellicer calls him "el doctor *Juan* de Ensinas," confounding him with one of his brothers already mentioned.

[2] Calvini Epist. p. 39: Opera, tom. ix.

[3] Seckendorf, Hist. Lutheranismi, lib. iii. p. 62.

Catholic faith, he laid the matter before the Emperor's confessor. It is not known what consultations they had; but a Spaniard, named Marquina, who had transactions with them, repaired soon after to Rome, and communicated the facts to a brother of Diaz, Doctor Alfonso,[1] who had long held the office of advocate in the sacred Rota. The pride and bigotry of Alfonso were inflamed to the highest degree by the intelligence of his brother's defection; and taking along with him a suspicious attendant, he set out instantly for Germany, determined, in one way or other, to wipe off the infamy which had fallen on the hitherto spotless honour of his family. In the mean time, alarmed at some expressions of Malvenda, and knowing the inveteracy with which the Spaniards hated such of their countrymen as had become Protestants, Bucer and the other friends of Juan Diaz had prevailed upon him to retire for a season to Neuburg, a small town in Bavaria situated on the Danube. On arriving at Ratisbon, Alfonso succeeded in discovering the place of his brother's retreat, and after consulting with Malvenda, repaired to Neuburg. By every art of persuasion he sought during several days to bring back his brother to the Church of Rome. Disappointed in this, he altered his method; professed that the arguments which he had heard had shaken his confidence, and listened with apparent eagerness and satisfaction to his brother while he explained to him the Protestant doctrines, and the passages of Scripture on which they rested. Finding Juan delighted with this unexpected change, he proposed that he should accompany him to Italy, where there was a greater field of usefulness in disseminating the doctrines of the Gospel than in Germany, which was already provided with an abundance of labourers. The guileless Juan promised to think seriously on this proposal, which he submitted to the judgment of his Protestant friends. They were unanimously of opinion that he should reject it; and in particular Ochino, who had lately fled from Italy and was then at Augsburg, pointed out the danger and hopeless nature of the project. Alfonso did not yet desist. He insisted that his brother should accompany him at least as far as Augsburg, promising to acquiesce in the decision which Ochino should pronounce after they had conversed with him on the subject. His request appeared so reasonable that Juan agreed to it; but he was prevented from going by the arrival of Bucer and two other friends, who having finished their business at Ratisbon, and fearing that Juan Diaz might be induced to act contrary to their late advice, had agreed to pay him a visit. Concealing the chagrin which he felt at this unexpected obstacle, Alfonso took an affectionate leave of his brother, after he had, in a private interview, forced a sum of money upon him, expressed warm gratitude for the spiritual benefit he had received from his conversation, and warned him to be on his

[1] He had another brother named Esteban, who entered his noviciate, along with Father Ribadeneyra, among the Jesuits, but left the order, and is said to have been killed in a duel. Ribadeneyra, 'Dialogo sobre los que se salen de Religion, MS.: Pellicer, Ensayo, p. 74.

guard against Malvenda. He proceeded to Augsburg on the road to Italy; but next day, after using various precautions to conceal his route, he returned, along with the man whom he had brought from Rome, and spent the night in a village at a small distance from Neuburg. Early next morning, being the 27th of March 1546, they came to the house where his brother lodged. Alfonso stood at the gate, while his attendant, knocking at the door and announcing that he was the bearer of a letter to Juan Diaz from his brother, was shown up stairs to an apartment. On hearing of a letter from his brother, Juan sprang from his bed, hastened to the apartment in an undress, took the letter from the hand of the bearer, and, as it was still dark, went to the window to read it, when the ruffian, stepping softly behind him, despatched his unsuspecting victim with one stroke of an axe which he had concealed under his cloak. He then joined the more guilty murderer, who now stood at the stair-foot to prevent interruption, and ready, if necessary, to give assistance to the assassin whom he had hired to execute his purpose.[1]

Alarmed by the noise which the assassin's spurs made on the steps as he descended, the person who slept with Juan Diaz rose hastily, and going into the adjoining apartment beheld, with unutterable feelings, his friend stretched on the floor and weltering in his blood, with his hands clasped, and the instrument of death fixed in his head. The murderers were fled, and had provided a relay of horses to convey them quickly out of Germany; but the pursuit after them, which commenced as soon as the alarm could be given, was so hot, that they were overtaken at Innspruck, and secured in prison. Otho Henry, Count Palatine of the Rhine and Duke of Bavaria, within whose territories the crime was perpetrated, lost no time in taking the necessary measures for having it judicially tried. Lawyers were sent from Neuburg with the night-cap of the deceased, the bloody axe, the letter of Alfonso, and other documents; but though the prisoners were arraigned before the criminal court at Innspruck, the trial was suspended through the influence of the Cardinals of Trent and Augsburg, to whom the fratricide obtained liberty to write at the beginning of his imprisonment. When his plea for the benefit of clergy was set aside as contrary to the laws of Germany, various legal quirks were resorted to; and, at last, the judges produced an order from the Emperor, prohibiting them from proceeding with the trial, and reserving the cause for the judgment of his brother Ferdinand, King of the Romans. When the Protestant princes, at the subsequent Diet of Ratisbon, demanded first of the Emperor, and afterwards of his brother, that the murderers should be punished, their requests were

[1] Y si es asi, la daré
Señor á mi mismo hermano
Y en nada reparare.
So let him die, for sentence Ortiz pleads;
Were he my brother, by this hand he bleeds.
LOPE DE VEGA, *Estrella de Sevilla.*

evaded,[1] and in the issue the murderers were allowed to escape untried and with impunity, to the outraging of humanity and justice, and the disgrace of the Church of Rome, whose authorities were bound to see that the most rigorous scrutiny was made into the horrid deed, under the pain of being held responsible for it to heaven and to posterity. The liberated fratricide appeared openly at Trent, along with his bloody accomplice, without exciting a shudder in the breasts of the holy fathers met in council: he was welcomed back to Rome; and finally returned to his native country, where he was admitted to the society of men of rank and education, who listened to him while he coolly related the circumstances of his sanctified crime.[2] Different persons published accounts,[3] agreeing in every material point, of a murder which, all circumstances considered, has scarcely a parallel in the annals of blood since the time of the first fratricide, and affords a striking proof of the degree in which fanatical zeal will stifle the tenderest affections of the human breast, and stimulate to the perpetration of crimes the most atrocious and unnatural.

The narrative which I have followed was drawn up and published at the time by Claude Senarcle,[4] a noble young Savoyard, who was strongly attached to Juan Diaz, had accompanied him from the time he left Paris, and slept in the same bed with him on the night before his murder. Its accuracy is confirmed by the attestation of Bucer, who was personally acquainted with many of the facts, as well as with the character of the author.[5] But indeed so far were the Roman Catholics from denying the facts, that many of them, and especially the countrymen of Diaz, justified and even applauded the deed.[6] Juan Ginez de Sepulveda, who professes to have received the facts from the mouth of the terrible hero of the tragedy, has given an account of them so completely in accordance with Senarcle's, that we might suppose he had abridged that work, in the way of substituting the atrocious moral of

[1] Sleidani Comment. tom. ii. p. 458.

[2] Sepulvedæ Opera, tom. ii. p. 132.

[3] One of these narratives was written by Melanchthon, under the title of Historie von Alfonso Diacio. Sleidan, ii. 440, note i. An ample account is given in Act. et Monim. Martyrum, f. 126, b.–139, a. Conf. Sleidan, ii. 435—441. Seckendorf, lib. iii. p. 653—658. Calvini Epist. p. 39: Opera, tom. ix.

[4] Calvin mentions that Diaz had left Geneva, "cum duobus Senarclenis." Epistolæ, p. 39: Opera, tom. ix. Maimbourg imputes the departure of Diaz from Geneva to his dislike of the harsh temper and opinions of the Genevese reformer; one of the fictions of that disingenuous historian, which is refuted by the statement of Senarcle (Hist. Diazii. *ut infra*, pp. 33, 34), and by the fact that Diaz maintained a confidential correspondence with Calvin after the period referred to. Lettres de Calvin à Jaque de Burgogne, Seigneur de Falais et de Bredam, pp. 48, 56. Amst. 1744.

[5] Historia vera de Morte sancti viri Joannis Diazii Hispani, quem eius frater germanus Alphonsus Diazius, exemplum sequutus primi parricidæ Cain, uelut alterum Abelem, nefariè interfecit: per Claudium Senarclæum, 1546, 8vo. Prefixed to the work is an epistle from Martin Bucer to Count Otho Henry, and another from the author to Bucer. Appended to it is a short treatise by the martyr, under the following title: Christianæ Religionis Summa: ad illustrissimum principem Dominum D. Ottonem Heinricum, Palatinum Rheni, et utriusque Bavariæ Ducem. Joanne Diazio Hispano autore.

[6] Senarclæus, Hist. de Morte Diazii, p. 169; et Buceri Epist. præfix. sig. α. 5, b. Bezæ Icones, sig. Kk. iij. Act. et Monim. Martyrum, f. 138, b. 139, a. Sepulveda expressly says: "The news of the slaughter were disagreeable to none of our countrymen —de patrata nece nuntius nulli nostrorum ingratus;" and he adds that the Emperor evidently showed, by protecting Alfonso, that he approved of his spirit and deed. Sepulvedæ Opera, tom. ii. p. 132. Maimbourg, who wrote at the close of the seventeenth century, condemns the murder, but his narrative shows that he felt little abhorrence at it. Hist. du Lutheranisme, sect. 37.

fanaticism for the touching sentiments of friendship, charity, and piety, which pervade the whole narrative of the Protestant historian.[1] It is humbling to think that Sepulveda was one of the most elegant prose writers who flourished at that time in Spain.

Francisco Enzinas continued, after his brother's departure to Italy, to reside at Louvain. But though he lived on good terms with the professors of the university, he found his situation becoming daily more irksome and painful. Among the learned Protestants in the neighbourhood with whom he carried on a confidential correspondence were Albert Hardenberg, preacher to the Cistercian monastery of Adwert, which, since the days of John Wessel, the Dutch Wickliffe, had resembled an academy more than a convent; and the celebrated Polish nobleman, John a Lasco, who had left his native country from attachment to the reformed faith, and was eminently successful in diffusing the knowledge of the truth in East Friesland. It would appear that the parents of Enzinas had intended him for the army, to which he was now decidedly averse. In a letter to A Lasco, accompanying the present of an ancient and richly mounted sword which he had received from a nobleman, he says: "All the world will, I know, be in arms against me on account of the resolution which, in opposition to the advice of some worthy men, I have now formed to devote myself to literary pursuits. But I will not suffer myself, from respect to the favour of men, to hold the truth in unrighteousness, or to treat unbecomingly those gifts which God in His free mercy has been pleased to confer on me, unworthy as I am. On the contrary, it shall be my endeavour, according to my ability, to propagate divine truth. That I may do this by the grace of God, I find that it will be necessary for me, in the first place, to fly from the Babylonian captivity, and to retire to a place in which I shall be at liberty to cultivate undefiled religion and true Christianity along with liberal studies. It is therefore my purpose to repair to Wittenberg, because that city contains an abundance of learned professors in all the sciences; and I entertain so high an esteem for the learning, judgment, and dexterity in teaching possessed by Philip Melanchthon in particular, that I would go to the end of the world to enjoy the company and instructions of such men. I therefore earnestly beg that, as your name has great weight, you will have the goodness to favour me with letters of introduction to Luther, Philip, and other learned men in that city."[2] He accordingly paid a visit to Wittenberg, where he was warmly received by all, and especially by the individual for whom he had expressed so high a veneration. But he returned to the Low Countries, probably by the advice of Melanchthon, to labour in a work which promised to be of the greatest benefit to his native country. This was the translation of the New Testament into the Spanish language.

Though Spain was the only nation which at that time did not possess

[1] Joannis Genesii Sepulvedæ Opera, tom. ii. p. 127—132. Matriti, 1780, 4to.

[2] Franciscus Dryander Joanni a Lasco Baroni, Lovanii x. die Maii 1541: Gerdesii Hist. Reform. tom. iii. append. No. vii. Conf. Epist. Selectiores, p. 58.

the Scriptures in the vulgar language, it had not always laboured under that deficiency. In the year 1233, Juan I. of Aragon, by a public edict, prohibited the use of any part of the Old or New Testament in the vernacular tongue, and commanded all, whether laity or clergy, who possessed such books, to deliver them to their ordinaries to be burnt, on the pain of being held suspected of heresy.[1] On the other hand, Alfonso X. of Castile caused the sacred Scriptures to be translated into Castilian, with the view of improving the native language of his people; and a copy of that translation, executed in the year 1260, is still preserved in manuscript.[2] Other ancient versions of the Scriptures into the Limosin, or Catalonian and Castilian dialects, are still to be seen, in whole or in part, among the manuscripts in the public libraries of Spain and France.[3] Bonifacio Ferrer, brother of St Vincente Ferrer, and Prior of the Carthusian monastery of Portaceli in Valencia, who died in the year 1417, translated the whole Scriptures into the Valencian or Catalonian dialect of Spain. His translation was printed at Valencia in the year 1478, at the expense of Philip Vizlant, a merchant of Isny in Germany, by Alfonzo Fernandez, a Spaniard of Cordova, and Lambert Philomar, a German. But, although it was the production of a Catholic author, and underwent the examination and correction of the inquisitor James Borrell, it had scarcely made its appearance when it was suppressed by the Inquisition, who ordered the whole impression to be devoured by the flames.[4] So strictly was this order carried into execution, that scarcely a single copy appears to have escaped. Long after the era of the Reformation, it was taken for granted by all true Spaniards, that their language had never been made the unhallowed instrument of exposing the Bible to vulgar eyes; and with the exception of two incidental allusions, the translation of Ferrer remained unnoticed for nearly two hundred years after its publication.[5] At length, in 1645, the last four leaves of a copy of this edition were discovered in the library belonging to the monastery of Portaceli. The number was reduced within a short time to one leaf; but happily this contained the imprint, or final epigraph, indicating the names of the translator and printers, together with the place and year of the impression.[6] According to some authors, the version of Ferrer underwent, about the year 1515, a second

[1] Du Cange, Glossarium, v. *Romancium*. Constitutiones Jacobi regis Aragonum adversus Hæreticos: Martene et Durand Veter. Script. et Monum. Hist. Collect. tom. vii. pp. 123, 124.

[2] Rodriguez de Castro, Bibl. Española, tom. i. p. 411—426, where extracts of the translation are given from the MS. in the Library of the Escurial.

[3] Le Long, Bibl. Sacr. tom. i. p. 361. Paris, 1723, 2 tom. fol. Rodriguez de Castro, i. 431—440. Ocios de Españoles Emigrados, tom. i. p. 39.

[4] Ferdinand and Isabella prohibited all, under the severest pains, from translating the sacred Scripture into the vulgar tongues, or from using it when translated by others. Alphonsus de Castro contra Hæreses, lib. i. cap. 13; apud Schelhorn, Amœnit. Liter. tom. viii. p. 485.

[5] It is mentioned by Frederico Furio, in a treatise entitled *Bononia*, printed in 1556 (Rodriguez de Castro, Bibl. Españ. i. 448), and by Cypriano de Valera, in his Exhortacion al Christiano Lector, prefixed to his Spanish Bible printed in 1602.

[6] The imprint has been copied in Bayer's edition of Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Vet. tom. ii. p. 214, note (2.); in Mendez, Typogr. Españ. p. 62; and in Ocios de Españoles Emigrados, tom. i. p. 36. Along with the imprint, the translation, from Rev. xx. 8. to the close of the book, is given by Rodriguez de Castro, Biblioteca Española, tom. i. p. 444—448.

impression, which shared the same fate as its predecessor; but of this statement the evidence is less complete and satisfactory.[1]

Apparently ignorant that his countrymen had once possessed such a treasure, and anxious that they should be supplied with it, Francisco de Enzinas undertook a translation of the New Testament into the Castilian tongue. Having finished his task, he submitted the work to the judgment of the divines of Louvain. They allowed that there was no law of the state prohibiting the printing of translations of the Scriptures, but expressed their fears that such works would lead to the spread of heresy and disturbance of the peace of the church, and excused themselves from either sanctioning or censuring the undertaking, on the ground of their ignorance of the Spanish tongue. The private friends of the translator, who were acquainted with both languages, gave it as their opinion, after examining the work, that it would be a great honour as well as benefit to Spain.[2] It was accordingly printed at Antwerp in the year 1543, under the title of "The New Testament, that is, the New Covenant of our only Redeemer and Saviour Jesus Christ, translated from Greek into the Castilian language." The purblind monks, to whom it was submitted before publication, could not proceed farther than the title-page. One of them, whose pretensions to learning were not the least among those of his order, smelled Lutheranism in "the new covenant." The leaf was cancelled, and the suspicious phrase struck out. He next pointed out a palpable heresy in the expression "our *only* Redeemer." Recourse was again had to the operation of cancelling, and the obnoxious particle expelled. But his success in discovery only served to quicken the censorial organ of the monk; so that the author, despairing to see an end of the process, gave directions for putting the work into the hands of the booksellers.[3]

The Emperor having soon after arrived at Brussels, the author presented a copy of the work to him, and requested his permission to circulate it among his countrymen. Charles received it graciously, and, promising his patronage if it were found to contain nothing contrary to the faith, gave it to his confessor Pedro de Soto[4] to examine. After

[1] Frederici Furii Bononia, apud Le Long, Bibl. Sacra, tom. i. p. 362. Before meeting with this authority, I was inclined to think that Dr Alexander Geddes had alluded to the original impression of Ferrer's version, of which he mistook the date, when he says, "A Spanish translation of the Bible was printed in 1516. It has been so totally destroyed that hardly a copy of it is to be found." Prospectus of a New Translation of the Bible, p. 109. Quere: Was a single copy to be found? According to Furio the date of printing was 1515.

[2] Gerdesii Hist. Reform. tom. iii. p. 166.

[3] The work appeared under the following title: "El Nuevo Testamento de nuestro Redemptor y Salvador Jesu Christo, traduzido de Griego en lengua Castellana, por Françisco de Enzinas, dedicado a la Cesarea Magestad. Habla Dios. Josue, i. No se aparte el libro de esta ley, &c. M.D.XLIII." On the reverse is a quotation from Deut. xvii. Then follows the dedication to Charles V., to which are added four Spanish coplas. The imprint at the end of the work is "Acabose de imprimir este libro en la insigne çibdad de Enveres, en casa de Estevan Mierdmanno, impressor de libros, a 25. de Octubre, en el anno del Señor de M.D.XLIII." The work is divided into chapters, but not into verses; and is beautifully printed in small 8vo.

[4] Soto afterwards accompanied Philip II. into England, and was incorporated at Oxford, 14th Nov. 1555. Wood's Fasti Oxon. edit. Bliss, p. 148. After taking an active part in the prosecution of the English Protestants, he was himself prosecuted, on his return to Spain, before the Inquisition of Valladolid, as suspected of heresy. Llorente, iii. 88.

various delays, Enzinas, having waited on the confessor, was upbraided by him as an enemy to religion, who had tarnished the honour of his native country; and refusing to acknowledge a fault, was seized by the officers of justice and thrown into prison. Besides the crime of translating the Scriptures, he was charged with having made a translation of a work of Luther, and visiting Melanchthon.[1] To add to his distress, his father and uncles, hearing of his imprisonment, paid him a visit, and participating in the common prejudices of their countrymen, reproached him for bringing calamity on himself, and dishonour on his kindred. He continued, however, to possess his soul in patience,[2] employed his time in translating the Psalms, and received many marks of sympathy from the citizens of Brussels, of whom he knew more than four hundred warmly attached to the Protestant faith. After a confinement of fifteen months, he one day found his prison doors open, and walking out, without the slightest opposition, escaped from Brussels and arrived safely at Wittenberg; an escape the more remarkable that a hot persecution raged at that time throughout the Netherlands, and the portraits of the Protestant preachers, accompanied with the offer of a reward for their apprehension, were to be seen affixed to the gates of all the principal cities.[3] The following extract shows the steps taken against him after his flight. "The inquisitors in Belgium have summoned my guest, the wise, upright, and pious Spaniard, in his absence; and from the day fixed for his appearance, we conclude that sentence has already been pronounced against him. He sets out for your town to ascertain the fact, and to learn if there are any letters for him from that quarter. I have given him a letter to you, both that I may acquaint you with the cause of his journey, and because I know you feel for the calamities of all good men. He evinces great fortitude, though he evidently sees that his return to his parents and native country is now cut off. The thought of the anguish which this will give to his parents distresses him. These inquisitors are as cruel to us as the thirty tyrants were of old to their fellow-citizens at Athens; but God will preserve the remnant of his church, and provide an asylum for the truth somewhere."[4] In another letter, written in the year 1546, the same individual says: "Franciscus the Spaniard has resolved to go to Italy, that he may assuage the grief of his mother."[5] Whether he accomplished that

[1] One fault found with the translation was, that Rom. iii. 28 was put in large characters, which had been done by the printer without any directions from the author. Enzinas was at Wittenberg in February 1543. Melanchthonis Epist. col. 570.

[2] "I am persuaded," says Melanchthon in a letter to Camerarius, 25th Dec. 1545, "you will feel great pleasure in reading the letter of Francis, my Spanish guest, written from his prison in Belgium. His magnanimity will delight you." Epistolæ, col. 842.

[3] Melanchthonis Epist. col. 848. Gerdesii Hist. Reform. iii. 173. In a letter to his friend Camerarius, 16 cal. Aprilis 1545, Melanchthon says: "Our Spanish friend Franciscus has returned, being set free by a divine interposition, without the help of any man, so far as he knows at least. I have enjoined him to draw up a narrative of the affair, which shall be sent you." Epist. col. 848. This narrative was printed at Antwerp in 1545. It is inserted at length by Rabus, in his German Martyrology, vol. vii. p. 1707—2319, and abridged by Gerdes, in his Hist. Reform. tom. iii. p. 166—172.

[4] Melanchthon Camerario, 20th Aug. 1545: Epistolæ, col. 858.

[5] Ibid. col. 874.

journey or not, is uncertain ; but in 1548 he went to England, on which occasion he was warmly recommended by Melanchthon to Edward VI. and Archbishop Cranmer, as a person of excellent endowments and learning, averse to all fanatical and seditious tenets, and distinguished by his piety and grave manners. He obtained a situation at Oxford ; but returning soon after to the Continent, he resided sometimes at Strasburg and sometimes at Basle, where he spent his time in literary pursuits, and in the society of the wise and good.[1]

In the same year in which the New Testament of Enzinas came from the press, a Spanish translation of the seven penitential Psalms, the Song of Solomon, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah, was printed at Antwerp by Ferdinand Jarava, who, three years before, had printed the Book of Job, and the Psalms for the office of the dead, in the same language and at the same place. There exists also a copy of a Spanish psalter in Gothic letter, without date, but apparently ancient.[2]

The Jews appear to have early had translations of the Old Testament, or parts of it, in Spanish. In 1497, only five years after their expulsion from the Peninsula, they printed the Pentateuch in that language at Venice. In 1547 this work was printed at Constantinople in Hebrew characters, and in 1552 it was reprinted at the same place in Roman characters.[3] In 1553 they printed at Ferrara two editions of the Old Testament in Spanish ; the one edited by Abraham Usque, and the other by Duarte Pinel. Bibliographers have generally held that the first of these was intended for the use of Jews, and the last for the use of Christians ;[4] an opinion which does not seem to rest on good grounds.[5]

At the time that Egidius was thrown into prison, several of his religious friends became alarmed for their safety, and took refuge in Germany and Switzerland. Among these were Juan Perez, Cassiodoro de Reyna, and Cypriano de Valera, who were industriously employed during their exile in providing the means of religious instruction for their countrymen. Juan Perez was born at Montilla, a town of Andalusia. He was sent to Rome in 1527, as *charge d'affaires* of Charles V., and

[1] Melanchthonis Epist. col. 494, 522, 911. Strype's Mem. of Cranmer, p. 404. Gerdesii Scrin. Antiquar. tom. iii. p. 644 ; iv. 666. Letters from him are to be found in Gabbema, Collect. Epist. Clar. Viror. p. 40 ; Olympiæ Moratæ Opera, p. 333 ; Fox's Acts and Monuments, p. 1628, edit. 1596 ; and in the Library of Corpus Christi ; Nasmyth's Catalogue, No. cxix. 94. Enzinas was the author of a Spanish translation of Plutarch's Lives (Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Nova, tom. i. p. 422), and of "Breve Description del Pais Baxo, y Razon de la Religion en España ;" which last work, according to Gerdes, contains the narrative of his imprisonment and escape, and was printed both in Latin and French. Gerdesii Florilegium Librorum Rariorum, p. 111. Pellicer, Ensayo, p. 80.

[2] Rodriguez de Castro, Bibl. Espan. tom. i. p. 449.

[3] Rodriguez de Castro, Bibl. Espan. p. 448.

[4] Such is the opinion of Wolfius (Bibl. Hebr. tom. ii. p. 451), who has been followed by Clement, Brunet, and Dibdin, in his Ædes Althorpianæ, tom. i. p. 86.

[5] Cassiodoro de Reyna, Amonestacion, prefixed to his Spanish translation of the Bible. Rodriguez de Castro, i. 401—408, where the opinion of the writers referred to in the preceding note is examined. Usque dedicated his edition to Doña Gracia Naci ; and Pinel to the Duke of Ferrara. The latter adopts the Christian era, and in the translation of Isa. vii. 14, makes use of the word *virgen*, whereas the former uses *moza*. But they agree exactly in their translation of all the other passages which have been the subject of dispute between Jews and Christians ; and the versions are almost entirely the same.

procured from the pope a suspension of the decree by which the Spanish divines had condemned the writings of Erasmus.[1] Subsequently he was placed at the head of the College of Doctrine, an endowed school at Seville, where he contracted an intimacy with Egidius and other favourers of the reformed opinions. He received the degree of doctor of divinity in his native country; and his talents and probity secured him a high place in the esteem of the foreigners among whom he resided, first at Geneva and afterwards in France.[2] The works which he composed in his native tongue were of the most valuable kind. His version of the New Testament came from the press in 1556;[3] his version of the Book of Psalms followed in the course of the subsequent year;[4] and his Catechism, and Summary of Christian Doctrine, appeared about the same time.[5] They were all printed at Venice. Besides these, he published in Spanish several of the works of his countryman Juan Valdez.[6] Being called from Geneva, and having officiated as a preacher at Blois, and as chaplain to Renée, Duchess of Ferrara, in the castle of Montargis, he died of the stone at Paris, after he had bequeathed all his fortune to the printing of the Bible in his native tongue.[7] The task which he left unfinished was continued by Cassiodoro de Reyna, who, after ten years' labour, produced a translation of the whole Bible, which was printed in 1569 at Basle.[8] It was revised and corrected by Cypriano de Valera, who published the New Testament in 1596 at London, and both Testaments in 1602 at Amsterdam.[9] It is no slight proof of the zeal with which the Spanish Protestants sought to disseminate the Scriptures among their countrymen, that Juan Lizzarago published, in 1571, a translation of the New Testament into Basque, or the language of Biscay, which differs widely from the other dialects spoken in the Peninsula.[10] The versions of the three writers last mentioned did not

[1] Llorente (ii. 280) calls him "Jean Perez de Pineda." Beza designates him "Joannes Pierius."

[2] Pellicer, Ensayo de Traductores Espan. p. 120. Bezæ Icones, sig. Ii. iij.

[3] "El Testamento Nuevo de nuestro Señor y Salvador Jesu Christo. Nueva y fielmente traduzido del original Griego en Romance Castellano. En Venecia, en casa de Juan Philadelpho. M.D.LVI." It is dedicated, "Al todo poderoso Rey de cielos y tierra Jesu Christo," &c. Pellicer, Ensayo, pp. 120, 121. Riederer, Nachrichten, tom. ii. p. 145—152. The author's name does not appear in the book; but Le Long says that Juan Perez states, in the prologue to his version of the Psalms, that he had published a version of the New Testament in the preceding year. This prologue was not in the copy examined by Pellicer. Cypriano de Valera says: "El Doctor Juan Perez, de pia memoria, ano de 1556, imprimio el Testamento Nuevo." (Exhortation prefixed to his Spanish Bible. Conf. Abbate D. Giov. Andres dell' Origine d'ogni Letteratura, tom. xix. p. 238.)

[4] "Los Psalmos de David, con sus sumarios, en que se declara con brevedad lo contenido en cada Psalmo, agora nueva y fielmente traduzidos en Romance Castellano, por el Doctor Juan Perez, conforme a la verdad de la Lengua Sancta. En Venecia, en casa de Pedro Daniel. M.D.LVII." The work is dedicated, "A Doña Maria de Austria, Reyna de Hungria y de Bohemia." A Spanish translation of the Psalter, the Proverbs of Solomon, and the Book of Job, had been printed at Lyons in 1550. Riederer, Nachrichten, tom. ii. p. 146.

[5] Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Nova, i. 757. Llorente, ii. 280. The last-named author, by mistake, ascribes to Perez a translation of the Bible.

[6] See above, p. 70; and Pellicer, Ensayo, p. 120.

[7] Bezæ Icones, sig. Ii. iij.

[8] Miscellanea Groningana, tom. iii. p. 98—100. Rodriguez de Castro, tom. i. p. 464—468.

[9] Rodriguez de Castro, i. 468—470. Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Nova, tom. i. pp. 234, 235. In 1602, the same year in which De Valera's Bible was printed at Amsterdam, another edition of De Reyna's was printed at Frankfort, in 4to. Riederer, Nachrichten, tom. iv. p. 265—270.

[10] The Basque New Testament was printed

appear until the Reformation was suppressed in Spain ; but they were of great utility to many individuals, and the reprinting of De Valera's translation at a recent period was the means of provoking the Spanish clergy to make the dangerous experiment of translating the Scriptures into their native tongue.[1]

All these versions were accompanied with vindications of the practice of translating the Scriptures into vernacular languages, and the right of the people to read them. This formed one of the points most warmly contested between the Romanists and Reformers. The Spanish divines distinguished themselves by their intemperate support of the illiberal side of the question ; and the determination of Alfonso de Castro, "that the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular tongues, with the reading of them by the vulgar, is the true fountain of all heresies," continued long to be the standard of orthodoxy in Spain.[2] There was, however, one honourable exception. Frederico Furio,[3] a learned native of Valencia, defended the cause of biblical translation intrepidly and ably, first in an academical dispute with John de Bononima, rector of the university of Louvain, and afterwards from the press.[4] This raised against him a host of enemies, and his book was strictly prohibited ;[5] but he was protected by Charles V., and, what is singular, continued during life about the person of Philip II., that most determined patron of ignorance and the Inquisition.[6]

The versions of the Scriptures by which the Reformation was promoted in Spain were those of Enzinas and Perez. In spite of the suppression of the former in the Low Countries, copies of it were conveyed to the Peninsula. Accordingly, Pope Julius III. states, in a bull addressed to the inquisitors in 1550, that he was informed that there were in the possession of booksellers and private persons a great number of

at Rochelle, and dedicated to Joan d'Albret, Queen of Navarre. Larramendi, Diccionario Trilingue del Castellano, Bascuence y Latin, prologo, sect. 20. Andres dell 'Origine d'ogni Letteratura, tom. xix. p. 239.

It would be improper to pass over another version, as it bears the name of Enzinas, so honourably connected with the translation of the Scriptures. In 1708, there was printed at Amsterdam, a Spanish version of the New Testament, "corregido y revisto por D. Sebastian de la Enzina, ministro de la Yglesia Anglicano y Predicador de la illustre congregacion de los honorables señores tratantes en España." This translation is the same with that of Valera, except that the contents of chapters are not inserted, and the marginal notes are either omitted or put at the foot of the page. Pellicer, Ensayo, p. 156. Rodriguez de Castro, i. 499—501.

[1] Dr Alexander Geddes's Prospectus, p. 109. Preface by Don Felix Torres Amat, Bishop-elect of Barcelona, to his Spanish translation of the New Testament, in 1823. Scio's Bible consisted of no fewer than 19 volumes 8vo. Of Amat's New Testament, in 2 vols. 4to, 2000 copies were printed in Latin and Castilian, and only 500 in Castilian alone.

[2] Gerdesii Hist. Reform. tom. iii. pp. 169, 170. So late as 1747, D. Francisco Perez del Prado, the inquisitor-general, lamented "that some men carried their audacity to the execrable extreme of asking permission to read the sacred Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, not afraid of finding in them the most deadly poison." Llorente, i. 481.

[3] He is commonly called Fredericus Furius *Caeriolanus*, that is, *of Seriol*, the vulgar name of Valencia.

[4] The title of his work is "Bononia ; sive de Libris Sacris in vernaculam linguam con vertendis Libri duo." Basileæ, a. 1556. He has commemorated the opposition which he met with, in some elegant Latin verses addressed to Cardinal Mendoza. Schelhorn, Amœnit. Literariæ, tom. viii. pp. 485, 486. Furio also wrote encomiastic verses on Castalio's version of the Bible. Colomesii Italia et Hispania Orientalis, p. 102.

[5] Index Libr. Prohib. a. 1559, lit. F.

[6] Thuani Hist. lib. civ. cap. 7.

heretical books, including Spanish Bibles, marked in the catalogue of prohibited books which the university of Louvain, at the desire of the Emperor, had drawn up in the preceding year. And at a period somewhat later, Philip, who governed Spain during the absence of his father, ordered an examination of certain Bibles introduced into the kingdom, but not mentioned in the late index; and the Council of the Supreme, having pronounced them dangerous, gave instructions to the provincial inquisitors to seize all the copies, and proceed with the utmost rigour against those who should retain them, without excepting members of universities, colleges, or monasteries.[1]

At the same time the strictest precautions were adopted to prevent the importation of such books by placing officers at all the sea-ports and land-passes, with authority to search every package, and the person of every traveller, that should enter the kingdom. It might be supposed that these measures would have reared an insuperable barrier to the progress of illumination in Spain. But the thirst for knowledge, when once excited, is irresistible; and tyranny, when it goes beyond a certain point, inspires its victims at once with daring and ingenuity. The books provided by the Spanish refugees remained for some time locked up in Geneva, none choosing to engage in the hazardous and almost desperate attempt to convey them across the Pyrenees. But at last an humble individual had the courage to undertake, and the address to execute, the task. This was Julian Hernandez, a native of Villaverda, in the district of Campos, who, on account of his small stature, was commonly called Julian the Little. Having imbibed the reformed doctrine in Germany, he had come to Geneva and entered into the service of Juan Perez as amanuensis and corrector of the press.[2] Two large casks, filled with translations of the Scriptures and other Protestant books in Spanish, were in 1557 committed to his trust, which he undertook to convey by land; and having eluded the vigilant eyes of the inquisitorial familiars, he lodged his precious charge safely in the house of one of the chief Protestants of Seville, by whom the contents were quickly dispersed among his friends in different parts of the country.[3]

[1] Llorente, i. 464, 465.

[2] Montanus, 217. Bezæ Icones, sig. Ii. iij. b. Histoire des Martyrs, 497. Llorente represents Hernandez as having undertaken a journey from Spain to Geneva with the view of bringing home the contraband books, (ii. 282.)

[3] Montanus, et Histoire des Martyrs, *ut supra*.

CHAPTER VI.

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN SPAIN.

The circumstances attending the condemnation of Egidius inflicted a severe shock on the infant church of Seville. While the enemies of the truth triumphed in his fall, its friends felt "as when a standard-bearer fainteth." His release from imprisonment, and the proofs which he gave of unabated attachment to the doctrine which he had formerly taught, were consolatory to them; but the obstinacy with which he continued to the last to upbraid himself for his imbecility, together with the restraints under which he was laid, threw a melancholy air over his instructions, which had a tendency to discourage those who needed to be animated by the countenance and advice of a person of unbroken courage and high reputation. Providence furnished them with such a head, a little before the death of Egidius, by the return of the individual who had been his associate in his early labours, and who was unquestionably the greatest ornament of the reformed cause in Spain.

Constantine Ponce de la Fuente was a native of San Clemente de la Mancha, in the diocese of Cuença.[1] Possessing a good taste and a love of genuine knowledge, he evinced an early disgust for the barbarous pedantry of the schools, and attachment to such of his countrymen as sought to revive the study of polite letters. Being intended for the church, he made himself master of Greek and Hebrew, to qualify him for interpreting the Scriptures. At the same time he spoke and wrote his native language with uncommon purity and elegance. Like Erasmus, with whose writings he was first captivated, he was distinguished for his lively wit, which he took pleasure in indulging at the expense of foolish preachers and hypocritical monks. But he was endowed with greater firmness and decision of character than the philosopher of Rotterdam. During his attendance at the university, his youthful spirit had betrayed him into irregularities, of which his enemies afterwards took an ungenerous advantage; but these were succeeded by the utmost decorum and correctness of manners, though he always retained his gay temper, and could never deny himself his jest. One of his contemporaries has remarked, "that he never knew any man who loved or hated Constantine moderately;" a treatment which is experienced by

[1] Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Nov. tom. i. p. 256.

every person who possesses superior talents and poignancy of wit combined with generosity and benevolence. His knowledge of mankind made him scrupulous in forming intimate friendships, but he treated all his acquaintance with a cordial and easy familiarity. Notwithstanding the opportunities he had of enriching himself, he was so exempt from avarice that his library, which he valued above all his property, was never large. His eloquence caused his services in the pulpit to be much sought after; but he was free from vanity, the besetting sin of orators, and scorned to prostitute his talents at the shrine of popularity. He declined the situation of preacher in the cathedral of Cuença, which was offered him by the unanimous vote of the chapter. When afterwards invited to accept the more honourable and lucrative office of preacher to the metropolitan church of Toledo after thanking the chapter for their good opinion of him, he declined it, alleging as a reason, "that he would not disturb the bones of their ancestors;" alluding to a dispute between them and the Archbishop Siliceo, who had insisted that his clergy should prove the purity of their descent. Whether it was predilection for the reformed opinions that induced him at first to fix his residence at Seville, is uncertain; but we have seen that he co-operated with Egidius in his plans for disseminating Scriptural knowledge. The Emperor having heard him preach during a visit to that city, was so much pleased with the sermon, that he immediately named him one of his chaplains, to which he added the office of almoner; and he soon after appointed him to accompany his son Philip to Flanders, "to let the Flemings see that Spain was not destitute of polite scholars and orators."[1] Constantine made it a point of duty to obey the orders of his sovereign, and reluctantly quitted his residence in Seville, for which he had hitherto rejected the most tempting offers. His journey gave him the opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with some of the reformers. Among these was James Schopper, a learned man of Biberach in Suabia, by whose conversation his views of evangelical doctrine were greatly enlarged and confirmed.[2] In 1555 he returned to Seville, and his presence imparted a new impulse to the Protestant cause in that city. A benevolent and enlightened individual having founded a professorship of divinity in the College of Doctrine, Constantine was appointed to the chair; and by means of the lectures which he read on the Scriptures, together with the instructions of Fernando de St Juan, provost of the institution, the minds of many of the young men were opened to the truth.[3] On the first Lent after his return to Seville, he was chosen by the chapter to preach every alternate day in the cathedral church. So great was his popularity, that though the public service did not begin till eight o'clock in the morning, yet, when he preached, the church was filled by four and even by three o'clock. Being newly recovered from a

[1] Geddes's Miscell. Tracts, vol. i. p. 556. Montanus, pp. 269, 282.

[2] Jacobi Schopperi Oratio de vita et obitu Parentis, p. 26—28: Gerdesii Scrin. Antiq. tom. iv. p. 648.

[3] Montanus, p. 283; conf. p. 214.

fever when he commenced his labours, he felt so weak that it was necessary for him repeatedly to pause during the sermon, on which occasions he was allowed to recruit his strength by taking a draught of wine in the pulpit, a permission which had never been granted to any other preacher.[1]

While Constantine was pursuing this career of honour and usefulness, he involved himself in difficulties by coming forward as a candidate for the place of canon-magistral in the cathedral of Seville. There are three canonries in every episcopal church in Spain, which must be obtained by comparative trials. These are chiefly filled by Fellows belonging to the six Collegios Mayores, who form a kind of learned aristocracy, which has long possessed great influence in that country. No place of honour or emolument in the church or the departments of law is left unoccupied by these collegians. Fellows in orders, who possess abilities, are kept in reserve for the literary competitions; such as cannot appear to advantage in these trials are provided, through court favour, to stalls in the wealthier cathedrals; while the absolutely dull and ignorant are placed in the tribunals of the Inquisition, where, passing judgment in their secret halls, they may not by their blunders disgrace the college to which they belonged.[2] The place of canon-magistral in Seville having become vacant by the death of Egidius, the chapter, in accordance with the general wish of the city, fixed their eyes upon Constantine, as the person most fitted by his talents for filling that important office. Egidius had been introduced into it without engaging in the literary competition; but, in consequence of his unpopularity when he first ascended the pulpit, the canons had entered on their records a resolution that the usual trials should take place in all future elections. Constantine had uniformly ridiculed these literary jousts, as resembling the exercises of schoolboys and the tricks of jugglers. Finding him obstinate in refusing to enter the lists, the chapter were inclined to dispense with their resolution, when Fernando Valdes, the Archbishop of Seville and inquisitor-general, who had conceived a strong dislike to Constantine on account of a supposed injury which he had received from him when he was preacher to the Emperor, interposed his authority to prevent the suspension of the law. A day was accordingly fixed for the trial, and edicts were published in all the principal cities, requiring candidates to make their appearance. The friends of Constantine now pressed him to lay aside his scruples; and an individual, who had great influence over his mind, represented so strongly the services which he would be able to render to the cause of truth in so influential a situation, and the hurtful effects which would result from its being occupied by some noisy and ignorant declaimer, that he consented at last to offer himself as a candidate. The knowledge of this fact prevented others from appearing, with the exception of two individuals who came from a distant part of the country. One

[1] Montanus, pp. 279, 283. [2] Doblada's Letters from Spain, pp. 106, 107.

of them declined the contest as soon as he became acquainted with the circumstances; but the other, a canon of Malaga, instigated by the archbishop, who wished to mortify his competitor, descended into the arena. Despairing, however, of being able to succeed by polemical skill, or by interest with the chapter, he had recourse to personal charges and insinuations, in which he was supported by all those who envied the fame of Constantine, had felt the sting of his satire, or hated him for his friendship with Egidius. He was accused of having contracted a marriage before he entered into holy orders; it was alleged that there were irregularities in his ordination and the manner in which he obtained his degree of doctor of divinity; and an attempt was made to fasten on him the charge of heresy. In spite of these accusations he carried his election, was installed in his new office, and commenced his duty as preacher in the cathedral with high acceptance. But this contest arrayed a party against him, which sought in every way to thwart his measures, and afterwards found an opportunity to make him feel the weight of its vengeance.[1]

Constantine, while he instructed the people of Seville from the pulpit, was exerting himself to diffuse religious knowledge through the nation at large by means of the press. In the character of his writings we have one of the clearest indications of the excellence of his heart. They were of that kind which was adapted to the spiritual wants of his countrymen, and not calculated to display his own talents, or to acquire for himself a name in the learned world. They were composed in his native tongue, and in a style level to the lowest capacity. Abstruse speculations and rhetorical ornaments, in which he was qualified both by nature and education to excel, were rigidly sacrificed to the one object of being understood by all, and useful to all. Among his works were a Catechism, the highest recommendation of which is its artless and infantine simplicity; a small treatise on the doctrine of Christianity, drawn up in the familiar form of a dialogue between a master and his pupil; an Exposition of the first Psalm in four sermons, which show that his pulpit eloquence, exempt from the common extremes, was neither degraded by vulgarity nor rendered disgusting by affectation and effort at display; and the Confession of a sinner, in which the doctrines of the Gospel, poured from a contrite and humbled spirit, assume the form of the most edifying and devotional piety.[2] His Summary of Christian Doctrine, without being deficient in simplicity, is more calculated to interest persons of learning and advanced knowledge. In this work he proposed to treat, first, of the articles of faith; and, secondly, of good works and the sacrament. The first part only came from the press;[3] the second being kept back until such time as it could

[1] Montanus, p. 284—287.

[2] Ibid. p. 294—297. Histoire des Martyrs, f. 502, b.–506, a. Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Nova, tom. i. p. 256.

[3] It was printed at Antwerp, without date, under the title of "Suma de Doctrina Christiana;" and appended to it was "El Sermon de Christo nuestro Redemptor en el monte, traducido por el mismo autor, con declaraciones."

be printed with greater safety—a period which never arrived. It was not the author's object to lay down or defend the Protestant doctrines, but to exhibit from the Scriptures, and without intermeddling with modern disputes, the great truths of the Gospel. The work was translated into Italian, and has been highly praised by some Roman Catholic writers.[1] But it was viewed with great suspicion by the ruling clergy, who took occasion from it to circulate reports unfavourable to the author's orthodoxy, and held secret consultations on the propriety of denouncing him to the Inquisition. They complained that he had not condemned the Lutheran errors, nor vindicated the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome; and that, if at any time he mentioned indulgences, purgatory, and human merit, instead of extolling, he derogated from these authorised doctrines of the church, by warning his readers not to risk their salvation on them. When these charges came to the ears of Constantine, he contented himself with saying, that these topics did not properly belong to the first part of his treatise, but that he would explain his views respecting them in his second volume, which he was preparing for the press. This reply, backed by the popularity of which he was in possession, silenced his adversaries for that time.[2]

Previously to the period of which we have been speaking, an occurrence took place which had nearly proved fatal to the disciples of the reformed faith in Seville. Francisco Zafra, a doctor of laws, and vicar of the parish church of San Vincente, had long cherished a secret predilection for the Lutheran sentiments. Being a man of learning, he was frequently called, in the character of *qualificator*, to pronounce judgment on the articles laid to the charge of persons denounced to the Holy Office, and had been instrumental in saving the lives of many individuals, who otherwise would have been condemned as heretics.[3] He had received into his house Maria Gomez, a widow, who was a zealous and constant attendant on the private meetings of the Protestants, and consequently well acquainted with all the persons of that persuasion in the city. In the year 1555 she became deranged in her intellect, and having conceived, as is not unusual with persons in that unhappy state of mind, a violent antipathy to her former friends, she talked of nothing but vengeance on heretics. It was found necessary to lay her under an easy restraint; but escaping from her domestic confinement, she went straight to the castle of Triana, in which the inquisitors held their sittings, and, having obtained an audience, told them that the city was full of Lutherans, while they, whose duty it was to guard against the entrance and spread of this plague, were slumbering at their post. She ran over the names of those whom she accused, amounting to the number of more than three hundred. The inquisitors

[1] Ulloa, Vita di Carlo V. p. 237. Joan. Pineda. Comment. in Fab. Justiniani Indic. Univ. præf. cap. xiii. sect. 6.

[2] Montanus, pp. 294, 295.

[3] Llorente (ii. 256-7) refers to De Montes in support of this fact. I do not find it stated by that writer, whom he probably confounded with some other authority.

had no apprehension of the extent to which the reformed doctrines had been embraced in Seville, and could not but perceive marks of derangement in the appearance and incoherent talk of the informer ; but, acting according to the maxim of their tribunal, that no accusation is to be disregarded, they resolved to make inquiry, and ordered the instant attendance of Zafra. Had he yielded to the sudden impressions of fear, and attempted to make his escape, the consequences would have been fatal to himself and his religious connections. Instead of this, with great presence of mind, he repaired on the first notice to the Holy Office, treated the accusation with indifference, stated the symptoms of the woman's distemper, with the reason which induced him to confine her, and referred to the members of his family and the neighbours for the truth of the facts. His statement, together with the character which he bore, succeeded in removing the suspicions of the inquisitors, who were persuaded that Maria laboured under a confirmed lunacy, and that her representations had no other foundation than the visionary workings of a disordered brain. Accordingly they requested Zafra to take the unfortunate woman along with him, and to keep her under a stricter confinement than that from which she had escaped. Thus did this dark cloud pass away, by the kindness of Providence, which watched over a tender flock, not yet sufficiently prepared for encountering the storm of persecution.[1]

In the mean time the Protestant church in Seville was regularly organised, and placed under the pastoral inspection of Christobal Losada, a doctor of medicine. He had paid his addresses to the daughter of a respectable member of that society, and was rejected on a religious ground ; but having afterwards become acquainted with Egidius, he embraced the reformed opinions, and recommended himself so strongly to those of the same faith by his knowledge of the Scriptures, and other gifts, that they unanimously chose him as their pastor. His future conduct did not disgrace their choice.[2] He was assisted by a friar named Cassiodoro, whose ministry was uncommonly successful.[3] The church met ordinarily in the house of Isabella de Baena, a lady not less distinguished for her piety than for her rank and opulence.[4] Among the nobility who attached themselves to it, the two most distinguished were Don Juan Ponce de Leon and Domingo de Guzman. The former was a younger son of Don Rodrigo, Count de Baylen, cousin-german of the Duke d'Arcos, and allied to the principal grandees of Spain. So unbounded was this nobleman in charity to the poor, that, by distributing to their necessities, he encumbered his patrimonial

[1] Montanus, p. 50—53. Llorente (ii. 267) is of opinion that the inquisitors did not entirely discredit the information of Maria Gomez, and that it led to the subsequent discovery and apprehension of the Protestants in Seville. When afterwards aroused by new informations, the names mentioned by her might assist their inquiries; but it is not very probable that they would have remained inactive during two years, if they had credited her testimony.

[2] Cypriano de Valera, Dos Tratados, pp. 249, 251. Montanus, pp. 231, 232.

[3] Llorente, ii. 264, 270.

[4] Cypriano de Valera, *ut supra*, p. 251. Montanus, pp. 210, 211.

estate, and reduced himself to those straits in which others of his rank involve themselves by prodigality and dissipation. He was equally unsparing in his personal exertions to promote the reformed cause.[1] Domingo de Guzman was a son of the Duke de Medina Sidonia, and being destined for the church, had entered the order of St Dominic. His extensive library contained the principal Lutheran publications, which he lent and recommended with uncommon industry.[2]

Most of the religious institutions in Seville and the neighbourhood were leavened with the new doctrines. The preacher of the Dominican monastery of St Paul's was zealous in propagating them.[3] They had disciples in the convent of St Elizabeth, a nunnery established according to the rule of St Francis d'Assisa.[4] But they made the greatest progress in the Hieronymite convent of San Isidro del Campo, situated within two miles of Seville. This was owing in a great degree to a person whose singular character merits examination.

Garcia de Arias, commonly called Dr Blanco on account of the extreme whiteness of his hair, possessed an acute mind and extensive information; but he was undecided and vacillating in his conduct, partly from timidity and partly from caution and excess of refinement. He belonged to that class of subtle politicians, who, without being destitute of conscience, are wary in committing themselves, forfeit the good opinion of both parties by failing to yield a consistent support to either, and trusting to their address and dexterity to extricate themselves from difficulties, are sometimes caught in the toils of their own intricate management. There is no reason to question the sincerity of his attachment to the reformed tenets, but his adoption of them was known only to the leaders of the Sevillian Church, with whom he was secretly in correspondence. By the ruling clergy he was regarded not only as strictly orthodox, but as the ablest champion of their cause, and accordingly was consulted by them on every important question relative to the established faith. An anecdote which has been preserved is strikingly illustrative of his character and mode of acting. Gregorio Ruiz, in a sermon preached by him in the cathedral of Seville, employed expressions favourable to the Protestant doctrine concerning justification and the merit of Christ's death, in consequence of which he was denounced to the Inquisition, and had a day fixed for answering the charges brought against him. In the prospect of this he took the advice of Arias, with whose real sentiments he was perfectly acquainted, and to whom he confidentially communicated the line of defence which he meant to adopt. But on the day of his appearance, and after he had pleaded for himself, what was his surprise to find the man whom he had trusted, rise, at the request of the inquisitors, and in an elabo-

[1] Montanus, pp. 200, 201.

[2] Sepulveda says he was "of the illustrious house of the Guzmans." De Rebus gestis Caroli V. p. 541. Skinner, in his additions to Montanus, says "he was basturde brother to the Duke de Medina Sidonia." A Discovery and playne Declaration of sundry subtill Practises of the Holy Inquisition of Spayne, sig. D d. iiij. b. 2d edit. Lond. 1569, 4to.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Montanus, p. 229.

rate speech refute all the arguments which he had produced! When his friends remonstrated with Arias on the impropriety of his conduct, he vindicated himself by alleging that he had adopted the course which was safest for Ruiz and them; but, galled by the censures which they pronounced on the duplicity and baseness with which he had acted, he began to threaten that he would inform against them to the Holy Office. "And if we shall be forced to descend into the arena," said Constantine to him, "do you expect to be permitted to sit among the spectators?"

Yet this was the man who was made the instrument of conveying the light of divine truth into the convent of San Isidro, when it was immersed in the most profound ignorance and superstition. Without laying aside his characteristic caution, he taught his brethren that true religion was something very different from what it was vulgarly supposed to be; that it did not consist in chanting matins and vespers, or performing any of those acts of bodily service, in which their time was consumed; and that if they expected to obtain the approbation of God, it behoved them to have recourse to the Scriptures to know His mind. By inculcating these things in his sermons and in private conversation, he produced in the breasts of the monks a feeling of dissatisfaction with the circular and monotonous devotions of the cloister, and a spirit of inquiry after a purer and more edifying piety. But from versatility, or with the view of providing for his future safety, he all at once altered his plans, and began to recommend, by doctrine and example, austerities and bodily mortifications more rigid than those which were enjoined by the monastic rules of his order. During Lent he urged his brethren to remove every article of furniture from their cells, to lie on the bare earth, or sleep standing, and to wear shirts of haircloth, with iron girdles, next their bodies. The monastery was for a time thrown into confusion, and some individuals were reduced to a state of mind bordering on distraction. But this attempt to revive superstition produced a reaction which led to the happiest consequences. Suspecting the judgment or the honesty of the individual to whom they had hitherto looked up as an oracle, some of the more intelligent resolved to take the advice of Egidius and his friends in Seville; and, having received instructions from them, began to teach the doctrines of the Gospel to their brethren in a plain and undisguised manner; so that, within a few years, the whole convent was leavened with the new opinions.[1] The person who had the greatest influence in effecting this change was Cassiodoro de Reyna, afterwards celebrated as the translator of the Bible into the language of his country.[2]

A more decided change on the internal state of this monastery took place in the course of the year 1557. An ample supply of copies of the Scriptures and Protestant books, in the Spanish language, having been received, they were read with avidity by the monks, and contributed at

[1] Montanus, p. 237—247.

[2] Llorente (ii. 262) merely calls him "Fr. Cassiodore," but I have no doubt that he was the individual mentioned in the text.

once to confirm those who had been enlightened, and to extricate others from the prejudices by which they were enthralled. In consequence of this, the prior and other official persons, in concurrence with the fraternity, agreed to reform their religious institute. Their hours of prayer, as they were called, which had been spent in solemn mummeries, were appointed for hearing prelections on the Scriptures; prayers for the dead were omitted, or converted into lessons for the living; papal indulgences and pardons, which had formed a lucrative and engrossing traffic, were entirely abolished; images were allowed to remain, without receiving homage; habitual temperance was substituted in the room of superstitious fasting; and novices were instructed in the principles of true piety, instead of being initiated into the idle and debasing habits of monachism. Nothing remained of the old system but the monastic garb and the external ceremony of the mass, which they could not lay aside without exposing themselves to imminent and inevitable danger.[1]

The good effects of this change were felt without the monastery of San Isidro del Campo. By their conversation, and by the circulation of books, these zealous monks diffused the knowledge of the truth through the adjacent country, and imparted it to many individuals who resided in towns at a considerable distance from Seville.[2] In particular, their exertions were successful in religious houses of the Hieronymite order; and the prior and many of the brotherhood of the Valle de Ecija, situated on the banks of the Xenil, were among the converts to the reformed faith.[3] Individuals of the highest reputation belonging to that order incurred the suspicion of heresy. Juan de Regla, Prior of Santa Fé, and Provincial of the Hieronymites in Spain, was a divine greatly celebrated for his talents and learning, and had assisted at the Council of Trent during its second convocation. Being denounced to the Inquisition of Saragossa, he was condemned to penance, and the abjuration of eighteen propositions savouring of Lutheranism. After his recantation, he verified the maxim respecting apostates, by his bitter persecution of those who were suspected of holding the new opinions, and was advanced to the office of confessor, first to Charles V. and afterwards to Philip II.[4] Francisco de Villalba, a Hieronymite monk of Montamarta, sat in the Council of Trent along with Regla, and was preacher to Charles and Philip. He waited on the former in his last moments, and pronounced his funeral oration with such appalling eloquence, that several of his hearers declared that he made their hair stand erect. After the Emperor's death, a process was commenced against Villalba before the Inquisition of Toledo, in which he was accused of having taught certain Lutheran errors. At the same time an attempt was made, in a chapter of the monks of St Jerome, to attaint his blood, by showing that he was of Jewish extraction. This charge was

[1] Montanus, pp. 247, 248.
[2] Ibid. p. 249.
[3] Cypriano de Valera, Dos Tratados, p. 248.
[4] Llorente, ii. 160, 161; iii. 84, 85.

refuted. But it was not so easy to put a stop to his trial before the inquisitors; all that he could obtain, through the intervention of the court, was, that his incarceration should be delayed until additional witnesses should be found; and while matters remained in this state, he was released from persecution by the hand of death.[1]

While the reformed doctrine was advancing in Seville and its vicinity, it was not stationary at Valladolid. The Protestants in this city had for their first pastor Domingo de Roxas, a young man of good talents, and allied to some of the principal grandees of Spain. His father was Don Juan, first Marquis de Poza; his mother was a daughter of the Conde de Salinas, and descended from the family of the Marquis de la Mota. Being destined for the church, Domingo de Roxas had entered into the order of Dominicans. He was educated under Bartolomé de Carranza, from whom he imbibed opinions more liberal than those which were common either in the colleges or convents of Spain. But the disciple did not confine himself to the timid course pursued by the master. The latter made use of the same language with the reformers respecting justification, and some other articles of faith; but he cautiously accompanied it with explications intended to secure him against the charge of heterodoxy. The former was bolder in his speculations, and less reserved in avowing them. Notwithstanding the warnings which he received from Carranza to be diffident of his own judgment, and submissive to the decisions of the church, De Roxas repudiated as unscriptural the doctrine of purgatory, the mass, and other articles of the established faith. Beside the books of the German reformers, with which he was familiar, he circulated certain writings of his own, and particularly a treatise entitled Explication of the Articles of Faith, containing a brief statement and defence of the new opinions. By his zealous exertions many were induced to join themselves to the reformed church in Valladolid, among whom were several individuals belonging to his own family, as well as that of the Marquis of Alcagnizes, and other noble houses of Castile.[2]

The Protestants at Valladolid obtained an instructor of greater talents and reputation, though of inferior courage, in Doctor Augustine Cazalla. This learned man was the son of Pedro Cazalla, chief officer of the royal finances, and of Leanor de Vibero, both of them descended from Jewish ancestors. In 1526 a process was commenced before the Inquisition against Constanza Ortiz, the mother of Leanor de Vibero, as having died in a state of relapse to Judaism; but her son-in-law, by his influence with the inquisitor Moriz, prevented her bones from being disturbed, and averted the infamy which otherwise would have been entailed on his family.[3] His son, Augustin Cazalla, was born in 1510, and at seventeen years of age had Bartolomé Carranza for his confessor.

[1] Llorente, iii. 85, 86.

[2] Ibid. ii. 228 — 230, 238; iii. 202 — 217, 220—1. The leading facts concerning De Roxas, stated by Llorente in the passages referred to, are confirmed by the Register appended to the English translation of Montanus's work on the Inquisition, by V. Skinner, sig. E. ij.

[3] Ibid. ii. 25—27.

After attending the college of San Gregorio at Valladolid, he finished his studies at Alcala de Henares, and was admitted a canon of Salamanca.[1] The interest possessed by his father, together with his own talents, opened up to him the most flattering prospects of advancement in the church. Being esteemed one of the first pulpit orators in Spain,[2] he was in 1545 chosen preacher and almoner to the Emperor, whom he accompanied in the course of the following year to Germany. During his residence in that country, he was engaged in opposing the Lutherans, by preaching and private disputation.[3]

Spanish writers ascribe the extensive spread of the Protestant opinions in the Peninsula, in a great degree, to the circumstance that their learned countrymen, being sent into foreign parts to confute the Lutherans, returned with their minds infected with heresy; an acknowledgment not very honourable to the cause which they maintain, as it implies that their national creed owes its support chiefly to ignorance, and that, when brought to the light of Scripture and argument, its ablest defenders were convinced of its weakness and falsehood. "Formerly," says the author of the Pontifical History, "such Lutheran heretics as were now and then apprehended and committed to the flames, were almost all either strangers—Germans, Flemings, and English—or, if Spaniards, they were mean people and of a bad race; but in these late years, we have seen the prisons, scaffolds, and stakes crowded with persons of noble birth, and, what is still more to be deplored, with persons illustrious, in the opinion of the world, for letters and piety. The cause of this, and many other evils, was the affection which our Catholic princes cherished for Germany, England, and other countries without the pale of the church, which induced them to send learned men and preachers from Spain to these places, in the hopes that, by their sermons, they would be brought back to the path of truth. But unhappily this measure was productive of little good fruit; for of those who went abroad to give light to others, some returned home blind themselves, and being deceived, or puffed up with ambition, or a desire to be thought vastly learned and improved by their residence in foreign countries, they followed the example of the heretics with whom they had disputed."[4] This important fact is confirmed by the testimony of contemporary Protestant writers, with a particular reference to those divines whom Philip II. brought along with him into England, on his marriage with Queen Mary. "It is much more notable," says the venerable Pilkington, "that we have seen come to pass in our days, that the Spaniards sent for into the realm on purpose to suppress the Gospel, as soon as they were returned home, replenished many parts of their country with the same truth of religion to the which before they were utter enemies."[5] It is probable that these authors include in their

[1] Llorente, ii. 222.

[2] Illescas, Historia Pontifical, tom. ii. f. 337, b.

[3] Llorente, ii. 223.

[4] Illescas, *ut supra*.

[5] Sermon by James Pilkington Masterof St

statement those divines who were accused to the Inquisition, and thrown into prison, on suspicion of heresy, though they were averse to Lutheranism, or, at most, favourably inclined to it in some points connected with the doctrine of justification. But there are at least two striking instances of the truth of their remark. It was during his attendance on the Emperor in Germany, as we have already seen, that Constantine Ponce de la Fuente decidedly embraced the reformed faith, and Augustin de Cazalla became a convert to it in the same circumstances.[1]

On returning to Spain in 1552, Cazalla took up his residence at Salamanca, where he remained for three years. But he kept up an epistolary correspondence with the Protestants of Seville; and his office of royal chaplain leading him occasionally to visit Valladolid, he was induced by Domingo de Roxas to fix his abode in this city. He still continued, however, to be regarded as a patron of the established faith, and was consulted on the most important questions of an ecclesiastical kind. Soon after his return to Spain he was nominated by the Emperor as a member of a junta of divines and lawyers, who were called to give their opinion on the conduct of Julius III. in transferring the general council from Trent to Bologna; on which occasion he joined with his colleagues in declaring that the pope was actuated in that measure more by personal considerations than regard to the good of the church.[2] He also preached at different times before Charles V. after his retirement into the convent of St Juste, when he had for hearers the Princess Joanna, who governed Spain in the absence of her brother Philip II., together with other members of the royal family. In spite of the caution which he used on these occasions, his real sentiments were discovered by the more intelligent of those who frequented the court; but they were unwilling to fix the stigma of heresy on a person of so great reputation, and could not permit themselves to believe that he would rush upon certain danger by transgressing the line of prudence which he appeared to have prescribed to himself.[3] In this opinion, however, they were deceived. After his settlement at Valladolid, his mother's house became the ordinary place in which the Protestant church assembled for worship. The greater part of his relations were among its members. He could not resist the pressing requests which were made to him to take the charge of its spiritual interests; and favoured with his talents and the authority of his name, it increased daily in numbers and respectability.[4]

At Valladolid, as at Seville, the reformed doctrine penetrated into the monasteries. It was embraced by a great portion of the nuns of

John's College, Cambridge (afterwards Bishop of Durham), at the interring of the bones of Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius; apud Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, p. 246.

[1] Sepulveda de Rebus gestis Philippi II., p. 55; Opera, iii. [2] Llorente, ii. 222, 223.

[3] Sepulveda, after mentioning that he had heard Cazalla preach at St Juste, says: "Animadverti, id quod ex ipso etiam audivi, eum magna solicitudine cavere, nequod verbum excideret concionanti, quod ab æmulis et invidis, quos vehementer extimescebat, ad calumniam trahi posset." De Rebus gestis Philippi II., p. 55.

[4] Cypriano de Valera, Dos Tratados, p. 251. Llorente, ii. 221, 222.

Santa Clara, and of the Cistercian order of San Belen ;[1] and had its converts among the class of devout women, called in Spain *beatas*, who are bound by no particular rule, but addict themselves to works of charity.[2]

The Protestant opinions spread in every direction round Valladolid. They had converts in almost all the towns, and in many of the villages, of the ancient kingdom of Leon. In the town of Toro they were embraced by the licentiate Antonio Herezuelo, an advocate of great spirit, and by individuals belonging to the houses of the Marquises de la Mota and d'Alcagnizes.[3] In the city of Zamora the Protestants were headed by Don Christobal de Padilla, a cavalier, who had undertaken the task of tutor to a noble family of that place, that he might have the better opportunity of propagating the knowledge of the truth.[4] The reformed opinions were also introduced into Aldea del Palo and Pedroso, in the diocese of Zamora. In the last of these villages they had numerous converts, who enjoyed the instructions of Pedro de Cazalla, their parish priest.[5] Their spread was equally extensive in the diocese of Palencia. In the episcopal city they were taught by Doctor Alfonso Perez, a priest, and patronised by Don Pedro Sarmiento, a cavalier of the order of Santiago, commander of Quintana, and a son of the Marquis de Roxas. The parish priest of the neighbouring villages of Hormigos belonged to the family of Cazalla, which was wholly Protestant.[6] From Valladolid, the new opinions were diffused through Old Castile to Soria in the diocese of Osma, and to Logrono on the borders of Navarre. In the last-named town they were embraced by numbers, including the individual who was at the head of the custom-house, and the parish priest of Villamediana in the neighbourhood of Logrono.[7]

The propagation of the reformed doctrine in all these places was owing in a great degree to Don Carlos de Seso. This distinguished nobleman was born at Verona in Italy. Having performed important services for Charles V., he was held in great honour by that monarch, through whose interest he obtained in marriage Donna Isabella de Castilla, a descendant of the royal family of Castile and Leon. De Seso was not less elevated by dignity of character, mental accomplishments, and decorum of manners, than by his birth and connections. While he resided at Valladolid he connected himself with the Protestants in that city. At Toro, of which he was corregidor, or mayor at Zamora, and at Palencia, he zealously promoted the cause of reformation, by the circulation of books and by personal instructions. After his marriage, he settled at Villamediana, and was most successful in diffusing religious knowledge in the city of Logrono, and in all the surrounding country.[8]

[1] Llorente, ii. 229, 240—243.
[2] Ibid. ii. 231, 242.
[3] Ibid. ii. 227, 229. Register appended to Skinner's translation of Montanus, sig. E.i.b.
[4] Llorente, ii. 227, 241. Register, *ut supra*.
[5] Illescas, Hist. Pontif. tom. ii. f. 337, b. Llorente, ii. 228, 233, 237.
[6] Sepulveda de Rebus gestis Philippi II., p. 57. Llorente, ii. 225, 226, 228.
[7] Register, *ut supra*, sig. E. i. a. E. ij. b. Llorente, ii. 227, 238, 407.
[8] Illescas, Hist. Pontif. tom. i. f. 337, b. Llorente, ii. 235—6, 407.

The reformed cause did not make so great progress in New Castile, but it was embraced by many in different parts of that country, and particularly in the city of Toledo.[1] It had also adherents in the provinces of Granada,[2] of Murcia,[3] and of Valencia.[4] But with the exception of the places round Seville and Valladolid, nowhere were they more numerous than in Aragon. They had formed settlements in Saragossa, Huesca, Balbastro, and many other towns.[5] This being the case, it may appear singular that we have no particular account of the Protestants in the eastern part of Spain. But one reason serves to account for both facts. The inhabitants of Bearn were generally Protestants ; and many of them, crossing the Pyrenees, spread themselves over Aragon, and, at the same time that they carried on trade, found the opportunity of circulating their religious books and tenets among the natives. When violent measures were adopted for crushing the Reformation in Spain, the greater part of them made good their retreat, without difficulty and without noise, to their native country, where the proselytes they had made found an asylum along with them ; whereas their brethren who were situated in the interior of the kingdom either fell into the hands of their prosecutors, or, escaping with great difficulty, were dispersed over all parts of Europe ; and thus the tragical fate of the one class, and the narrow and next to miraculous escape of the other, by exciting deep interest in the public mind, caused their names and their history to be inquired after and recorded.

By the facts which have been brought forward, the reader will be enabled to form an estimate of the extent to which the reformed doctrine was propagated in Spain, and of the respectability as well as number of its disciples. Perhaps there never was in any other country so large a proportion of persons, illustrious either from their rank or their learning, among the converts to a new and proscribed religion. This circumstance helps to account for the singular fact, that a body of dissidents, who could not amount to fewer than two thousand persons, scattered over an extensive country, and loosely connected with one another, should have been able to communicate their sentiments, and hold their private meetings, for a number of years, without being detected by a court so jealous and vigilant as that of the Inquisition. In forming a judgment of the tendency which existed at this time in the minds of Spaniards towards the reformed doctrine, we must take into account, not only the numbers who embraced it, but also the peculiar and almost unprecedented difficulties which resisted its progress. At the beginning of Christianity, the apostles had for some time the external liberty of preaching the Gospel ; and when persecution forced them to flee from one city, they found "an effectual door" opened to them in another. Luther, and his coadjutors in Germany, were enabled to proclaim their doctrine from the pulpit and the press, under

[1] Illescas, *ut supra*. Llorente, ii. 384, 386.
[2] Llorente, ii 401.
[3] Llorente, p. 340—343.
[4] Ibid. p. 411.
[5] Ibid. pp. 386, 389.

the protection of princes and free cities, possessing an authority within their own territories which was independent of the Emperor. The reformers of Scotland enjoyed a similar advantage under their feudal chiefs. The breach of Henry VIII. with the pope, on a domestic ground, gave to the people of England the Bible in their own language, which they were at least permitted to hear read from the pulpits, to which it was chained. In France, a Huguenot could not be seized without the concurrence and orders of the magistrates, who sometimes proved reluctant and dilatory. And the same check was imposed on the violence of a persecuting priesthood, in many of the Italian states. But not one of these advantages was enjoyed by the friends of the Reformation in Spain, where the slightest expression of public opinion in favour of the truth was prevented or instantly put down by a terrific tribunal, armed with both swords, and present at once in every part of the kingdom. That flame must have been intense, and supplied with ample materials of combustion, which could continue to burn and to spread in all directions, though it was closely pent up, and the greatest care was taken to search out and secure every aperture and crevice by which it might find a vent, or come into communication with the external atmosphere. Had these obstructions to the progress of the reformed doctrine in Spain been removed, though only in part and for a short time, it would have burst into a flame, which resistance would only have increased, and which, spreading over the Peninsula, would have consumed the Inquisition, the hierarchy, the papacy, and the despotism by which they had been reared and were upheld. These were not the sanguine anticipations of enthusiastic friends to the Reformation, but the deliberately expressed sentiments of its decided enemies.[1] "Had not the Inquisition taken care in time," says one of them, "to put a stop to these preachers, the Protestant religion would have run through Spain like wildfire; people of all ranks, and of both sexes, having been wonderfully disposed to receive it."[2] The testimony of another popish writer is equally strong. "All the prisoners in the inquisitions of Valladolid, Seville, and Toledo, were persons abundantly well qualified. I shall here pass over their names in silence, that I may not, by their bad fame, stain the honour of their ancestors, and the nobility of the several illustrious families which were infected with this poison. And as these prisoners were persons thus qualified, so their number was so great, that had the stop put to that evil been delayed two or three months longer, I am persuaded all Spain would have been set in a flame by them."[3] I subjoin the reflection of a Protestant author, who resided for a considerable time in Spain, and feeling a deep

[1] Authorities for this assertion, besides those which are subjoined, may be seen in La Croze, Histoire de Christianisme des Indes, pp. 256, 257.

[2] Paramo, Hist. Inquisitionis: Preface to Spanish Martyrology, in Geddes's Miscell. Tracts, vol. i. p. 555.

[3] Illescas, Hist. Pontifical, tom. ii. f. 451, a. Burgos, 1578. The edition of Illescas, quoted in the former part of this work, was printed at Barcelona in 1606.

interest in this portion of its history, drew up a short account of its Protestant martyrs. "So powerful," says he, "were the doctrines of the Reformation in those days, that no prejudices nor interests were anywhere strong enough to hinder piously-disposed minds, after they came thoroughly to understand them, from embracing them. And that the same doctrines have not still the same divine force, is neither owing to their being grown older, nor to popery's not being so gross, nor to any change in people's natural dispositions, but is owing purely to the want of the same zeal for those doctrines in their professors, and especially for the three great doctrines of the Reformation, which the following martyrs sealed with their blood: which were, that the pope is antichrist; that the worship of the Church of Rome is idolatrous; and that a sinner is justified in the sight of God by faith, and through Christ's and not through his own merits."[1]

[1] Geddes, Miscell. Tracts, vol. i. p. 556.

CHAPTER VII.

SUPPRESSION OF THE REFORMATION IN SPAIN.

We cannot condemn, either upon the principles of nature or revelation, those individuals who, finding themselves in the utmost peril of their lives, chose to forsake their native country, and to seek abroad for a place in which they were at liberty to worship God according to their consciences. Yet it was this step on the part of some of the Spanish Protestants which led to the discovery of their brethren who remained behind. Their sudden disappearance led to inquiries as to the cause, and the knowledge of this excited suspicions that they were not the only persons who were disaffected to the religion of their country. The divines attached to the court of Philip II. at Brussels kept a strict watch upon the refugees from Spain who had settled in Geneva and different places of Germany; and having got possession of their secrets by means of spies, conveyed information to the inquisitors, that a large quantity of heretical books had been sent to Spain, and that the Protestant doctrine was spreading rapidly in the kingdom. This intelligence was received in the close of the year 1557.[1]

Roused from their security, the inquisitors instantly put their extensive police in motion, and were not long in discovering the individual who had been active in introducing the heretical books. Julian Hernandez, in consequence of information received from a smith, to whom he had shown a copy of the New Testament, was apprehended and thrown into prison.[2] He did not seek to conceal his sentiments, and gloried in the fact that he had contributed to the illumination of his countrymen by furnishing them with the Scriptures in their native tongue. But the inquisitors were disappointed in the expectations they had formed from his apprehension. His life indeed was in their hands, and they could dispose of it according to their pleasure; but the blood of an obscure individual appeared, in their eyes, altogether inadequate to wash away the disgrace which they had incurred by their failure in point of vigilance, or to expiate the enormous crime which had defiled the land. What they aimed at was, to obtain from the prisoner such information respecting his associates as would enable them "at once to

[1] Llorente, iii. 191, 258.
[2] Register appended to Skinner's translation of Montanus, sig. Dd. iiij. a.

crush the viper's nest" (to use their own words), and set them at ease for the future. But they found themselves mortifyingly baffled in all their attempts to accomplish this object. In vain they had recourse to those arts of deceit in which they were so deeply practised, in order to draw from Hernandez his secret. In vain they employed promises and threats, examinations and cross-examinations, sometimes in the hall of audience, and at other times in his cell, into which they sent alternately their avowed agents, and persons who "feigned themselves just men," and friendly to the reformed doctrine. When questioned concerning his own faith, he answered frankly; and though destitute of the advantages of a liberal education, he defended himself with boldness, silencing, by his knowledge of the Scriptures alone, his judges, together with the learned men whom they brought to confute him. But when asked to declare who were his religious instructors and companions, he refused to utter a word. Nor were they more successful when they had recourse to that horrid engine which had often wrung secrets from the stoutest hearts, and made them betray their nearest and best-beloved friends. Hernandez displayed a firmness and heroism altogether above his physical strength and his station in life. During the three years complete that he was kept in prison, he was frequently put to the torture, in every form and with all the aggravations of cruelty which his persecutors, incensed at his obstinacy, could inflict or devise; but on every fresh occasion he appeared before them with unsubdued fortitude; and when led, or rather dragged, from the place of torment to his cell, he returned with an air of triumph, chanting this *refran*, in his native tongue:

> Vencidos van los frayles, vencidos van:
> Corridos van los lobos, corridos van [1]
>
> Conquered return the friars, conquered they return:
> Shamed return the wolves, shamed they return.

At length the inquisitors got possession of the secret which they were so eager to know. This was obtained at Seville, by means of the superstitious fears of one member of the Protestant church, and the treachery of another, who had for some time acted as a concealed emissary of the Inquisition.[2] At Valladolid it was obtained by one of those infernal arts which that tribunal, whenever it served its purposes, has never scrupled to employ. Juan Garcia, a goldsmith, had been in the habit of summoning the Protestants to sermon; and aware of the influence which superstition exerted over the mind of his wife, he concealed from her the place and times of their assembling. Being gained by her confessor, this demon in woman's shape dogged her husband one night, and having ascertained the place of meeting, communicated the fact to the Inquisition. The traitress received her earthly reward in an annuity for life, paid from the public funds![3]

[1] Histoire des Martyrs, f. 497, b. Llorente, ii. 282.

[2] Montanus, p. 218.

[3] Register appended to Skinner's translation of Montanus, sig. E. i. a. Llorente, ii. 227.

Having made these important discoveries, the Council of the Supreme despatched messengers to the several tribunals of inquisition through the kingdom, directing them to make inquiries with all secresy within their respective jurisdictions, and to be prepared, on receiving further instructions, to act in concert. The familiars were employed in tracing out the remoter ramifications of heresy; and guards were planted at convenient places, to intercept and seize such persons as might attempt to escape. These precautions having been taken, orders were issued to the proper agents; and by a simultaneous movement, the Protestants were seized at the same time in Seville, in Valladolid, and in all the surrounding country. In Seville and its neighbourhood two hundred persons were apprehended in one day; and, in consequence of information resulting from their examinations, the number soon increased to eight hundred. The castle of Triana, the common prisons, the convents, and even private houses, were crowded with the victims. Eighty persons were committed to prison in Valladolid, and the number of individuals seized by the other tribunals was in proportion.[1] When the alarm was first given, many were so thunderstruck and appalled as to be unable to take the least step for securing their safety. Some ran to the house of the Inquisition, and informed against themselves, without knowing what they were doing; like persons who, rushing out of a house which has taken fire in the night-time, precipitate themselves into a devouring flood. Others, in attempting to make their escape, were pursued and overtaken; and some, who had reached a Protestant country, becoming secure, fell into the snares laid for them by the spies of the Holy Office, were forcibly carried off, and brought back to Spain. Among those who made good their retreat was the licentiate Zafra, formerly mentioned, who was peculiarly obnoxious to the inquisitors. He was apprehended among the first, but, during the confusion caused by want of room to contain the prisoners, contrived to make his escape, and to conceal himself, until he found a favourable opportunity of retiring into Germany.[2]

The reader will recollect the reform which the monks of San Isidro had introduced into their convent.[3] Desirable as this change was in itself, and commendable as was their conduct in adopting it, it brought them into a situation both delicate and painful. They could not throw off the monastic forms entirely, without exposing themselves to the fury of their enemies; nor yet could they retain them, without being conscious of acting to a certain degree hypocritically, and giving countenance to a pernicious system of superstition, by which their country was at once deluded and oppressed. In this dilemma, they held a consultation on the propriety of deserting the convent, and retiring to some foreign land, in which, at the expense of sacrificing their worldly emolu-

[1] Montanus, pp. 218, 219. Puigblanch's Inquisition Unmasked, vol. ii. p. 183. Llorente, ii. 250, 258.

[2] Montanus, p. 52.

[3] See before, p. 106.

ments and spending their lives in poverty, they might enjoy peace of mind and the freedom of religious worship. The attempt was of the most hazardous kind, and difficulties presented themselves to any plan which could be suggested for carrying it into execution. How could so many persons, well known in Seville and all around it, after having left one of the most celebrated monasteries in Spain deserted, expect to accomplish so long a journey without being discovered? If, on the other hand, a few of them should make the attempt and succeed, would not this step bring the lives of the remainder into the greatest jeopardy; especially as the suspicions of the inquisitors, which had for a considerable time been laid asleep, had been lately aroused? This last consideration appeared so strong that they unanimously resolved to remain where they were, and commit themselves to the disposal of an all-powerful and gracious Providence. But the aspect of matters becoming hourly darker and more alarming, another chapter was held, at which it was agreed that it would be tempting instead of trusting Providence to adhere to their former resolution, and that therefore every one should be left at liberty to adopt that course which, in the emergency, appeared to his own mind best and most advisable. Accordingly, twelve of their number left the monastery, and taking different routes, got safely out of Spain, and at the end of twelve months met in Geneva, which they had previously agreed upon as the place of their rendezvous. They were gone only a few days when the storm of persecution burst on the heads not only of their brethren who remained in San Isidro, but of all their religious connections in Spain.[1]

It was in the beginning of the year 1558 that this calamitous event befell Spain. Previously to that period, Charles V., having relinquished his schemes of worldly ambition, and resigned the empire in favour of his brother Ferdinand, and his hereditary dominions to his son Philip, had retired into the convent of St Juste, situated in the province of Estremadura, where he spent the remainder of his days in the society and devotional exercises of monks. Several historians of no inconsiderable reputation have asserted that Charles, during his retreat, became favourable to the sentiments of the Protestants of Germany; that he died in their faith; that Philip charged the Holy Office to investigate the truth of this report; and that he had at one time serious thoughts of disinterring the bones of his father as those of a heretic.[2] Various causes may be assigned for the currency of these rumours. Charles had three years before been involved in a dispute with Paul IV., who had threatened him with excommunication; Constantine Ponce and Augustin Cazalla, two of his chaplains, had embraced the Protestant opinions; his confessor De Regla had been forced to abjure them; and Carranza and Villalba, who exhorted him on his death-bed, were soon after denounced to the Inquisition. To these presumptions it may be

[1] Cypriano de Valera, Dos Tratados, p. 178. Montanus, pp. 249, 250.

[2] See the authorities quoted by Burnet, in his Hist. of the Reformation, vol. iii. 253.

added, that the manner in which Philip treated his son Don Carlos, and the known fact that he never scrupled to employ the Inquisition as an engine for accomplishing purposes purely political, if not domestic also, have induced historians, from supposing him capable of any crime, to impute to him those of which he was never guilty.[1] There is the best reason for believing that Charles, instead of being more favourably disposed, became more averse to the Protestants in his latter days, and that, so far from repenting of the conduct which he had pursued towards them, his only regret was that he had not treated them with greater severity. When informed that Lutheranism was spreading in Spain, and that a number of persons had been apprehended under suspicion of being infected with it, he wrote letters, from the monastery of St Juste, to his daughter Joanna, Governess of Spain, to Juan de Vega, President of the Council of Castile, and to the Inquisitor-general, charging them to exert their respective powers with all possible vigour "in seizing the whole party, and causing them all to be burnt, after using every means to make them Christians before their punishment; for he was persuaded that none of them would become sincere Catholics, so irresistible was their propensity to dogmatise." He afterwards sent Luis Quixada, his major-domo, to urge the execution of these measures.[2] In conversation with the prior and monks of the convent, he took great credit to himself for having resisted the pressing solicitations of the Protestant princes to read their books and admit their divines to an audience; although they promised on that condition to march with all their forces, at one time against the King of France and at another against the Turk.[3] The only thing for which he blamed himself was his leniency to them, and particularly keeping faith with the heresiarch. Speaking of the charge he had given to the inquisitors respecting the heretics in Spain: "If they do not condemn them to the fire," said he, "they will commit a great fault, as I did in permitting Luther to live. Though I spared him solely on the ground of the safe-conduct I had sent him, and the promise I made at a time when I expected to suppress the heretics by other means, I confess nevertheless that I did wrong in this, because I was not bound to keep my promise to that heretic, as he had offended a Master greater than I, even God himself. I was at liberty then, yea I ought to have forgotten my word and avenged the injury he had done to God. If he had injured me only, I should have kept my promise faithful; but, in consequence of my not having taken away his life, heresy continued to make progress; whereas his death, I am persuaded, would have stifled it in its birth."[4] Nor does this rest merely on the evidence of reported conversations. In his testament, made in the Low Countries, he charged his son "to be obedient to the commandments of holy mother church, and especially to favour and coun-

[1] Llorente, tom. ii. chap. xviii. art. 2.
[2] Sandoval, Historia de la Vida y Hechos del Emperador Carlos V., tom. ii. pp. 829, 881.
[3] Sandoval, p. 388. Sepulvedæ Opera, tom. ii. p. 542—544.
[4] Ibid. *ut supra*, p. 829.

tenance the holy office of the Inquisition against heretical pravity and apostasy." And in a codicil to it, executed in the convent of St Juste a few weeks before his death, after mentioning the instructions he had formerly given on this subject, and the confidence which he placed in his son for carrying them into execution, he adds: "Therefore I entreat him, and recommend to him with all possible and due earnestness, and moreover command him as a father, and by the obedience which he owes me, carefully to attend to this, as an object which is essential and nearly concerns him, that heretics be pursued and punished as their crime deserves, without excepting any who are guilty, and without showing any regard to entreaties, or to rank or quality. And that my intentions may be carried into full effect, I charge him to favour and cause to be favoured the holy Inquisition, which is the means of preventing and correcting so many evils, as I have enjoined in my testament; that so he may fulfil his duty as a prince, and that our Lord may prosper him in his reign, and protect him against his enemies, to my great peace and contentment."[1]

But though it appears from these facts that the imprisoned Protestants had nothing to hope from Charles V., their calamities were aggravated by his retirement and the succession of Philip II. That bigotry which in the father was paralysed by the incipient dotage which had inflamed it, was combined in the son with all the vigour of youth, and with a temper naturally gloomy and unrelenting. Other circumstances conspired to seal the doom of the reformers in Spain. The wars which had so long raged between that country and France were terminated by the treaty of Chateau Cambresis, and the peace between the rival kingdoms was ratified by the marriage of Philip to the eldest daughter of the French king. Previously to that event the dissension between the Spanish monarch and the court of Rome had been amicably adjusted. The papal throne was filled at this time by Paul IV., a furious persecutor, and determined supporter of the Inquisition. And the office of inquisitor-general in Spain was held by Francisco Valdes, a prelate who had already distinguished himself from his two immediate predecessors by the severity of his administration, and whose worldly passions were unmitigated by the advanced age to which he had arrived. The supreme pontiff, the inquisitor-general, and the monarch, were alike disposed to adopt the most illegal and sanguinary measures for extinguishing heresy in the Peninsula.

When only sixteen years of age, Philip gave a proof of his extreme devotion to the Inquisition, and of the principles on which his future reign was to be conducted. In the year 1543 the Marquis de Terranova, Viceroy of Sicily, ordered two familiars of the Holy Office to be brought before the ordinary tribunals, for certain crimes of which they were guilty. Though this was in perfect accordance with a law which, at the request of the inhabitants, Charles V. had promulgated, suspending

[1] Sandoval, *ut supra*, pp. 863, 881, 882.

for ten years the powers of the inquisitors to judge in such causes within the island, yet a complaint was made, on the part of the familiars, to Philip, then acting as regent of the Spanish dominions, who addressed a letter to the Viceroy, exhorting him as an obedient son of the church to give satisfaction to the holy fathers whom he had offended. The consequence was, that the Marquis, who was Grand-constable and Admiral of Naples, one of the first peers of Spain, and sprung from the royal stock of Aragon, felt himself obliged to do penance in the church of the Dominican monastery, and to pay a hundred ducats to the catchpolls of the Inquisition, whose vices he had presumed to correct.[1] During the regency of the prince, the Spanish inquisitors in more than one instance obtained the revival of those powers which had been suspended as at once injurious to the civil judicatures and to the liberties of the subject.[2]

During the negotiation in 1557 between the court of Spain and the Roman see, which ended so disgracefully to the former, Philip wrote to his general, the Duke of Alva, "that Rome was a prey to great calamities at the time of his birth, and it would be wrong in him to subject it to similar evils at the commencement of his reign; it was therefore his will that peace should be speedily concluded on terms noway dishonourable to his holiness; for he would rather part with the rights of his crown than touch in the slightest degree those of the holy see."[3] In pursuance of these instructions, Alva, as Viceroy of Naples, was obliged to fall on his knees, and, in his own name, as well as that of his master and the Emperor, to beg pardon of the pope for all the offences specified in the treaty of peace; upon which they were absolved from the censures which they had respectively incurred. After this ceremony was over, the haughty and gratified pontiff, turning to the cardinals, told them "that he had now rendered to the holy see the most important service it would ever receive; and that the example which the Spanish monarch had just given would teach popes henceforth how to abase the pride of kings, who knew not the extent of that obeisance which they legitimately owed to the heads of the church."[4] With good reason might Charles V. say in his testament, when leaving his dying charge to extirpate heresy, "that he was persuaded the king his son would use every possible effort to crush so great an evil with all the severity and promptitude which it required."[5]

Paul IV. acceded with the utmost readiness to the applications which

[1] Llorente, ii. 84—88.

[2] Puigblanch, vol. ii. p. 272.

[3] Philip was not without a precedent in using such language. When the deputies of Aragon petitioned for a reform on the Inquisition, Charles V. answered, "That on no account would he forget his soul, and that he would lose part of his dominions rather than permit anything to be done therein contrary to the honour of God, or the authority of the Holy Office." Dormer, Annales de Aragon, lib. i. cap. 26: Puigblanch, ii. 266, 267.

[4] The Duke of Alva, who had retired before this address, when informed of it, is reported to have said, that if he had been Philip II., Cardinal Caraffa (Paul IV.) should have come to Brussels, and done that obeisance at the feet of the King of Spain, which he, as Viceroy, had done before the pope. Llorente, ii. 181—183.

[5] Sandoval, Historia de la Vida y Hechos del Emperador Carlos V., tom. ii. p. 881.

were now addressed to him by Philip, in concurrence with Valdes, the inquisitor-general, for such enlargements of the authority of the Holy Office as would enable it to compass the condemnation of the heretics who were in prison, and to seize and convict others. On the 15th of February 1558 he issued a summary brief, renewing all the decisions of councils and sovereign pontiffs against heretics and schismatics; declaring that this measure was rendered necessary by the information he had received of the daily and increasing progress of heresy; and charging Valdes to prosecute the guilty, and inflict upon them the punishments decreed by the constitutions, particularly that which deprived them of all their dignities and functions, "whether they were bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, cardinals, or legates—barons, counts, marquises, dukes, princes, kings, or emperors."[1] This sweeping brief, from whose operation none was exempted but his holiness, was made public in Spain with the approbation of the monarch, soon after he himself and his father had been threatened with excommunication and dethronement. Valdes, in concurrence with the Council of the Supreme, prepared instructions to all the tribunals of the Inquisition, directing them, among other things, to search for heretical books, and to make a public auto-da-fé of such as they should discover, including many works not mentioned in any former prohibitory index.[2] This was also the epoch of that terrible law of Philip which ordained the punishment of death, with confiscation of goods, against all who sold, bought, read, or possessed any book that was forbidden by the Holy Office.[3] To ferret the poor heretics from their lurking-places, and to drive them into the toils of this bloody statute, Paul IV., on the 6th of January 1559, issued a bull, enjoining all confessors strictly to examine their penitents, of whatever rank, from the lowest to that of cardinal or king, and to charge them to denounce all whom they knew to be guilty of this offence, under the pain of the greater excommunication, from which none but the pope or the inquisitor-general could release them; and subjecting such confessors as neglected this duty to the same punishment that was threatened against their penitents.[4] On the following day the pope declared in full consistory, that, the heresy of Luther and other innovators being propagated in Spain, he had reason to suspect that it had been embraced by some bishops; on which account he authorised the grand inquisitor, during two years from that day, to hold an inquest on all bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, and primates of that kingdom, to commence their processes, and, in case he had grounds to suspect that they intended to make their escape, to seize and detain them, on condition of his giving notice of this immediately to the sovereign pontiff, and conveying the prisoners, as soon as possible, to Rome.[5]

As if these measures had not been calculated sufficiently to multiply

[1] Llorente, ii. 183, 184. [2] Ibid. i. 468. [3] Ibid. p. 470.
[4] Llorente, i. 471. [5] Ibid. iii. 228.

denunciations, Philip seconded them by an edict renewing a royal ordinance, which had fallen into desuetude or been suspended, and which entitled informers to the fourth part of the property of those found guilty of heresy.[1] But the existing code of laws, even after those which had been long disabled or forgotten were revived, was too mild for the rulers of this period. Statutes still more barbarous and unjust were enacted. At the request of Philip and Valdes, the pope, on the 4th of February 1559, gave forth a brief, authorising the Council of the Supreme, in derogation of the standing laws of the Inquisition, to deliver over to the secular arm those who were convicted of having taught the Lutheran opinions, even though they had not relapsed, and were willing to recant. It has been justly observed, that though history had had nothing else with which to reproach Philip II. and the inquisitor-general Valdes, than their having solicited this bull, it would have been sufficient to consign their names to infamy. Neither Ferdinand V. and Torquemada, nor Charles V. and Manriquez, had pushed matters to this length. They never thought of burning alive, or subjecting to capital punishment, persons who were convicted of falling into heresy for the first time, and who confessed their errors; nor did they think themselves warranted to proceed to this extremity by the suspicion that such confessions were dictated by the fear of death. This was the last invention of tyranny, inflamed into madness by hatred and dread of the truth. Were it necessary to point out aggravations of this iniquity, we might state that the punishment was to be inflicted for actions done before the law was enacted; and that it was unblushingly applied to those who had been long immured in the cells of the Inquisition.[2]

The next object was to find fit agents for carrying these sanguinary statutes into execution. It is one of the wise arrangements of a merciful Providence for thwarting designs hurtful to human society, and for inspiring their authors with the dread of ultimate discomfiture, that wicked men and tyrants are disposed to suspect the most slavish and devoted instruments of their will. The individuals at the head of the inquisitorial tribunals of Seville and Valladolid had incurred the suspicions of Valdes, as guilty of culpable negligence, if not of connivance at the Protestants, who had held their conventicles in the two principal cities of the kingdom, almost with open doors. To guard against anything of this kind for the future, and to provide for the multiplicity of business which the late disclosures had created, he delegated his powers of inquisitor-general to two individuals, in whom he could place entire confidence, Gonzales Munebrega, Archbishop of Tarragona, and Pedro de la Gasca, Archbishop of Palencia, who fixed their residence, the former at Seville, and the latter at Valladolid, in the character of vice-inquisitors-general.[3] Both substitutes proved themselves worthy of the trust reposed in them; but the conduct of Munebrega gratified the highest expectations of Valdes and Philip. When engaged in superin-

[1] Llorente, ii. 216—7. [2] Ibid. ii. 215. [3] Montanus, pp. 90, 91. Llorente, ii. 217.

tending the examinations of the prisoners, and giving directions as to the torture to which they should be put, he was accustomed to indulge in the most profane and cruel raillery, saying that these heretics had the commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," so deeply seated in their hearts, that it was necessary to tear the flesh from their bones, to make them inform against their brethren. During the intervals of business he was to be seen sailing in his barge on the river, or walking in the gardens of the Triana, dressed in purple and silk, accompanied with a train of servants, surrounded by wretched poetasters, and followed by hired crowds, who at one time saluted him with their huzzas, and at another insulted the Protestants, whom they descried through the grated windows of the castle.[1] An anecdote which is told of him, though trifling compared with the horrors of that time, deserves to be repeated as a proof of the insolence of office, and one among many instances of the shameless manner in which the inquisitors converted their authority into an instrument of gratifying their meanest passions. A servant of the vice-inquisitor-general snatched a stick one day from the gardener's son, who was amusing himself in one of the avenues. The father, attracted by the cries of his child, came to the spot, and having in vain desired the servant to restore the stick, wrested it from his hand, which was slightly injured in the struggle. A complaint was instantly made to Munebrega; and the conduct of the gardener being found sufficient to fasten on him a suspicion of heresy *de levi*, he was thrown into prison, where he lay nine months heavily ironed.[2]

The reader will mistake very much if he suppose that the holy fathers undertook all these extraordinary services from pure zeal for the truth, or under the idea that their superabundant and supererogatory labours would secure to them an unseen and future recompence. If heretics were visited in this life with exemplary punishment for the sins of which they had been guilty, why should not the defenders of the faith have "their good things" in this life? To meet the expenses of this domestic crusade, the pope, at the request of the inquisitors, authorised them to appropriate to their use certain ecclesiastical revenues, and granted them, in addition, an extraordinary subsidy of a hundred thousand ducats of gold, to be raised by the clergy. The bull issued for that purpose stated, that the heresy of Luther had made an alarming progress in Spain, where it was embraced by many rich and powerful individuals; that, with the view of putting a stop to it, the inquisitor-general had been obliged to commit to prison a multitude of suspected persons, to increase the number of judges in the provincial tribunals, to employ supernumerary familiars, and to purchase and keep in readiness a supply of horses in the different parts of the kingdom for the pursuit of fugitives; and that the ordinary revenue of the Holy Office was quite insufficient to defray the expenses of so enlarged

[1] Montanus, pp. 92, 93. [2] Ibid. p. 190—192.

an establishment, and at the same time to maintain such of the prisoners as were destitute of means to support themselves. Zealous as the clergy in general were against heresy, they fretted exceedingly against this tax on their income; and after the Inquisition had succeeded in exterminating the Lutherans, it needed to direct its thunders, and even to call in the assistance of the secular arm, against certain refractory canons, who resisted the payment of the sums in which they had been assessed.[1]

While these preparations were going on, it is not easy to conceive, but easier to conceive than describe, the situation and feelings of the captive Protestants. To have had the prospect of an open trial, though accompanied with the certainty of being convicted and doomed to an ignominious death, would have been relief to their minds. But, instead of this, they were condemned to a protracted confinement, during which their melancholy solitude was only broken in upon by attempts to bereave them of their best consolation; distracted, on the one hand, by the entreaties of their disconsolate friends, who besought them to purchase their lives by an early recantation, and harassed, on the other, by the endless examinations to which they were subjected by their persecutors; assured to-day that they would escape provided they made an ingenuous confession of all they knew, and told to-morrow that the confessions which they had made in confidence had only served to confirm the suspicions entertained of their sincerity; hearing at one time of some unhappy individual who was added to their number, and receiving at another time the still more distressing intelligence that a fellow-prisoner, entangled by sophistry, or overcome by torments, had consented to abjure the truth. A milder tribunal would have been satisfied with making an example of the ringleaders, or would have brought out the guilty for execution as soon as their trials could be overtaken. The policy of Philip II. and his inquisitors was different. They wished to strike terror into the minds of the whole nation, and exhibit to Europe a grand spectacle of zeal for the Catholic faith, and vengeance against heresy. Filled with those fears which ever haunt the minds of tyrants, they imagined that heresy had spread more extensively than was really the case, and therefore sought to extort from their prisoners such confessions as would lead to the discovery of those who still remained concealed, or who might be in the slightest degree infected with the new opinions. While they had not the most distant intention of extending mercy to those who professed themselves penitent, and had already procured a law which warranted them to withhold it, they were nevertheless anxious to secure a triumph to the Catholic faith, by having it in their power to read, in the public auto-da-fé, the forced retractions of those who had embraced the truth. With this view, the greater part of the Protestants were detained in prison for two, and some of them for three years, during which their

[1] Llorente, ii. 218.

bodily health was broken, or their spirit subdued, by the rigour of confinement and the severity of torture. The consequence of this treatment was, that the constancy of some of them was shaken, while others ended their days by a lingering and secret martyrdom.

Among those of the last class was Constantine Ponce de la Fuente. Exposed as he was to the hatred of those who envied his popularity, and the jealousy of those who looked upon him as the ablest supporter of the new opinions,[1] it is not to be supposed that this learned man could escape the storm that overwhelmed the reformed church in Spain. He was among the first who were apprehended, when the familiars were let loose on the Protestants of Seville.[2] When information was conveyed to Charles V. in the monastery of St Juste, that his favourite chaplain was thrown into prison, he exclaimed, "If Constantine be a heretic, he is a great one!" and when assured, at a subsequent period, by one of the inquisitors, that he had been found guilty, he replied with a sigh, "You cannot condemn a greater!"[3]

The joy which the inquisitors felt at obtaining possession of the person of a man whom they had long eyed with jealousy, was in no small degree abated by the difficulties which they found in the way of procuring his conviction. Knowing the perilous circumstances in which he was placed, he had for some time back exercised the utmost circumspection over his words and actions. His confidential friends, as we have already stated, were always few and select. His penetration enabled him with a single glance to detect the traitor under his mask; and his knowledge of human nature kept him from committing himself to the weak though honest partisans of the reformed faith. The veneration and esteem in which he was held by his friends was so great, that they would have died sooner than compromise his safety by their confessions. When brought before his judges, he maintained his innocence, challenged the public prosecutor to show that he had done anything criminal, and repelled the charges brought against him with such ability and success as threw his adversaries into the greatest perplexity. There was every probability that he would finally baffle their efforts to convict him of heresy, when an unforeseen occurrence obliged him to abandon the line of defence which he had hitherto pursued. Dona Isabella Martinia, a widow lady of respectability and opulence, had been thrown into prison as a suspected heretic, and her property confiscated. The inquisitors being informed, by the treachery of a servant in the family, that her son, Francisco Bertran, had contrived, before the inventory was taken, to secrete certain coffers containing valuable effects, sent their alguazil, Luis Sotelo, to demand them. As soon as the alguazil entered the house, Bertran, in great trepidation, told him he knew his errand, and would deliver up what he wanted, on condition

[1] See before, p. 101—103.

[2] Montanus, p. 287.

[3] Sandoval, Historia del Emperador Carlos V., tom. ii. p. 829. When told of the imprisonment of Domingo de Guzman, the Emperor said, "They should have confined him as a fool." Ibid.

that he screened him from the vengeance of the Inquisition. Conducting the alguazil to a retired part of the building, and breaking down a thin partition wall, he disclosed a quantity of books which Constantine Ponce had deposited with his mother, for the purpose of security, some time before his imprisonment. Sotelo signified that these were not exactly what he was in search of, but that he would take charge of them, along with the coffers which he was instructed to carry to the Holy Office. Dazzling as were the jewels of Isabella Martinia, the eyes of the inquisitors glistened still more at the sight of the books of Constantine. On examining them, they found, besides various heretical works, a volume of his own handwriting, in which the points of controversy between the Church of Rome and the Protestants were discussed at considerable length. In it the author treated of the true church, according to the principles of Luther and Calvin, and, by an application of the different marks which the Scriptures gave for discriminating it, showed that the papal church had no claim to the title. In a similar way he decided the questions respecting justification, the merit of good works, the sacraments, indulgences, and purgatory; calling this last the wolf's head, and an invention of the monks to feed idle bellies. When the volume was shown to Constantine, he acknowledged at once that it was in his handwriting, and contained his sentiments. "It is unnecessary for you," added he, "to produce further evidence: you have there a candid and full confession of my belief. I am in your hands; do with me as seemeth to you good."[1]

No arts or threatenings could prevail on him to give any information respecting his associates. With the view of inducing the other prisoners to plead guilty, the agents of the Holy Office circulated the report that he had informed against them when put to the question; and they even suborned witnesses to depone that they had heard his cries on the rack, though he never endured that inhuman mode of examination. By what motives the judges were restrained from subjecting him to it, is uncertain. I can only conjecture that it proceeded from respect to the feelings of the Emperor; for, soon after his death, Constantine was removed from the apartment which he had hitherto occupied, and thrust into a low, damp, and noisome vault, where he endured more than his brethren did from the application of the engines of torture. Oppressed and worn out with a mode of living so different from what he had been used to, he was heard to exclaim, "O my God, were there no Scythians, or cannibals, or pagans still more savage, that thou hast permitted me to fall into the hands of these baptised fiends?" He could not remain long in such a situation. Putrid air and unwholesome diet, together with grief for the ruin of the reformed cause in his native country, brought on a dysentery, which put an end to his days, after he had been nearly two years in confinement.[2]

[1] Histoire des Martyrs, f. 502, a. Montanus, pp. 289, 290.

[2] Montanus, p. 287—292. Llorente, ii. 275—277.

Not satisfied with wreaking their vengeance on him when alive, his adversaries circulated the report that he had put an end to his own life by opening a vein with a piece of broken glass; and ballads grounded on this fabricated story, and containing other slanders, were indecently hawked through the streets of Seville. Had there been the least foundation for this report, we may be sure the inquisitors would have taken care to verify it, by ordering an inquest to be held on the dead body. But the calumny was refuted by the testimony of a young monk of San Isidro, named Fernando, who being providentially confined in the same cell with Constantine, ministered to him during his sickness, and closed his eyes in peace.[1]

The slanders which were at this time so industriously propagated against him, only serve to show the anxiety of the inquisitors to blast his fame, and the dread which they felt lest the reformed opinions should gain credit from the circumstance of their having been embraced by a person of so great eminence and popularity.[2] In this object, however, they did not succeed altogether to their wish. This appeared when his effigy and bones were brought out in the public auto-da-fé celebrated at Seville on the 22d of December 1560. The effigies of such heretics as had escaped from justice, by flight or by death, usually consisted of a shapeless piece of patchwork surmounted by a head; that of Constantine Ponce consisted of a regular human figure, complete in all its parts, dressed after the manner in which he appeared in public, and representing him in his most common attitude of preaching, with one arm resting on the pulpit and the other elevated. The production of this figure in the spectacle, when his sentence was about to be read, excited a lively recollection of a preacher so popular, and drew from the spectators an expression of feeling by no means pleasing to the inquisitors. In consequence of this they caused it to be withdrawn from the prominent situation which it occupied, and to be brought near to their own platform, where they commenced the reading of the articles of the libel on which Constantine had been condemned. The people, displeased at this step, and not hearing what was read, began to murmur; upon which Calderon, who as mayor of the city presided on the occasion, desired the acting secretary to go to the pulpit provided for that part of the ceremony. This intimation being disregarded, the murmurs were renewed, and the mayor, raising his voice, ordered the service to be suspended. The inquisitors were obliged to restore the effigy to its former place, and to recommence the reading of the sentence in the audience of the people; but the secretary was instructed, after naming

[1] Cypriano de Valera, Dos Tratados, pp. 251, 252. Montanus, pp. 291, 292. Paramo mentions the calumny hesitatingly. Hist. Inquis., lib. ii. tit. iii. cap. 5; apud Puigblanch, vol. ii. p. 210. Illescas states it as a mere report. Hist Pontif., tom. ii. f. 451, a.

[2] The slanders referred to are contained in the work of Illescas. Historia Pontifical, *ut supra*. But this is no proof that they were believed by that author; for, as we shall afterwards see, his original history was suppressed, and he was obliged to write another, agreeably to the instructions of the inquisitors, and to insert in it statements the very opposite of those which he had formerly published.

a few of the errors into which the deceased had fallen, to conclude by saying that he had vented others so horrible and impious that they could not be heard without pollution by vulgar ears. After this, the effigy was sent to the house of the Inquisition, and another of ordinary construction was conveyed to the stake to be burnt along with the bones of Constantine. The inquisitors were not a little puzzled how to act respecting his works, which had already been printed by their approbation; but they at last agreed to prohibit them, "not because they had found anything in them worthy of condemnation," as their sentence runs, "but because it was not fit that any honourable memorial of a man doomed to infamy should be transmitted to posterity."[1] But they had a still more delicate task to perform. The history of a voyage to Flanders by Philip II., when Prince of Asturias, had been printed at Madrid by royal authority, in which his chaplain Constantine was described as "the greatest philosopher, the profoundest divine, and the most eloquent preacher who has been in Spain for many ages." Whether Philip himself gave information of this work, we know not; but there can be no doubt that he would have run the risk of excommunication by retaining it in his library, after it was stigmatised by the inquisitorial censors of the press. They ordered all the copies of the book to be delivered to them, that they might delete the obnoxious panegyric; "and on this passage," says one who afterwards procured a copy of the History in Spain, "the expurgator of the book, which is in my hands, was so liberal of his ink, that I had much ado to read it."[2]

Constantine Ponce was not the only Protestant who fell a sacrifice to the noxious vapours and ordure of the inquisitorial prisons. This was also the fate of Olmedo, a man distinguished for his learning and piety, who fell into the hands of the inquisitors of Seville, and was often heard to exclaim, that there was no species of torture which he would not endure in preference to the horrors of his present situation.[3] Considering the treatment which the prisoners received, it is wonderful that many of them were not driven to distraction. One individual only, a female, had recourse to the desperate remedy of shortening her days. Juana Sanchez, a *beata*, after having been long kept in prison at Valladolid, was found guilty of heresy. Coming to the knowledge of her sentence before it was formally intimated to her, she cut her throat with a pair of scissors, and died of the wound in the course of a few days. During the interval every effort was employed by the friars to induce her, not to repent of the suicide, but to recant the errors which she had cherished. She repulsed them with indignation, as monsters equally devoid of humanity and religion.[4]

I must again refer my readers to the common histories of the Inquisition, for information as to the modes of torture and other cruel devices

[1] Montanus, pp. 293, 294, 297. Llorente, ii. 278, 279. Geddes, Miscell. Tracts, vol. i. p. 567.

[3] Montanus, pp. 104, 105. Cypriano de Valera, Dos Tratados, p. 250.

[4] Llorente, ii. 240.

used for procuring evidence to convict those who were imprisoned on a charge of heresy. One or two instances, however, are of such a character that it would be unpardonable to omit them in this place. Among the Protestants seized in Seville was the widow of Fernando Nugnez, a native of the town of Lepe, with three of her daughters and a married sister. As there was no evidence against them, they were put to the torture, but refused to inform against one another. Upon this the presiding inquisitor called one of the young women into the audience-chamber, and after conversing with her for some time, professed an attachment to her person. Having repeated this at another interview, he told her that he could be of no service to her unless she imparted to him the whole facts of her case; but if she intrusted him with these, he would manage the affair in such a way as that she and all her friends should be set at liberty. Falling into the snare, the unsuspecting girl confessed to him that she had at different times conversed with her mother, sisters, and aunt, on the Lutheran doctrines. The wretch immediately brought her into court, and obliged her to declare judicially what she had owned to him in private. Nor was this all: under the pretence that her confession was not sufficiently ample and ingenuous, she was put to the torture by the most excruciating engines, the pulley and the wooden horse; by which means evidence was extorted from her, which led, not only to the condemnation of herself and her relations, but also to the seizure and conviction of others who afterwards perished in the flames.[1] Another instance relates to a young countryman of our own. An English vessel, which had entered the port of St Lucar, was visited by the familiars of the Inquisition, and several of the crew, who, with the frankness of British seamen, avowed themselves Protestants, were seized before they came on shore. Along with them the familiars conveyed to prison a boy of twelve years of age, the son of a respectable merchant to whom the principal part of the cargo belonged. The pretext for his apprehension was, that an English psalm-book was found in his portmanteau; but there is reason to believe that the real ground was the hope of extorting from the father a rich ransom for his son's liberation. Having been piously educated, the youth was observed to be regular in his devotions, and to relieve the irksomeness of his confinement by occasionally singing one of the psalms which he had committed to memory. Both of these were high offences; for every piece of devotion not conducted under the direction of its ghostly agents, and even every mark of cheerfulness on the part of the prisoners, is strictly prohibited within the gloomy walls of the Holy Office.[2] On the report of the jailer, the boy's confinement was rendered more severe; in consequence of which he lost the use of both his limbs, and it was found

[1] Montanus, p. 82—85. Llorente has corrected a mistake of Montanus as to the degrees of consanguinity among these female prisoners, and by doing this confirms the general statement of the Protestant historian, while he passes over some of the aggravating circumstances of the case. Tom. ii. p. 286.

[2] Montanus. p. 116—117.

necessary, for the preservation of his life, to remove him to the public hospital.[1]

So shameful were the measures taken for procuring the conviction of the prisoners at this time, that a legal investigation of the procedure in the inquisitorial tribunals was afterwards demanded by persons of great respectability in the church. In 1560, Señor Enriquez, an ecclesiastic of rank in the collegiate church of Valladolid, presented to Philip a remonstrance against the Inquisition of that city, in which he charged it with tyranny and avarice. Among other things he asserted, that in the case of Cazalla the officers had allowed the nuns, who like him were imprisoned for Lutheranism, to converse together, that, by confirming one another in their errors, the judges might have it in their power to condemn them, and thus to confiscate their property. Having accomplished the object which they had in view, they changed their measures, kept the prisoners apart, and, by examinations and visits, promises and threatenings, tried every method to induce them to recant and die in the bosom of the church.[2]

Nearly two years having been spent in the previous steps, the time was considered as come, according to Spanish ideas of unity of action, for the exhibition of the last scene of the horrible tragedy. Orders were accordingly issued by the Council of the Supreme for the celebration of public auto-da-fés, under the direction of the several tribunals of inquisition through the kingdom. Those which took place in Seville and Valladolid were the most noted for the pomp with which they were solemnised, and for the number and rank of the victims. Before describing these, it may be proper to give the reader a general idea of the nature of these exhibitions, and the order in which they were usually conducted.

An auto-da-fé, or *act of faith*, was either particular or general. In the particular auto, or *autillo*, as it is called, the offender appeared before the inquisitors in their hall, either alone or in the presence of a select number of witnesses, and had his sentence intimated to him. A general auto, in which a number of heretics were brought out, was performed with the most imposing solemnity, and formed an imitation of an ancient Roman triumph, combined with the last judgment.[3] It was always celebrated on a Sunday or holiday, in the largest church, but more frequently in the most spacious square of the town in which it happened to be held. Intimation of it was publicly made beforehand in all the churches and religious houses in the neighbourhood. The attendance of the civil authorities, as well as of the clergy, secular and

[1] Montanus, p. 119—121.

[2] Original Proceedings against Cazalla, taken from the archives of the tribunal of Valladolid: Puigblanch, ii. 273. Llorente, iii. 202—217.

[3] The last-mentioned resemblance is noticed in a letter written by a Moor in Spain to a friend in Africa, giving him an account of the sufferings of his countrymen from the Inquisition: "After this they meet in the square of Hatabin, and there having erected a large stage, they make all resemble the day of judgment; and he that reconciles himself to them is clothed in a yellow mantle, and the rest are carried to the flames with effigies and horrible figures." Marmol, Historia del Rebelion del Reyno de Granada, lib. iii. cap. 3.

regular, was required ; and, with the view of attracting the multitude, an indulgence of forty days was proclaimed to all who should witness the ceremonies of the act.

On the evening preceding the auto, such of the prisoners as were penitent, and were to suffer a punishment milder than death, were assembled, the males in one apartment of the prison, and the females in another, when they had their respective sentences intimated to them. At midnight a confessor entered the cell of the prisoners who were sentenced to the stake, and intimated to them for the first time the fate which awaited them, accompanying the intimation with earnest exhortations to recant their errors, and die reconciled to the church ; in which case they obtained the favour of being strangled before their bodies were committed to the flames. On such occasions the most heart-rending scenes sometimes took place.

Early on the following morning the bells of all the churches began to toll, when the officials of the Inquisition repaired to the prison, and having assembled the prisoners, clothed them in the several dresses in which they were to make their appearance at the spectacle. Those who were found suspected of having erred in a slight degree were simply clothed in black. The other prisoners wore a san-benito, or species of loose vest of yellow cloth, called *zamarra* in Spanish. On the san-benito of those who were to be strangled were painted flames burning downwards, which the Spaniards call *fuego revolto*, to intimate that they had escaped the fire. The san-benito of those who were doomed to be burnt alive was covered with figures of flames burning upwards, around which were painted devils, carrying fagots, or fanning the fire. Similar marks of infamy appeared on the pasteboard cap, called *coroza*, which was put on their heads. After this ceremony was over, they were desired to partake of a sumptuous breakfast, which, on their refusal, was devoured by the menials of the office.

The persons who were to take part in the ceremony being all assembled in the court of the prison, the procession moved on, generally in the following order. Preceded by a band of soldiers to clear the way, came a certain number of priests in their surplices, attended by a company of young persons, such as the boys of the College of Doctrine in Seville, who chanted the liturgy in alternate choruses. They were followed by the prisoners arranged in different classes according to the degrees of their supposed delinquencies, the most guilty being placed last, having either extinguished torches or else crosses in their hands, and halters suspended from their necks. Every prisoner was guarded by two familiars, and, in addition to this, those who were condemned to die were attended each by two friars. After the prisoners came the local magistrates, the judges, and officers of state, accompanied by a train of nobility on horseback. They were succeeded by the secular and monastic clergy. At some distance from these were to be seen moving

forward, in slow and solemn pomp, the members of the Holy Office, the persons who principally shared the triumph of the day, preceded by their fiscal bearing the standard of the Inquisition, composed of red silk damask, on which the names and insignia of Pope Sixtus IV. and Ferdinand the Catholic, the founders of the tribunal, were conspicuous, and surmounted by a crucifix of massive silver overlaid with gold, which was held in the highest veneration by the populace. They were followed by the familiars on horseback, forming their body-guard, and including many of the principal gentry of the country as honorary members. The procession was closed by an immense concourse of the common people, who advanced without any regular order.

Having arrived at the place of the auto, the inquisitors ascended the platform erected for their reception, and the prisoners were conducted to another which was placed opposite to it. The service commenced with a sermon, usually preached by some distinguished prelate; after which the clerk of the tribunal read the sentences of the penitents, who, on their knees, and with hands laid on the missal, repeated their confessions. The presiding inquisitor then descended from the throne on which he sat, and advancing to the altar, absolved the penitents *a culpa*, leaving them under the obligation to bear the several punishments to which they had been adjudged, whether these consisted of penances, banishment, whipping, hard labour, or imprisonment. He then administered an oath to all who were present at the spectacle, binding them to live and die in the communion of the Roman Church, and to uphold and defend, against all its adversaries, the tribunal of the Holy Inquisition; during which ceremony the people were to be seen all at once on their knees in the streets. The more tragical part of the scene now followed. The sentences of those who were doomed to die having been publicly read, such of them as were in holy orders were publicly degraded by being stripped, piece by piece, of their priestly vestments; a ceremony which was performed with every circumstance calculated to expose them to ignominy and execration in the eyes of the superstitious beholders. After this they were formally delivered over to the secular judges, to suffer the punishment awarded to heretics by the civil law. It was on this occasion that the inquisitors performed that impious farce which has excited the indignation of all in whose breasts fanaticism, or some worse principle, has not extinguished every sentiment of common feeling. When they delivered the prisoner into the hands of the secular judges whom they had summoned to receive him, they besought them to treat him with clemency and compassion.[1] This they did to escape falling under the censure of *irregularity*, which the canons of the church

[1] The Protestant historian of the Inquisition, De Montes, states the matter thus: When the person who is relaxed has confessed, the inquisitors, on delivering him to the secular judges, "beseech them to treat him with much commiseration, and not to break a bone of his body, nor shed his blood;" but when he is obstinate, they "beseech them, if he shall show any symptoms of true repentance, to treat him with much commiseration," &c. Montanus, p. 148. I do not observe any such distinction in the accounts of the popish historians. Llorente, ii. 250—253. Puigblanch, i. 279—281.

had denounced against ecclesiastics who should be accessory to the inflicting of any bodily injury. Yet they not only knew what would be the consequence of their act, but had taken all the precautions necessary for securing it. Five days before the auto-da-fé, they acquainted the ordinary royal judge with the number of prisoners to be delivered over to him, in order that the proper quantity of stakes, wood, and everything else requisite for the execution, might be in readiness. The prisoners once declared by the inquisitors to be impenitent or relapsed heretics, nothing was competent to the magistrate but to pronounce the sentence adjudging them to the flames; and had he presumed in any instance to change the sentence of death into perpetual imprisonment, though it were in one of the remotest forts of Asia, Africa, or America, he would soon have felt the vengeance of the Holy Office.[1] Besides, the statutes adjudging heretics to the fire had been confirmed by numerous bulls of popes, which commanded the inquisitors to watch over their exact observance. And, in accordance with this, they, at every auto-da-fé, required the magistrates to swear that they would faithfully execute the sentences against the persons of heretics, without delay, "in the way and manner prescribed by the sacred canons, and the laws which treated on the subject."[2] Were it necessary to say more on this topic, we might add that the very appearance of the prisoners, when brought out in the public spectacle, proclaimed the unblushing hypocrisy of the inquisitors.[3] They implored the secular judge to treat with lenity and compassion, persons whom they themselves had worn to skeletons by a cruel incarceration,—not to shed the blood of him from whose body they had often made the blood to spring, nor to break a bone of her whose tender limbs were already distorted and mangled by their hellish tortures![4]

The penitents having been remanded to their several prisons, the other prisoners were led away to execution. Some writers have spoken as if they were executed on the spot where their sentence was read, and in the presence of all who had witnessed the preceding parts of the spectacle. This, however, is a mistake. The stakes were erected without the walls of the town in which the auto-da-fé was celebrated; but though the last act was deemed too horrid to be exhibited on the same stage with those which we have described, yet it was performed publicly, and was witnessed, not only by the mob, but by persons who from their rank and station might have been expected to turn with disgust from so revolting a spectacle.

[1] Llorente, ii. 253, 254. Puigblanch, i. 350—353.

[2] Puigblanch, i. 351, 352.

[3] With the view of preventing such appearances as much as possible, the inquisitors have laid it down as a rule, that no prisoner shall be tortured within fifteen days of the auto-da-fé. The Portuguese regulation on this head is very plain in assigning the reason: "por naõ hirem os prezos a elle mostrando os sinaes do tormento lho daraõ no potro." Yet their anxiety to obtain information often induces them to transgress this prudential regulation; in which cases they have recourse to the rack, which does not distort the body like the pulley. Puigblanch, i. 294.

[4] The apologies made for this hypocritical deprecation, not only by De Castro in the sixteenth, but by several writers in the nineteenth century, may be seen in Puigblanch, vol. i. p. 354—359.

Seville contained by far the greatest number of Protestants under confinement, and the long period during which its prisons had been crowded gave it a claim to the benefit of the first jail-delivery. Valladolid, however, was preferred; for no other reason, apparently, than that it afforded the Inquisition the opportunity of exhibiting the greatest proportion of criminals of whom it could boast as converts from heresy.

The first public auto-da-fé of Protestants was accordingly celebrated in Valladolid on the 21st of May 1559, being Trinity Sunday, in the presence of Don Carlos, the heir-apparent to the crown, and his aunt Juana, Queen-Dowager of Portugal and Governess of the kingdom during the absence of her brother Philip II., attended by a great concourse of persons of all ranks. It was performed in the grand square between Church of St Francis and the house of the Consistory. In the front of the town-house, and by the side of the platform occupied by the inquisitors, a box was erected which the royal family could enter without interruption from the crowd, and in which they had a full view of the prisoners. The spectacle continued from six o'clock in the morning till two in the afternoon, during which the people exhibited no symptoms of impatience, nor did the Queen retire until the whole was concluded.[1] The sermon was preached by the celebrated Melchior Cano, Bishop of the Canaries; the Bishop of Palencia, to whose diocese Valladolid at that time belonged, performed the ceremony of degrading such of the victims as were in holy orders. When the company were assembled and had taken their places, Francisco Baca, the presiding inquisitor, advancing to the bed of state on which the prince and his aunt were seated, administered to them the oath to support the Holy Office, and to reveal to it everything contrary to the faith which might come to their knowledge, without respect of persons. This was the first time that such an oath had been exacted from any of the royal family; and Don Carlos, who was then only fourteen years of age, is said from that moment to have vowed an implacable hatred to the Inquisition.

The prisoners brought forth on this occasion amounted to thirty, of whom sixteen were reconciled, and fourteen were "relaxed," or delivered over to the secular arm. Of the last class, two were thrown alive into the flames, while the remainder were previously strangled.

The greater part of the first class were persons distinguished by their rank and connections. Don Pedro Sarmiento de Roxas,[2] son of the first Marquis de Poza, and of a daughter of the Conde de Salinas y Ribadeo, was stripped of his ornaments as Chevalier of St James, deprived of his office as Commander of Quintana, and condemned to wear a perpetual san-benito, to be imprisoned for life, and to have his memory declared infamous. His wife, Dona Mercia de Figueroa, dame of honour

[1] Register appended to Skinner's translation of Montanus, sig. E. i. b. E. ij. a.

[2] Don Juan de Roxas Sarmiento, a brother of the prisoner, was celebrated as a mathematician, and addressed a consolatory letter to his sister, Dona Elvira de Roxas, Marchioness d'Alcagnizes, which was printed at Louvain in 1544.

to the Queen,[1] was sentenced to wear the coat of infamy, and to be confined during the remainder of her life. His nephew, Don Luis de Roxas, eldest son of the second Marquis de Poza, and grandson of the Marquis d'Alcagnizes, was exiled from the cities of Madrid, Valladolid, and Palencia, forbidden to leave the kingdom, and declared incapable of succeeding to the honours or estates of his father. Dona Ana Henriquez de Roxas, daughter of the Marquis d'Alcagnizes, and wife of Don Juan Alonso de Fonseca Mexia, was a lady of great accomplishments, understood the Latin language perfectly, and though only twenty-four years of age, was familiar with the writings of the reformers, particularly those of Calvin. She appeared in the san-benito, and was condemned to be separated from her husband and spend her days in a monastery. Her aunt Dona Maria de Roxas, a nun of St Catherine in Valladolid, and forty years of age, received sentence of perpetual penance and imprisonment, from which, however, she was released by an influence which the inquisitors did not choose to resist.[2] Don Juan de Ulloa Pereira, brother to the Marquis de la Mota, was subjected to the same punishment as the first-mentioned nobleman. This brave chevalier had distinguished himself in many engagements against the Turks both by sea and land. and performed so great feats of valour in the expeditions to Algiers, Bugia, and other parts of Africa, that Charles V. had advanced him to the rank of first captain, and afterwards of general. Having appealed to Rome against the sentence of the inquisitors, and represented the services which he had done to Christendom, de Ulloa was eventually restored to his rank as commander of the order of St John of Jerusalem. Juan de Vibero Cazalla, his wife Dona Silva de Ribera, his sister Dona Constanza, Dona Francisca Zunega de Baeza, Marina de Saavedra, the widow of a hidalgo named Juan Cisneros de Soto, and Leanor de Cisneros (whose husband, Antonio Herezuelo, was doomed to a severer punishment), with four others of inferior condition, were condemned to wear the san-benito, and be imprisoned for life. The imprisonment of Anthony Wasor, an Englishman, and servant to Don Luis de Roxas, was restricted to one year's confinement in a convent. Confiscation of property was an article in the sentence of all these persons.[3]

Among those who were delivered over to the secular arm, one of the most celebrated was Doctor Augustine Cazalla.[4] His reputation, and the office he had held as chaplain to the late Emperor, made him an object of particular attention to the inquisitors. During his confinement he underwent frequent examinations, with the view of establishing the charges against himself and his fellow-prisoners. Cazalla was deficient in the courage which was requisite for the situation into

[1] Skinner says she was "one of the maydes of honour to the Queene of *Boheme*."

[2] "This Dona Maria (de Rojas) was entirely beloved of King Philip's sister the Queene of Portugall, by whose meanes and procurement she was released for wearyng the sambenite, and restored immediately into her cloyster agayne, whereat the inquisitours greatly repyned." Register appended to Skinner's translation of Montanus, sig. E. ij. a.

[3] Llorente, ii. 228—233. Register appended to Skinner's translation of Montanus, sig. E. ij. a.

[4] See before, p. 108.

which he had brought himself. On the 4th of March 1559 he was conducted into the place of torture, when he shrunk from the trial, and promising to submit to his judges, made a declaration, in which he confessed that he had embraced the Lutheran doctrine, but denied that he had ever taught it, except to those who were of the same sentiments with himself. This answered all the wishes of the inquisitors, who were determined that he should expiate his offence by death, at the same time that they kept him in suspense as to his fate, with the view of procuring from him additional information. On the evening before the auto-da-fé, Antonio de Carrera, a monk of St Jerome, being sent to acquaint him with his sentence, Cazalla begged earnestly to know if he might entertain hopes of escaping capital punishment; to which Carrera replied, that the inquisitors could not rely on his declarations, but that if he would confess all that the witnesses had deponed against him, mercy might perhaps be extended to him. This cautious reply convinced Cazalla that his doom was fixed. "Well, then," said he, "I must prepare to die in the grace of God; for it is impossible for me to add to what I have said without falsehood." He confessed himself to Carrera that night, and next morning. On the scaffold, seeing his sister Constanza passing among those who were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, he pointed to her, and said to the princess Juana, "I beseech your highness, have compassion on this unfortunate woman, who has thirteen orphan children!" At the place of execution he addressed a few words to his fellow-prisoners in the character of a penitent, in virtue of which he obtained the poor favour of being strangled before his body was committed to the fire. His confessor was so pleased with his behaviour as to say, he had no doubt Cazalla was in heaven.[1] His sister, Dona Beatriz de Vibero, Doctor Alonso Perez, a priest of Palencia, Don Christobal de Ocampo, Chevalier of the order of St John of Jerusalem, and Almoner to the Grand Prior of Castile, Don Christobal de Padilla, and seven others, shared the same fate as Cazalla. Among these were the husband of the woman who had informed against the Protestant conventicle in Valladolid, and four females, one of whom, Dona Catalina de Ortega, was daughter-in-law to the fiscal of the royal council of Castile.[2] They were all Protestants, except Gonzales Baez, a Portuguese, who was condemned as a relapsed Jew.[3]

The two individuals who on this occasion had the honour to endure the flames, were Francisco de Vibero Cazalla,[4] parish priest of Hormigos,

[1] Llorente, ii. 222—225. If we may believe Illescas, or rather his interpolators, Cazalla confessed, to the great edification of those who heard him, that in embracing the new opinions he had been actuated by ambition and a desire to have his followers in Spain called Cazallites, as those of the same sentiments were called Lutherans in Germany, Zuinglians in Switzerland, and Huguenots in France. Hist. Pontif., tom. ii. f. 450, b.

[2] "Donna Katalina de Ortega, in common reputation a widow, daughter to the fischal, the king's atturney in the court of Inquisition, and at that time a chief councellour to the high inquisitour, howbeit she was privily contracted and married to the same Doct. Caçalla." Register appended to Skinner's translation of Montanus, sig. E. i. a.

[3] Register, *ut supra*. Llorente, vol. ii. p. 222—228.

[4] Llorente, ii. 225—226 "Francisco de Vibero, a priest, brother to the same D. Cazalla, having his tong pinched betwixt a cleft sticke, because he remayned most constant

and Antonio Herezuelo, an advocate of Toro. Some writers say that the former begged, when under the torture, to be admitted to reconciliation; but it is certain that he gave no sign of weakness or a wish to recant on the day of the auto-da-fé. Seeing his brother Augustin Cazalla, not at the stake, but on the adjoining scaffold among the penitents, and being prevented from speaking by the gag, he signified his sorrow by an expressive motion of his hands; after which he bore the fire without shrinking. Herezuelo conducted himself with surpassing intrepidity. From the moment of his apprehension to that of his death, he never exhibited the least symptom of a wish to save his life, or to mitigate his sufferings by compromising his principles. His courage remained unshaken amidst the horrors of the torture, the ignominy of the public spectacle, and the terrors of the stake. The only thing that moved him, on the day of the auto-da-fé, was the sight of his wife in the garb of a penitent; and the look which he gave (for he could not speak) as he passed her to go to the place of execution, seemed to say, "*This* is hard to bear!" He listened without emotion to the friars who teased him with their importunate exhortations to repent, as they conducted him to the stake, but when, at their instigation, his former associate and instructor, Doctor Cazalla, began to address him in the same strain, he threw upon him a glance of disdain, which froze the words on his recreant lips. "The bachelor Herezuelo," says the popish author of the Pontifical History, "suffered himself to be burnt alive with unparalleled hardihood. I stood so near him that I had a complete view of his person, and observed all his motions and gestures. He could not speak, for his mouth was gagged on account of the blasphemies which he had uttered; but his whole behaviour showed him to be a most resolute and hardened person, who, rather than yield to believe with his companions, was determined to die in the flames. Though I marked him narrowly, I could not observe the least symptom of fear, or expression of pain; only there was a sadness in his countenance beyond anything I had ever seen. It was frightful to look in his face, when one considered that in a moment he would be in hell with his associate and master, Luther."[1] Enraged to see such courage in a heretic, one of the guards plunged his lance into the body of Herezuelo, whose blood was licked up by the flames by which he was already enveloped.[2]

Herezuelo and his wife, Leanor de Cisneros, were divided in their death, but it was in the time of it only, not the kind or manner, and their memory must not be divided in our pages. Leanor was only twenty-two years of age when she was thrown into the Inquisition; and when we consider that, during her imprisonment, she was precluded from all intercourse with her husband, kept in ignorance of his resolutions, and perhaps deceived into the belief that she would find him among the class of penitents in the auto, we need not wonder that one

in the open profession of his fayth." Register, *ut supra*.

[1] Illescas, Hist. Pontif., tom. ii. f. 450, b.

[2] Register appended to Skinner's translation of Montanus, sig. E. i. b. Llorente, ii. 227, 231.

of her tender sex and age should have fainted in the day of trial, suffered herself to be overcome by the persuasions of the monks, or, yielding to the feelings of nature, consented to renounce with the hand that truth which she continued to believe with the heart. Such assaults have shaken and threatened to throw to the ground pillars in the church. But Leanor was not long in recovering from the shock. The parting look of her husband never departed from her eyes ;[1] the reflection that she had inflicted a pang on his heart, during the arduous conflict which he had to maintain, fanned the flame of attachment to the reformed religion which secretly burned in her breast; and having resolved, in dependence on that strength which is made perfect in weakness, to emulate the example of constancy set by one in every respect so dear to her, she resolutely broke off the course of penance on which she had entered. The consequence of this was, that she was again thrown into the secret prisons. During eight years that she was kept in confinement, every effort was made in vain to induce her to renew her recantation. At last she was brought out in a public auto-da-fé celebrated at Valladolid; and we have the account of her behaviour from the same pen which so graphically described that of her husband. "In the year 1568, on the 26th of September, justice was executed on Leanor de Cisneros, widow of the bachelor Herezuelo. She suffered herself to be burnt alive, notwithstanding the great and repeated exertions made to bring her to a conviction of her errors. Finally, she resisted, what was sufficient to melt a stone, an admirable sermon preached at the auto of that day, by his excellency Don Juan Manuel, Bishop of Zamora, a man no less learned and eloquent in the pulpit than illustrious in blood. But nothing could move the impenetrable heart of that obstinate woman." [2]

One part of the solemnities in the first auto at Valladolid, though not so shocking to the feelings as some others which have been related, was nevertheless a flagrant violation both of justice and humanity. Dona Leanor de Vibero, the mother of Doctor Cazalla and of four other children who appeared as criminals in this auto-da-fé, had died some years before, and was buried in a sepulchral chapel of which she was the proprietress. No suspicion of heresy attached to her at the time of her death; but, on the imprisonment of her children, the fiscal of the Inquisition at Valladolid commenced a process against her; and certain witnesses under the torture having deponed that her house was used as a temple for the Lutherans, sentence was passed, declaring her to have died in a state of heresy, her memory to be infamous, and her property confiscated; and ordering her bones to be dug up, and, together with her effigy, publicly committed to the flames; her house to be

[1] Llorente has adopted the monkish slander, that Herezuelo, on descending from the scaffold, seeing his wife in the dress of a penitent, expressed his indignation at her conduct by kicking her with his foot. Tom. ii. p. 231. Illescas, who has given a minute account of the behaviour of both parties, takes no notice of anything of this nature, which is irreconcilable with all the circumstances of the case.

[2] Illescas, Historia Pontifical, tom. ii. f. 451, a.

razed, the ground on which it stood to be sown with salt, and a pillar, with an inscription stating the cause of its demolition, to be erected on the spot. All this was done, and the last-mentioned monument of fanaticism and ferocity against the dead was to be seen until the year 1809, when it was removed during the occupation of Spain by the French.[1]

There was still a great number of prisoners in Valladolid; but though the processes of most of them were terminated, they were kept in confinement, to afford a gratifying spectacle to the monarch on his arrival from the Low Countries. The second auto-da-fé in this city was celebrated on the 8th of October 1559. Philip II. appeared at it, attended by his son, his sister, the Prince of Parma, three ambassadors from France, with a numerous assemblage of prelates and nobility of both sexes. The Inquisitor-general Valdes administered the oath to the king; on which occasion Philip, rising from his seat and drawing his sword in token of his readiness to use it in support of the Holy Office, swore and subscribed the oath, which was afterwards read aloud to the people by one of the officers of the Inquisition.

Twenty-nine prisoners appeared on the scaffold, of whom sixteen wore the garb of penitents, while the flames painted on the san-benitos and corozas of the remainder marked them out for the stake. Among the former were Dona Isabella de Castilla, wife of Don Carlos de Seso, her niece Dona Catalina, and three nuns of St Belen.[2] The first two were condemned to lose all their property, to wear the san-benito, and be imprisoned during life. To the Lutherans subjected to penances were added two men, one of whom was convicted of having sworn falsely that a child had been circumcised, with the view of bringing the father to the stake; the other of having personated an alguazil of the Holy Office. The former was sentenced to receive two hundred lashes, to lose the half of his property, and to work in the galleys for five years; the latter to receive four hundred lashes, to lose the whole of his property, and to work in the galleys for life;—a striking specimen of the comparative estimate which the Inquisition forms of meditated murder, and an insult on its own prerogatives.

At the head of those devoted to death was Don Carlos de Seso, with whose name the reader is already acquainted.[3] Arrested at Logrono, he was thrown into the secret prisons of the Inquisition of Valladolid; and on the 28th of June 1558, answered the interrogatories of the fiscal. His conduct during the whole of his imprisonment, and in the formidable scene by which it terminated, was worthy of his noble character, and the active part he had taken in the cause of religious reform. In the examinations which he underwent, he never varied, nor sought to

[1] Cypriano de Valera, Dos Tratados, p. 251. Llorente, ii. 221—222.

[2] Another nun of that order, Dona Catalina de Reynoza, daughter of the Baron de Anzillo, and sister of the Bishop of Cordova, was delivered to the secular arm. She was only twenty-one years of age, and was charged with having said to the sisters when engaged in their monkish devotions, "Cry aloud, that Baal may hear you; break your heads, and see if he will heal them." Register appended to the translation of Montanus, sig. E. ij. b. Llorente, ii. 241.

[3] See before, p. 111.

excuse himself by affixing blame to those whom he knew his judges were anxious to condemn.[1] When informed of his sentence on the night before his execution, he called for pen, ink, and paper, and having written a confession of his faith, gave it to the officer, saying, "This is the true faith of the Gospel, as opposed to that of the Church of Rome, which has been corrupted for ages : in this faith I wish to die, and in the remembrance and lively belief of the passion of Jesus Christ, to offer to God my body now reduced so low." "It would be difficult," says one who read this document in the archives of the Inquisition, "to convey an idea of the uncommon vigour of sentiment with which he filled two sheets of paper, though he was then in the presence of death."[2] The whole of that night and next morning was spent by the friars in ineffectual attempts to induce him to recant. He appeared in the procession with a gag in his mouth, which remained while he was in the auto-da-fé, and on the way to the place of execution. It was removed after he was bound to the stake, and the friars began again to exhort him to confess. He replied, in a loud voice, and with great firmness, "I could demonstrate to you that you ruin yourselves by not imitating my example ; but there is no time. Executioners, light the pile which is to consume me." They obeyed, and de Seso expired in the flames without a struggle or a groan. He died in the forty-third year of his age.[3]

Pedro de Cazalla, parish priest of Pedrosa, when arrested on the 25th of April 1558, confessed that he had embraced the Protestant doctrines. Having afterwards supplicated reconciliation, he could obtain only two votes in the court of Inquisition for a punishment milder than death, and the decision of the majority was confirmed by the Council of the Supreme. He refused to make confession to the priest sent to intimate his sentence, and appeared in the auto with the gag ; but after he was bound to the stake, having asked, or the attendant monks having represented him as asking a confessor, he was strangled, and then cast into the fire. He was only in the thirty-fourth year of his age.

Domingo de Roxas, son of the Marquis de Poza, two of whose children appeared in the former auto, was seized, in the garb of a laic, at Calahorra, where he had stopped in his flight to the Low Countries, in order to have an interview with his friend de Seso. Subsequently to the 13th of May 1558, when he made his first appearance before the Inquisition, he underwent frequent examinations. The inquisitors having ordered the torture to be administered with the view of extorting from him certain facts which they were anxious to possess, he promised to tell all he knew, provided they would spare him the horrors of the question, which he dreaded more than death. Deluded by the prospect of a merciful sentence which was held out to him, he was induced to make certain professions of sorrow, and to throw out insinuations unfavourable to the cause of Archbishop Carranza ; but as soon as he was

[1] This appears from his answers on the trial of Archbishop Carranza. Llorente, iii. 204.
[2] Ibid. ii. 236.
[3] Llorente, ii. 237.

undeceived, he craved an audience of the inquisitors, at which he did ample justice to that prelate, without asking any mitigation of his own punishment. On the night before his execution, he refused the services of the priest appointed to wait on him. When the ceremonies of the auto were finished, and the secular judge had pronounced sentence on the prisoners delivered over to him, de Roxas, in passing the royal box, made an appeal to the mercy of the king. "Canst thou, sire, thus witness the torments of thy innocent subjects? Save us from so cruel a death." "No," replied Philip sternly; "I would myself carry wood to burn my own son, were he such a wretch as thou."[1] De Roxas was about to say something in defence of himself and his fellow-sufferers, when, the unrelenting despot waving his hand, the officers instantly thrust the gag into the martyr's mouth. It remained, contrary to the usual custom, after he was bound to the stake; so much were his judges irritated at his boldness, or afraid of the liberties he would use. Yet we are told, that when the fire was about to be applied to the pile, his courage failed, he begged a confessor, and having received absolution, was strangled. Such appears to be the account of his last moments inserted in the records of the Inquisition;[2] but private letters, written from Spain at the time, give a different representation: "They carried him from the scaffold, accompanied with a number of monks, about a hundred flocking about him, railing and making exclamations against him, and some of them urging him to recant; but he, notwithstanding, answered them with a bold spirit, that he would never renounce the doctrine of Christ."[3]

Juan Sanchez, at the commencement of the persecution of the Protestants in Valladolid, had made his escape to the Low Countries, under the assumed name of Juan de Vibar. Thinking himself safe, he wrote letters, dated from Castrourdiales in the month of May 1558, and addressed to Dona Catalina Hortega, in whose family he had formerly resided. That lady having been seized as a suspected Lutheran, the letters fell into the hands of the inquisitors, who sent information to Philip, then at Brussels. Sanchez was apprehended at Turlingen, conveyed to Valladolid, and delivered over to the secular magistrate as a dogmatising and impenitent heretic. The gag was taken from his mouth at the place of execution; but as he did not ask for a confessor, the pile was kindled. When the fire had consumed the ropes by which he was bound, he darted from the stake, and unconsciously leaped on the scaffold used for receiving the confessions of those who recanted in their last moments. The friars instantly collected to the spot, and

[1] Colmenares, in his Historia de Segovia, quoted by Puigblanch (ii. 142), represents Don Carlos de Seso as making a similar address to Philip, and receiving a similar reply; but, according to Llorente's account, that nobleman wore the gag during the whole of the auto-da-fé.

[2] Llorente, ii. 239.

[3] Register appended to Skinner's translation of Montanus, sig. E. ij. b. Sepulveda mentions de Roxas among those who were "thrown alive into the flames, because they persevered in error." De Rebus gestis Philippi II., lib. ii. cap. xxvii. p. 60: Opera, tom. iii.

urged him to retract his errors. Recovering from his momentary delirium, and looking around him, he saw on the one side some of his fellow-prisoners on their knees doing penance, and on the other Don Carlos de Seso standing unmoved in the midst of the flames, upon which he walked deliberately back to the stake, and calling for more fuel said, "I will die like de Seso." Incensed at what they considered as a proof of audacious impiety, the archers and executioners strove who should first comply with his request. He died in the thirty-third year of his age.

The case of Dona Marina Guevara, a nun of St Belen, presents some singular features which are worthy of observation. When first denounced to the Inquisition, she owned that she had given entertainment to certain Lutheran opinions, but with hesitation, and in ignorance of their import and tendency. Her petition to be reconciled to the church was refused, because she would not acknowledge some things which the witnesses had deponed against her, and because she persisted in her assertion that she had not yielded a cordial and complete assent to the heresies with which her mind had been tainted. When the depositions were communicated to her by order of the inquisitors, she replied, that it seemed as if they wished to instil into her mind errors of which she was ignorant, rather than induce her to abandon those to which she had incautiously given ear; and that the oath she had taken would not permit her to add to her confession, or to acknowledge crimes of which she was not conscious, and facts which she did not recollect. The whole of the proceedings, while they display the honourable feelings of Marina, and the firmness of her character, depict in strong colours the sternness with which the Holy Office adhered to its tyrannical principles. She was connected with persons of high rank, including Valdes the grand inquisitor, who used every means for her deliverance. But the ordinary judges lent a deaf ear to the applications made by their superior in her behalf, which they resisted as an interference with their jurisdiction, and a proof of partiality and weakness, unworthy of one whose office required him to be insensible to the calls of nature and friendship. Valdes was obliged to procure an order from the Council of the Supreme, authorising Don Tellez Giron de Montalban, the cousin of the prisoner, to have a final interview with her, in the presence of the leading members of the tribunal, with the view of inducing her to yield to their demands. But the attempt was unsuccessful. Dona Marina resisted all the entreaties of her noble relative, and refused to purchase her life by telling a falsehood. The inquisitors, inflexible to their former purpose, proceeded to pronounce sentence against her; and on the day of the auto she was delivered to the secular arm, and being strangled at the place of execution, her body was given to the flames. This act proclaimed more decidedly than even the reply made by Philip to the son of the Marquis de Poza, that there was no safety in Spain for any one who harboured a thought at variance with the Roman faith,

or who was not prepared to yield the most implicit and absolute obedience to the dictates of the Inquisition.[1]

The auto-da-fés celebrated at Seville were still more memorable than those at Valladolid, if not for the rank of the spectators, at least for the number of prisoners exhibited on the scaffold. The first of these was solemnised on the 24th of September 1559, in the square of St Francis. It was attended by four bishops, the members of the royal court of justice, the chapter of the cathedral, and a great assemblage of nobility and gentry. Twenty-one persons were delivered over to the secular arm, and eighty were condemned to lesser punishments.

The most distinguished individual, in point of rank, who suffered death on the present occasion, was Don Juan Ponce de Leon,[2] son of the Count de Baylen, and a near relation of the Duchess de Bejar, who was present at the spectacle. None had given more decided proofs of attachment to the reformed cause, and none had more diligently prepared himself for suffering martyrdom for it than this nobleman. For years he had avoided giving countenance to the superstitions of his country, and had made it a practice to visit the spot where the confessors of the truth suffered, with the view of habituating his mind to its horrors, and abating the terror which it was calculated to inspire. But the stoutest heart will sometimes faint in the hour of trial. The rank of Don Juan inspired the inquisitors with a strong desire to triumph over his constancy. After extorting from him, by means of the rack, a confession of some of the articles laid to his charge, they employed their secret emissaries to persuade him that he would consult his own safety, and that of his brethren, by confessing the whole. He had scarcely given his consent to this when he repented. On the night before his execution he complained bitterly of the deceit which had been practised towards him, and, having made an undisguised profession of his faith, rejected the services of the priest appointed to wait upon him. De Montes asserts that he preserved his constancy to the last, and, in support of this statement, appeals to the official account of the auto, and to his san-benito, which was hung up in one of the churches with the inscription, "Juan Ponce de Leon, burnt as an *obstinate* Lutheran heretic." But Llorente says that this epithet was applied to all who were sentenced to capital punishment, and that Don Juan, after he was bound to the stake and saw the fire about to be kindled, confessed himself to one of the attendant priests, and was strangled. His doom entailed infamy, and the forfeiture of every civil right, on his posterity; but the issue of his elder brother failing, Don Pedro, his son, after great opposition, obtained a decision from the Royal Chancery of Granada in favour of his claims, and was restored by letters from Philip III. to the Earldom of Baylen.[3]

[1] Sepulveda de Rebus gestis Philippi II., pp. 59, 60. Register appended to Skinner's translation of Montanus, sig. E. ij. E. iij. Llorente, tom. ii. chap. xx. art. 2.

[2] See before, p. 104.

[3] Cronica de los Ponces de Leon, apud Llorente, ii. 260.

No such doubt hangs over the constancy of the persons to be named. Doctor Juan Gonzalez was descended of Moorish ancestors, and at twelve years of age had been imprisoned on suspicion of Mahometanism. He afterwards became one of the most celebrated preachers in Andalusia, and a Protestant. In the midst of the torture, which he bore with unshrinking fortitude, he told the inquisitors that his sentiments, though opposite to those of the Church of Rome, rested on plain and express declarations of the word of God, and that nothing would induce him to inform against his brethren. When brought out on the morning of the auto, he appeared with a cheerful and undaunted air, though he had left his mother and two brothers behind him in prison, and was accompanied by two sisters, who, like himself, were doomed to the flames. At the door of the Triana he began to sing the hundred and ninth psalm; and on the scaffold he addressed a few words of consolation to one of his sisters, who seemed to him to wear a look of dejection; upon which the gag was instantly thrust into his mouth. With unaltered mien he listened to the sentence adjudging him to the flames, and submitted to the humiliating ceremonies by which he was degraded from the priesthood. When they were brought to the place of execution, the friars urged the females, in repeating the creed, to insert the word *Roman* in the clause relating to the Catholic Church. Wishing to procure liberty to him to bear his dying testimony, they said they would do as their brother did. The gag being removed, Juan Gonzalez exhorted them to add nothing to the good confession which they had already made. Instantly the executioners were ordered to strangle them, and one of the friars, turning to the crowd, exclaimed that they had died in the Roman faith; a falsehood which the inquisitors did not choose to repeat in their narrative of the proceedings.

The same constancy was evinced by four monks of the convent of San Isidro. Among these was the celebrated Garcia de Arias,[1] whose character had undergone a complete revolution. From the moment of his imprisonment he renounced that system of cautiousness and tergiversation on which he had formerly acted. He made an explicit profession of his faith, agreeing, in every point, with the sentiments of the reformers; expressed his sorrow that he had concealed it so long; and offered to prove that the opposite opinions were grossly erroneous and superstitious. On his trial he mocked the inquisitors, as persons who presumed to give judgment on matters of which they were utterly ignorant, and reminded them of instances in which they, as well as the *qualificators* whom they called to their assistance, were forced to confess their incapacity to interpret the Scriptures. The priests, as a necessary point of form, visited his cell, but none of them durst enter the lists in argument with him. Being advanced in years, he ascended

[1] See before, p. 105.

the scaffold, on the day of the auto, leaning on his staff, but went to the stake with a countenance expressive of joy and readiness to meet the flames.

Christobal d'Arellano, a member of the same convent, was distinguished by his learning, the inquisitors themselves being judges. Among the articles in his process, read in the auto, he was charged with having said, "that the mother of God was no more a virgin than he was." At hearing this, d'Arellano, rising from his seat, exclaimed, "It is a falsehood; I never advanced such a blasphemy; I have always maintained the contrary, and at this moment am ready to prove, with the Gospel in my hand, the virginity of Mary." The inquisitors were so confounded at this public contradiction, and the tone in which it was uttered, that they did not even order him to be gagged. On arriving at the stake, he was thrown into some degree of perturbation at seeing one of the monks of his convent who had come there to insult over his fate; but he soon recovered his former serenity of mind, and expired amidst the flames encouraging Juan Chrisostomo, who had been his pupil and was now his fellow-sufferer.

The fate of Juan de Leon was peculiarly hard. He had resided for some time as an artisan at Mexico, and on his return to Spain was led, under the influence of a superstitious feeling general among his countrymen, to take the vow in the convent of San Isidro, near Seville. This happened about the time that the knowledge of the truth began to be introduced into that monastery. Having imbibed the Protestant doctrine, Juan lost his relish for the monastic life, and quitted the convent on the pretext of bad health; but the regret which he felt at losing the religious instructions of the good fathers determined him to rejoin their society. On his return to San Isidro he found it deserted by its principal inhabitants, whom he followed to Geneva. During his residence in this city, intelligence came that Elizabeth had succeeded to the throne of England; and Juan de Leon, with some of his countrymen, resolved to accompany the English exiles who were preparing to return home. The Spanish court, in concert with the Inquisition, had planted spies on the road from Milan to Geneva, and at Frankfort, Cologne, and Antwerp, to waylay such Italians or Spaniards as left their native country for the sake of religion. Aware of this fact, Juan de Leon and another Spaniard took a different road, but at Strasburg they were betrayed to a spy, who pursued their route to a port in Zealand, and having procured a warrant, seized them as they were stepping on board a vessel for England. As soon as the officers presented themselves, Juan, aware of their intentions, turned to his companion, and said: "Let us go; God will be with us." After being severely tortured to make them discover their fellow-exiles, they were sent to Spain. During the voyage and the journey by land, they were not only heavily chained like felons, but each of them had his head and face covered with a species of helmet, made of iron, having a piece of the same metal,

shapen like a tongue, which was inserted into his mouth, to prevent him from speaking. While his companion was sent to Valladolid,[1] Juan was delivered to the inquisitors at Seville. The sufferings which he endured, from torture and imprisonment, had brought on a consumption; and his appearance on the day of the auto was such as would have melted the heart of any human being but an inquisitor. He was attended at the stake by a monk who had passed his noviciate along with him, and who disturbed his last moments by reminding him of those things of which he was now ashamed. His mouth being relieved from the gag, he, with much composure and graveness, made a declaration of his faith in few but emphatic words, and then welcomed the flames which were to put an end to his sufferings, and to convey him to the spirits of just men made perfect.[2]

Fernando de San Juan, Master of the College of Doctrine, and Doctor Christobal Losada, Pastor to the Protestant Church in Seville, suffered with the same fortitude and constancy. The latter, after he had reached the place of burning, was engaged in a theological dispute by the importunity of the friars, who flattered themselves with being able to convince him of his errors; but perceiving that the people listened eagerly to what was said, they began to speak in Latin, and were followed by Losada, who continued for a considerable time to carry on the conversation with propriety and elegance in a foreign tongue, at the foot of that stake which was about to consume him to ashes.[3]

This auto-da-fé furnished examples of Christian heroism, equally noble, in those of the tender sex, several of whom "were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection." Among these were Dona Isabel de Baena, Maria de Virves, Maria de Cornel, and Maria de Bohorques. The first was a rich matron of Seville, who had permitted the Protestants to meet for worship in her house, which on that account was laid under the same sentence of execration as that of Leanor de Vibero at Valladolid.[4] The rest were young ladies, and connected with the most distinguished families in Spain. The story of Maria de Bohorques became celebrated, both from its interesting circumstances and from its having been made the foundation of an historical novel by a Spanish writer.[5] She was a natural daughter of Don Pedro Garcia de Xeres y Bohorques, a Spanish grandee of the first class,

[1] De Montes calls this person *Joannes Ferdinandus;* Llorente says his name was *Juan Sanches.* See before, p. 142. According to the statement of another author, these were different names of the same individual. "Juan Sanches, otherwise called Juan Fernandez, sometimes servant to Doct. Caçalla; the same partie that was taken in Zealand, with Juan de Leon, as they were taking passage into England." Register appended to Skinner's translation of Montanus, Sig. E. ij. b.

[2] Montanus, p. 223—228.

[3] Ibid. p. 214—216.

[4] Cypriano de Valera, Dos Tratados, p. 251. Montanus, p. 223. See before, p. 139.

[5] It is entitled *Cornelia Bororquia*, and was printed at Bayonne. The author asserts that it is rather a history than a romance. But Llorente says it is neither the one nor the other, but a tissue of ill-conceived scenes, which outrage both nature and fact; and he complains that this and similar works have contributed to support the cause of the Inquisition, by throwing the air of fiction around its atrocities, and imputing to its agents words and actions which are ridiculous and destitute of verisimilitude. Vol. ii. p. 267.

and had not completed her twenty-first year when she fell into the hands of the Inquisition. Great care had been bestowed on her education; and being able to read the Bible, and expositions of it, in the Latin tongue, she acquired a knowledge of the Scriptures which was possessed by few men, or even clergymen, in her native country. Egidio, whose pupil she was, used to say he always felt himself wiser from an interview with Maria de Bohorques. When brought before the inquisitors she avowed her faith; defended it as the ancient truth, which Luther and his associates had recovered from the rubbish by which it had been hid for ages; and told her judges that it was their duty to embrace it, instead of punishing her and others for maintaining it. She was severely tortured, in consequence of her refusal to answer certain questions calculated to implicate her friends. From deference to the intercession of her relations, or from the desire of making a convert of one so accomplished, the inquisitors, contrary to their usual custom, sent first two Jesuits, and afterwards two Dominicans, to her cell, to persuade her to relinquish her heretical opinions. They returned full of chagrin at their ill success, but of admiration at the dexterity with which she repelled their arguments. On the night before the auto at which she was to suffer, they repeated their visit, in company with two other priests. She received them with great politeness, but at the same time told them very plainly, that they might have saved themselves the trouble which they had taken, for she felt more concern about her salvation than they could possibly feel; she would have renounced her sentiments if she had entertained any doubt of their truth, but was more confirmed in them than she was when first thrown into prison, inasmuch as the popish divines, after many attempts, had opposed nothing to them but what she had anticipated, and to which she was able to return an easy and satisfactory answer. On the morning of the auto-da-fé she made her appearance with cheerful countenance. During the time that the line of the procession was forming, she comforted her female companions, and engaged them to join with her in singing a psalm suitable to the occasion, upon which the gag was put into her mouth. It was taken out after her sentence was read, and she was asked if she would now confess those errors to which she had hitherto adhered with such obstinacy. She replied with a distinct and audible voice, "I neither can nor will recant." When the prisoners arrived at the place of execution, Don Juan Ponce, who began to waver at the sight of the preparations for the fiery trial, admonished her not to be too confident in the new doctrines, but to weigh the arguments of those who attended to give them advice. Dona Maria upbraided him for his irresolution and cowardice; adding that it was not a time for reasoning, but that all of them ought to employ their few remaining moments in meditating on the death of that Redeemer for whom they were about to suffer. Her constancy was yet put to a further trial. After she was bound to the stake, the attending priests, having prevailed on the presiding magistrate to delay the light-

ing of the pile, and professing to feel for her youth and talents, requested her merely to repeat the creed. This she did not refuse, but immediately began to explain some of its articles in the Lutheran sense. She was not permitted to finish her commentary; and the executioner having received orders to strangle her, she was consumed in the fire.[1]

The effigy of the licentiate Zafra, whose providential escape has been mentioned, was burnt at this auto-da-fé.[2] Among the penitents who appeared on the present occasion, one deserves to be mentioned as a specimen of the lenity with which the inquisitors punished a crime which in Spain ought to have been visited with the most exemplary vengeance. The servant of a gentleman in Puerto de Santa Maria having fastened a rope to a crucifix, concealed it, along with a whip, in the bottom of a chest, and going to the Triana, informed the holy fathers that his master was in the habit of scourging the image every day. The crucifix was found in the place and situation described by the informer, and the gentleman was thrown into the secret prisons. Happily for him he recollected a quarrel which he had had with his servant, and succeeded in proving that the accusation had its origin in personal revenge. According to the regulations of the Holy Office the servant ought to have suffered death; but he was merely sentenced to receive four hundred strokes with the whip, and to be confined six years in the galleys. The execution appears to have been confined to the first part of the sentence, which, upon a principle of retaliation worthy of the ingenuity of the Inquisition, was considered as expiatory of the supposed indignity done to the crucifix.[3]

The second grand auto-da-fé in Seville took place on the 22d of December 1560, after it had been delayed in the hopes of the arrival of the monarch. It was on this occasion that the effigies of the deceased doctors Egidius and Constantine, together with that of Juan Perez,[4] who had fled, were produced and burnt. Fourteen persons were delivered to the secular arm, and thirty-four were sentenced to inferior punishments.[5]

Julian Hernandez was in the first class, and the closing scene of his life did not disgrace his former daring and fortitude. When brought out to the court of the Triana on the morning of the auto, he said to his

[1] Montanus, p. 210—213. Geddes, Miscel. Tracts, vol. i. p. 574. Llorente, ii. 268—271.

[2] See before, p. 117. Llorente, ii. 256. Skinner mentions, among those "burned at Sivil in the yeare of our Lord 1559, Juan de Cafra, father to him that escaped out of prison, wherof mention is made, fol. 4, whose picture notwithstanding was burned at the same tyme." If this last is the person referred to in the text, he must have been privately married; for the individual next mentioned in Skinner's list, is "Francisca Lopez de Texeda de Mançanilla, wyfe unto the same partie that so escaped." Register appended to the translation of Montanus, sig. D d. iij. b. The same list contains the following names: "Medel de Espinosa, an embroderer, condemned onely for receyving into his house certayne of Luther's workes that were brought out of Germany. Luys de Abrego, a man that was wont to get his living by writing of missals and such other churchbookes."

[3] Llorente, ii. 271.

[4] See before, p. 95.

[5] According to the Narrative of John Frampton, thirty persons were burnt, and forty condemned to other punishments, on this occasion; but being himself one of the prisoners, he might easily mistake in computing their numbers. Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 244.

fellow-prisoners, "Courage, comrades! This is the hour in which we must show ourselves valiant soldiers of Jesus Christ. Let us now bear faithful testimony to his truth before men, and within a few hours we shall receive the testimony of his approbation before angels, and triumph with him in heaven." He was silenced by the gag, but continued to encourage his companions by his gestures, during the whole of the spectacle. On arriving at the stake he knelt down and kissed the stone on which it was erected; then rising, he thrust his naked head once and again among the fagots, in token of his welcoming that death which was so dreadful to others. Being bound to the stake, he composed himself to prayer, when Doctor Fernando Rodriguez, one of the attending priests, interpreting his attitude as a mark of abated courage, prevailed with the judge to remove the gag from his mouth. Having delivered a succinct confession of his belief, Julian began to accuse Rodriguez, with whom he had been formerly acquainted, of hypocrisy in concealing his real sentiments through fear of man. The galled priest exclaimed, "Shall Spain, the conqueror and mistress of nations, have her peace disturbed by a dwarf? Executioner, do your office." The pile was instantly kindled; and the guards, envying the unshaken firmness of the martyr, terminated his sufferings by plunging their lances into his body.[1]

No fewer than eight females, of irreproachable character, and some of them distinguished by their rank and education, suffered the most cruel of deaths at this auto-da-fé. Among these was Maria Gomez, who, having recovered from the mental disorder by which she was overtaken, had been received back into the Protestant fellowship, and fell into the hands of the Inquisition.[2] She appeared on the scaffold along with her three daughters and a sister. After the reading of the sentence which doomed them to the flames, one of the young women went up to her aunt, from whom she had imbibed the Protestant doctrine, and on her knees thanked her for all the religious instructions she had received from her, implored her forgiveness for any offence she might have given her, and begged her dying blessing. Raising her up, and assuring her that she had never given her a moment's uneasiness, the old woman proceeded to encourage her dutiful niece, by reminding her of that support which their divine Redeemer had promised them in the hour of trial, and of those joys which awaited them at the termination of their momentary sufferings. The five friends then took leave of one another with tender embraces and words of mutual comfort. The interview between these devoted females was beheld by the members of the Holy Tribunal with a rigid composure of countenance, undisturbed even by a glance of displeasure; and so completely had superstition and habit subdued the strongest emotions of the human breast, that not a single

[1] Montanus, p. 220—222. Histoire des Martyrs, f. 497, b. Geddes, Miscel. Tracts, vol. i. p. 570. Llorente, ii. 282. See before, p. 115.

[2] See before, pp. 103, 130.

expression of sympathy escaped from the multitude at witnessing a scene which, in other circumstances, would have harrowed up the souls of the spectators, and driven them into mutiny.[1]

Three foreigners, two of whom were Englishmen, perished in this auto. Nicolas Burton, a merchant of London, having visited Spain with a vessel laden with goods, fell into the hands of the Inquisition, and refusing to abjure the Protestant faith, was burnt alive.[2] The remarks of Llorente on this transaction are extremely just. "Let it be granted, if you will have it so, that Burton was guilty of an imprudence, by posting up his religious sentiments at San Lucar de Barrameda, and at Seville, in contempt of the faith of the Spaniards; it is no less true that both charity and justice required that, in the case of a stranger who had not his fixed abode in Spain, they should have contented themselves with warning him to abstain from all marks of disrespect to the religion and laws of the country, and threatening him with punishment if he repeated the offence. The Holy Office had nothing to do with his private sentiments, having been established, not for strangers, but solely for the people of Spain."[3] That the charge against Burton was a mere pretext, if not a fabrication, is evident from the fact that William Burke, a mariner of Southampton, and a Frenchman of Bayonne, named Fabianne, who had come to Spain in the course of trade, were burnt at the same stake with him, although not accused of any insult on the religion of the country.[4]

Part of the goods in Burton's ship which was confiscated by the inquisitors belonged to a merchant in London, who sent John Frampton of Bristol to Seville, with a power of attorney, to reclaim his property. The Holy Office had recourse to every obstacle in opposing his claim, and, after fruitless labour during four months, he found it necessary to repair to England to obtain ampler powers. Upon his landing the second time in Spain, he was seized by two familiars, and conveyed in chains to Seville, where he was thrown into the secret prisons of the Triana. The only pretext for his apprehension was, that a book of Cato in English was found in his portmanteau. Being unable to substantiate a charge on this ground, the inquisitors interrogated him on his religious opinions, and insisted that he should clear himself of the suspicion of heresy by repeating the *Ave Maria*. In doing this, he omitted the words, "Mother of God, pray for us;" upon which he was put to the torture. After enduring three shocks of the pulley, and while he "lay flat on the ground, half dead and half alive," he agreed to confess whatever his tormentors chose to dictate. In consequence of this, he was found violently suspected of Lutheranism, and the property which he had come to recover was confiscated. He appeared among the peni-

[1] Montannus, pp. 85, 86. Llorente ii. 185—187.
[2] Montanus, p. 175. Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 238.
[3] Llorente, ii. 283, 284.
[4] Strype's Annals, i. 238. Llorente, ii. 285.

tents at the auto at which Burton suffered, and after being kept in prison for more than two years was set at liberty.[1]

Among those who appeared as penitents were several ladies of family and monks of different orders. Others were severely punished on the most trivial grounds. Diego de Virves, a member of the municipality of Seville, was fined in a hundred ducats for having said, on occasion of the preparations for Maunday-Thursday, "Would it not be more acceptable to God to expend the money lavished on this ceremony in relieving poor families?" Bartolomé Fuentes having received an injury from a certain priest, exclaimed, "I cannot believe that God will descend from heaven into the hands of such a worthless person;" for which offence he appeared on the scaffold with a gag in his mouth. Two young students were punished for "Lutheran acts," in having copied into their album some anonymous verses, which contained either a eulogium or a satire on Luther, according to the manner in which they were read.[2]

Gaspar de Benavides, alcayde or head jailer of the inquisition at Seville, was convicted of a course of malversation in his office. There was no species of oppression which this miscreant had not committed in his treatment of the prisoners, before a riot excited by his insufferable cruelties led to a discovery of his guilt. He was merely declared "to have failed in zeal and attention to his charge," and condemned to lose his situation, to appear in the auto with a torch in his hand, and be banished from Seville. Compare this sentence with the punishments inflicted on those who were the means of bringing his knavery to light. For conspiring against him, and inflicting a wound on one of his assistants which proved mortal, Melchior del Salto was burnt alive. A mulatto of fourteen years of age, named Luis, suspected of being an accomplice in the riot, received two hundred lashes, and was condemned to hard labour in the galleys for life; while Maria Gonzalez and Pedro Herrera, servants to the alcayde, were sentenced to the same number of lashes, and confinement in the galleys for ten years, merely because they had treated the prisoners with kindness, and permitted such of them as were relations to see one another occasionally for a few minutes.[3]

The treatment of one individual, who was pronounced innocent in

[1] Frampton's Narrative, in Strype's Annals, i. 239—245. This narrative agrees substantially with the accounts given by Montanus, p. 175—179, and by Llorente, ii. 287—289.

[2] Montanus, p. 192—196. Llorente, ii. 289—291.

[3] Montanus, p. 108—114. Llorente, ii. 289, 291—293. Herrera, at the earnest request of a mother and her daughter, who were confined in separate cells, had humanely permitted them to converse together for half an hour. On their being summoned soon after to the torture-room, he became alarmed lest they should mention this indulgence, and going to the inquisitors confessed what he had done. He was instantly ordered into close confinement, which, together with the grief which he conceived, brought on mental derangement. Having recovered, he appeared in the auto with a rope about his neck. Being led out next day to be publicly whipped, he was seized with a fit of insanity, and throwing himself from the ass on which he was borne, wrested a sword from the attending alguazil, and would have killed him, had not the crowd interposed. For this offence, four years were added to his confinement in the galleys. "The holy fathers," says the historian who relates these facts, "will not permit people even to be insane with impunity." Montanus, p. 111.

this auto-da-fé, affords more damning evidence against the inquisitors than that of any whom they devoted quick to the flames. Dona Juana de Bohorques was a daughter of Don Pedro Garcia de Xeres y Bohorques, and the wife of Don Francisco de Vargas, Baron of Higuera. She had been apprehended in consequence of a confession extorted by the rack from her sister Maria de Bohorques, who owned that she had conversed with her on the Lutheran tenets without exciting any marks of disapprobation. Being six months gone in pregnancy, Dona Juana was permitted to occupy one of the public prisons until the time of her delivery ; but eight days after that event the child was taken from her, and she was thrust into a secret cell. A young female, who was afterwards brought to the stake as a Lutheran, was confined along with her, and did everything in her power to promote her recovery. Dona Juana had soon an opportunity of repaying the kind attentions of her fellow-prisoner, who, having been called before the inquisitors, was brought back into her dungeon faint and mangled. Scarcely had the latter acquired sufficient strength to rise from her bed of flags, when Dona Juana was conducted in her turn to the place of torture. Refusing to confess, she was put into the engine *del burro*, which was applied with such violence that the cords penetrated to the bone of her arms and legs ; and some of the internal vessels having burst, the blood flowed in streams from her mouth and nostrils. She was conveyed to her cell in a state of insensibility, and expired in the course of a few days. The inquisitors would fain have concealed the cause of her death, but it was impossible ; and they thought to expiate the crime of this execrable murder, in the eyes of men at least, by pronouncing Juana de Bohorques innocent on the day of the auto-da-fé, vindicating her reputation, and restoring her property to her heirs. "Under what an overwhelming responsibility," exclaims one of their countrymen, "must these cannibals appear one day before the tribunal of the Deity!" But may we not hesitate in deciding the question, whose was the greatest responsibility, that of the cannibals, or that of those who permitted them thus to gorge themselves with human blood? Surely the spirit of chivalry had fled from the breasts of the Spanish nobility, else they never would have suffered their wives and daughters to be abused in this manner by an ignoble junto of priests and friars, supported by a monarch equally base and unprincipled.[1]

Having discharged the painful task of describing the four great autos in Valladolid and Seville, it may be proper, before proceeding with the narrative of the extermination of the Protestants, to advert to the severe measures adopted against certain dignified ecclesiastics who fell under the suspicion of favouring heresy.

We have had occasion repeatedly to mention the name, and allude to the trial of Bartolomé de Carranza y Miranda, Archbishop of Toledo.

[1] Montanus, p. 181—184. Cypriano de Valera, Dos Tratados, p. 250. Llorente, ii. 293—295.

After sitting in the Council of Trent, and accompanying Philip II. to England, where he took an active part in the examination of the Protestants who were led to the stake, this learned man was rewarded in 1558 with the primacy; but he had not been many months in his diocese when he was denounced to the Inquisition and thrown into prison at Valladolid. Some historians have ascribed his prosecution entirely to the envy and personal hatred of his brethren, particularly Melchior Cano, Bishop of the Canaries, and the inquisitor-general Valdes.[1] It is unquestionable that the proceedings were exasperated by such base motives; but there were grounds of jealousy, distinct from these, which operated against the primate. Several of the leading persons among the Spanish Protestants had received their education under Carranza, who continued to maintain a friendly correspondence with them, and, though he signified his disapprobation of their sentiments in private, did not give information against them to the Holy Office. His theological ideas were more enlarged than those of his brethren, and he appears to have agreed with the reformers on justification and several collateral points of doctrine. In these respects his mode of thinking resembled that of Marc-Antonio Flaminio, Cardinals Pole and Morone, and other learned Italians.[2] Indeed his intimacy with these distinguished individuals formed part of the evidence adduced against him.[3] His Catechism, which was made the primary article of charge against him, besides its presumed leaning on some points to Lutheranism, was offensive to the Inquisition, because it was published in the vulgar tongue, and inculcated the doctrines of the Bible more than the traditions of the church. At the end of seven years the cause was transferred to Rome, whither the primate was conveyed; and after various intrigues and delays, Pope Gregory XIII. pronounced a definitive sentence on the 14th of April 1576, finding Carranza violently suspected of heresy, confirming the prohibition of his Catechism, and ordaining him to abjure sixteen Lutheran propositions, and to be suspended for five years from the exercise of his archiepiscopal functions. The sentence had scarcely passed when the primate sickened and died, having been eighteen years under process and in a state of confinement.[4]

The prosecution of the primate gave rise to others. Eight bishops, the most of whom had assisted at the Council of Trent, and twenty-five doctors of theology, including the men of greatest learning in Spain, were denounced to the Holy Office; and few of them escaped without making some humiliating acknowledgment or retractation.[5] Mancio de Corpus Christi, Professor of Theology at Alcala, had given a favourable opinion of the Catechism of Carranza, to which he had procured the subscriptions of the divines of his university; but hearing that a pro-

[1] Llorente, iii. 195.
[2] History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy, p. 103—109.
[3] Llorente, iii. 246. [4] Ibid. tom. iii. chap. xxxii. Bayle, Dict., art. Carranza.
[5] Llorente, ii. 427—480; iii. 62—90.

secution was commenced against him, he saved himself from being thrown into the secret prisons by transmitting to the inquisitors another opinion, in which he condemned three hundred and thirty-one propositions in the works of that prelate, whom he had a little before pronounced most orthodox.[1] Luis de la Cruz, a favourite disciple of Carranza, was thrown into the secret prisons, in consequence of certain papers of his master being found in his possession, and the intercourse which he had held with Doctor Cazalla and other reformers. Confinement and anxiety produced a determination of blood to the head, accompanied with fits of delirium, which rendered it necessary, for the preservation of his life, to remove him to the episcopal prison. Notwithstanding this and the failure of the proof brought against him, La Cruz was kept in confinement for five years, in the hopes that he would purchase his liberty by blasting the reputation and betraying the life of his patron.[2] Before Carranza was formally accused, the inquisitors had extracted a number of propositions from his Catechism, and without naming the author, submitted them to the judgment of Juan de Pegna, professor at Salamanca, who pronounced them all Catholic, or at least susceptible of a good sense. After the primate was laid under arrest, de Pegna became alarmed, and sent an apology to the Holy Office, in which he acknowledged himself guilty of concealing the favourable opinion which Carranza had entertained of Don Carlos de Seso. This did not pacify the holy fathers, who condemned him to undergo different penances for his faults, among which they reckoned the following: that he did not censure the proposition, "that we cannot say that a person falls from a state of grace by committing a mortal sin;" and that he had given it as his private opinion, "that even although the primate was a heretic, the Holy Office should wink at the fact, lest the Lutherans of Germany should canonise him as a martyr, as they had done others who had been punished."[3]

In the mean time the persecution against the Lutherans in Valladolid and Seville had not relaxed. Every means was used to excite the popular odium against them. The abominable calumnies propagated by the pagans of Rome against the primitive Christians were revived; and it was believed by the credulous vulgar, that the Protestants, in their nightly assemblies, extinguished the candles, and abandoned themselves to the grossest vices.[4] On the Feast of St Matthew, in the year 1561, a destructive fire broke out at Valladolid, which consumed upwards of four hundred houses, including some of the richest manufactories and stores in the city. This was ascribed to a conspiracy of the Lutherans; and every year afterwards, on the day of St Matthew, the inhabitants observed a solemn procession, accompanied with prayers to our Lord, through the intervention of his holy apostle, to preserve them from this plague and calamity.[5] In the course of the same year, the pope sent to

[1] Llorente, ii. 442. [2] Ibid. ii. 443—444. [3] Ibid. ii. 463—464.
[4] Cypriano de Valera, Dos Tratados, 252. [5] Illescas, Hist. Pontif. tom. ii. f. 451, b. 452, a.

Spain a bull, authorising a jubilee, with plenary indulgences. Among other things, it gave authority to confessors to absolve those who had involved themselves in the Lutheran heresy, upon their professing sorrow for their errors. Though the object of the court of Rome was to amass money, this measure tended to mitigate the persecution which had raged for some years; but the inquisitors, determined that their prey should not escape them, prohibited the bull from being published within the kingdom.[1]

The four auto-da-fés which we have already described, although the most celebrated, were not the only spectacles at which the Protestants suffered in Valladolid and Seville. It required many years to empty their prisons, from which adherents to the reformed faith continued, at short intervals, to be brought out to the scaffold and the stake. On the 10th of July 1563, a public auto was celebrated in Seville, at which six persons were committed to the flames as Lutherans. Domingo de Guzman[2] appeared among the penitents on this occasion. The hope of an archbishopric had been held out to induce him to recant; and his brother, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, exerted himself to procure his release, upon undergoing such a slight penance as would not interfere with his future prospects. But the inquisitors were resolved to prevent the advancement of one who had embraced the reformed tenets; and after causing his books, which exceeded a thousand volumes, to be burnt before his eyes, they condemned him to perpetual imprisonment.[3]

An occurrence which took place at Seville in 1564 diverted for a little the attention of the public, and even of the inquisitors, from the adherents of the reformed doctrine. In consequence of complaints that the confessional was abused to lewd purposes, edicts were repeatedly procured from Rome to correct the evil. Several scandalous discoveries having been made by private investigation, and the public clamour increasing, the inquisition of Seville came to a resolution, of which they had reason to repent, that an edict of denunciation should be published in all the churches of the province, requiring, under a severe penalty, those who had been solicited by priests in the confessional to criminal intercourse, or who knew of this having been done, to give information to the Holy Office within thirty days. In consequence of this intimation, such numbers flocked to the Triana, that the inquisitors were forced once and again to prolong the period of denunciation, until it extended to a hundred and twenty days. Among the informers were women of illustrious birth and excellent character, who repaired to the inquisitors with their veils, and under disguise, for fear of being met and recognised by their husbands. The priests were thrown into the greatest alarm;[4] the peace of families was broken; and the whole city

[1] Montanus, p. 188—189.

[2] See before, pp. 104, 126.

[3] Register appended to the translation of Montanus, sig. D d. iiij. b. E. i. a.

[4] "On the other side it was a joly sport to see the monkes and friers and priestes go up and downe hanging downe theyr heads, all in dumpe and a melancholy, by meanes of theyr guilty consciences, quaking and trembling, and looking every hower when some of the familiars should take them by the sleve, and call them *coram* for these matters.

rang with scandal. At last the Council of the Supreme, perceiving the odium which it brought on the church, and its tendency to prejudice the people against auricular confession, interposed their authority, by quashing the investigation, and prohibiting the edict of denunciation from being repeated.[1]

Valladolid and Seville were not the only cities whose prisons were crowded with friends to the reformed doctrine. From 1560 to 1570, one public auto-da-fé at least was celebrated annually in all the twelve cities in which provincial tribunals of the Inquisition were then established; and, at each of these, adherents to the new faith made their appearance. On the 8th of September 1560, the inquisition of Murcia solemnised an auto, at which five persons were sentenced to different punishments for embracing Lutheranism; and three years after, eleven appeared as penitents in that city on the same charge.[2] It was in the last-mentioned auto that a son of the Emperor of Morocco, who had submitted to baptism in his youth, was brought on the scaffold for relapsing to Mahometanism, and was condemned to confinement for three years, and to banishment from the kingdoms of Valencia, Aragon, Murcia, and Granada. On the 25th of February 1560, the Inquisition of Toledo prepared a grand auto-da-fé for the entertainment of their young Queen, Elizabeth de Valois, the daughter of Henry II. of France. To render it the more solemn, a general assembly of the Cortes of the kingdom was held there at the same time, to take the oath of fidelity to Don Carlos, the heir-apparent to the throne. Several Lutherans appeared among those who were condemned to the flames and to other punishments. On this occasion the Duke of Brunswick delivered up one of his retinue to the flames, to testify his hatred of the reformed cause, and to strike terror into the minds of the Germans, Flemings, and French, who were present, and were greatly suspected of heresy.[3] At the same place, in the subsequent year, four priests, Spanish and French, were burnt alive for Lutheranism, and nineteen persons of the same persuasion were reconciled. Among the latter was one of the royal pages, whose release was granted by Philip and Valdes, at the intercession of the queen. In 1565 the same inquisition celebrated another auto, at which a number of Protestants were condemned to the

In so much that a number feared lest as great a plague were come among them as the persecution that was so hote about that time against the Lutherans." Skinner's translation of Montanus, sig. R. iij.

[1] Montanus, p. 184—188. Llorente does not deny the facts stated by the Protestant historian, but contents himself with saying that he has mistaken the year 1563 for 1564, and that "the denunciations were much fewer than he pretends." Tom. iii. p. 29. The documents which enabled the ex-secretary of the Inquisition to correct the exaggeration, must have put it in his power to state the exact number. There is reason in what he says on this subject, that while in some instances the priests were guilty, in others they might be falsely accused from malice or from mistake on the part of the penitents; but did it not occur to him, that, on either supposition, auricular confession and the celibacy of the clergy are calculated to have the most pernicious influence on public morals?

[2] Llorente, ii. 338, 340, 344.

[3] Cabrera, Cronica de Don Filipe Segundo, Rey de Espana. p. 248. Madrid, 1619, folio. The house of Brunswick-Lunenberg was at that time divided into three branches. The person referred to in the text, Henry X., Duke of Brunswick, was a determined foe to the Reformation. On the other hand, Ernest, Duke of Luneburg-Zell, whose descendants afterwards became electors of Hanover and kings of England, was a zealous reformer.

fire and to penances, under the several designations of Lutherans, Faithful, and Huguenaos or Huguenots. So eager was the metropolitan city of Spain to signalise its zeal against heresy, that in 1571, not to mention other examples, an auto was held in it, at which two persons were burnt alive, and one in effigy, while no fewer than thirty-one were sentenced to different punishments as Lutherans. One of the two who perished in the flames was Doctor Sigismond Archel, a native of Cagliari in Sardinia. He had been arrested at Madrid in 1562, and after suffering for many years in the prisons of Toledo, had contrived to make his escape; but his portrait having been sent to the principal passes of the frontier, he was seized before he got out of the kingdom, and delivered again into the hands of his judges. When the depositions of the witnesses were communicated to him, Sigismond acknowledged all that was laid to his charge, but pleaded that, so far from being a heretic, he was a better catholic than the Papists; in proof of which he read, to the great mortification of the court, a long apology which he had composed in prison. He derided the ignorance of the priests who were sent to convert him, in consequence of which he was condemned to wear the gag on the scaffold and at the stake; and the guards, envying him the glory of a protracted martyrdom, pierced his body with their lances, while the executioners were kindling the pile, so that he perished at the same time by fire and sword.[1] Though the greater part of the prisoners exhibited in the auto-da-fés of Granada and Valencia were Jews or Mahometans, yet Protestants suffered along with them from time to time; among whom our attention is particularly fixed upon Don Miguel de Vera y Santangel, a Carthusian monk of Portaceli, as belonging to the convent in which the first translation of the Bible into the Spanish language was composed.[2]

None of the provincial tribunals was so much occupied in suppressing the Reformation as those of Logrono, Saragossa, and Barcelona. In the numerous autos celebrated in these cities, a great part of those who appeared on the scaffolds were Protestants. But the chief employment of the inquisitors in the eastern provinces consisted in searching for and seizing heretical books, which were introduced from the frontiers of France or by sea. In 1568 the Council of the Supreme addressed letters to them, communicating alarming information received from England and France. Don Diego de Guzman, the Spanish ambassador at London, had written that the English were boasting of the converts which their doctrine was making in Spain, and particularly in Navarre. At the same time advertisement was given by the ambassador at Vienne, that the Calvinists of France were felicitating themselves on the signing of the treaty of peace between the French and Spanish monarchs, and entertained hopes that their religion would make as great progress in Spain as it had done in Flanders, England, and other countries, because the Spaniards, who had already embraced it secretly,

[1] Llorente, ii. 384, 386, 389. [2] Ibid. ii. 401, 411. See before, p. 92.

would now have an easy communication through Aragon with the Protestants of Béarn. From Castres and from Paris the inquisitor-general had received certain information that large quantities of books, in the Castilian tongue, were destined for Spain. These were in some instances put into casks of Champagne and Burgundy wine, with such address that they passed through the hands of the custom-house officers without detection. In this way many copies of the Spanish Bible, published by Cassiodoro de Reyna at Basle in 1569, made their way into Spain, notwithstanding the severest denunciations of the Holy Office, and the utmost vigilance of the familiars.[1]

But the Inquisition was not satisfied with preventing heretical men and books from coming into Spain; it exerted itself with equal zeal in preventing orthodox horses from being exported out of the kingdom. Incredible or ludicrous as this may appear to the reader, nothing can be more unquestionable than the fact, and nothing demonstrates more decidedly the unprincipled character of the inquisitors, as well as of those who had recourse to its agency to promote their political schemes. As early as the fourteenth century it had been declared illegal to transport horses from Spain to France. This prohibition originated entirely in views of political economy, and it was the business of the officers of the customs to prevent the contraband trade. But on occasion of the wars which arose between the Papists and Huguenots of France, and the increase of the latter on the Spanish borders, it occurred to Philip, as an excellent expedient for putting down the prohibited commerce, to commit the task to the Inquisition, whose services would be more effective than those of a hundred thousand frontier guards. With this view he procured a bull from the pope, which, with a special reference to the Huguenots of France, and the inhabitants of Béarn in particular, declared all to be suspected of heresy who should furnish arms, munitions, or other instruments of war to heretics. In consequence of this, the Council of the Supreme in 1569 added to the annual edict of denunciation a clause obliging all, under the pain of excommunication, to inform against any who had bought or transported horses for the use of the French Protestants; which was afterwards extended to all who sent them across the Pyrenees. For this offence numbers were fined, whipped, and condemned to the galleys, by the inquisitorial tribunals on the frontiers. Always bent on extending their jurisdiction, the inquisitors sought to bring under their cognisance all questions respecting the contraband trade in saltpetre, sulphur, and powder.[2] Philip, however, diverted their attention from this encroachment on the civil administration, by engaging them in the pursuit of royal game. Ferdinand the Catholic, availing himself of favourable circumstances, had added the greater part of the kingdom of Navarre to his dominions; and Charles V., in a fit of devotion, had, by his testament, enjoined his son to examine the claim which the Spanish monarchy had to these

[1] Llorente, i, 477; ii. 392—394, 407. [2] Ibid. ii. 394—400.

territories, and, if it should be found invalid, to restore them to the original proprietor.[1] So far from doing this act of justice, Philip intended to annex the whole of that kingdom to his crown. At his instigation Pope Pius IV., in 1563, issued a bull, excommunicating Jeanne d'Albret, the hereditary Queen of Navarre, and offering her dominions to the first Catholic prince who should undertake to clear them of heresy. With characteristic duplicity Philip professed to the French court his disapprobation of the step taken by his holiness, while, in consort with the Inquisitor-general Espinosa and the house of Guise, he was concerting measures to seize the person of the Queen of Navarre, and of her son, afterwards Henry IV. of France, with the view of carrying them by force into Spain, and delivering them to the Inquisition. This disgraceful conspiracy, formed in 1565, was defeated only by the sudden illness of the officer to whom its execution had been intrusted.[2]

The public is not unacquainted with the cruelties perpetrated by the Inquisition of Goa within the settlements of the Portuguese in the East Indies.[3] Similar atrocities were committed by the Spaniards in the New World, in which the tribunal of the Inquisition was erected at Mexico, Lima, and Carthagena. At Mexico, in the year 1574, an Englishman and a Frenchman were burnt alive as impenitent Lutherans, while others were subjected to penances for embracing the opinions of Luther and Calvin.[4] In the close of the seventeenth century, Louis Ramé, a French Protestant, was detained as a prisoner for four years by the inquisitors of Mexico; and several natives of England and its colonies were forced to abjure their religion, and submit to rebaptisation.[5] A splendid auto-da-fé was celebrated at the same place in 1659, at which William Lamport, an Irishman, was condemned to the flames, "for being infected with the errors of Luther, Calvin, Pelagius, Wickliffe, and John Huss; in a word, because he was guilty of all imaginable heresies." He was the author of two writings, in one of which, to use the language of his indictment, "things were said against the Holy Office, its erection, style, mode of process, &c., in such a manner, that in the whole of it not a word was to be found that was not deserving of reprehension, not only as being injurious, but also insulting to our holy Catholic faith." Of the other writing the procurator-fiscal says, "that it contained detestable bitterness of language, and contumelies so filled with poison, as to manifest the heretical spirit of the author, and his bitter hatred against the Holy Office." On the day of execution, being desirous of testifying the readiness with which he met death, he was no sooner seated at the foot of the stake, and his neck placed in the ring, than he let himself

[1] Sandoval, Vida del Emperador Don Carlos V., tom. ii. p. 876.

[2] Recueil des choses mémorables avenues en France, depuis l'an 1547, jusques à 1597, p. 292. Mémoires Secrets de M. de Villeroi. Llorente, chap. xxvii. art. 4.

[3] Dellon's Account of the Inquisition at Goa. Lond. 1815. Buchanan's Christian Researches in Asia, p. 140—165.

[4] Llorente, ii. 199.

[5] Relation de Mons. Louis Ramé: Baker's History of the Inquisition, p. 368—394.

fall and broke his neck. According to the official report of the auto-da-fé, Lamport trusted "that the devil, his familiar, would relieve him," and as he walked through the streets to the place of execution, continued looking up to the clouds to see if the superior power he expected was coming; but finding all his hopes vain, he strangled himself.[1]

The year 1570 may be fixed upon as the period of the suppression of the reformed religion in Spain. After that date, Protestants were still discovered at intervals by the Inquisition, and brought out in the auto-da-fés; but they were "as the gleaning grapes when the vintage is done." Several of these were foreigners, and especially Englishmen. The punishment of Burton and others produced remonstrances from foreign powers, which were long disregarded by the Spanish government. All that Mann, the English ambassador at the court of Madrid, could obtain, was a personal protection on the head of religion, while those of his retinue were compelled to go to mass;[2] and having caused the English service to be performed in his house, he was for some time excluded from the court, and obliged to quit Madrid. The circumstances in which Elizabeth was then placed, obliged her to act cautiously; but she wrote to Mann, desiring him to remonstrate with his Catholic Majesty against treatment so dishonourable to her crown, and so opposite to that which the Spanish ambassador received at London; and intimating that she would recall him, unless the privilege of private worship, according to the rites of their country, were granted to his servants.[3] At a subsequent period, the injury done to commerce by persecution obliged the government to issue orders that strangers visiting Spain for the purpose of trade should not be molested on account of their religion. The inquisitors, however, made no scruple of transgressing the ordinances of the court on this point, by proceeding from time to time against foreigners, under the pretext that they propagated heresy by books or conversation. Among many others, William Lithgow, the well-known traveller, was in 1620 imprisoned and put to the torture at Malaga;[4] and in 1714 Isaac Martin was subjected to the same treatment at Granada.[5]

Of fifty-seven persons, whose sentences were read at an auto held in Cuença in 1654, one only was charged with Lutheranism.[6] In 1680, an auto-da-fé was celebrated at Madrid, in honour of the marriage of the Spanish monarch, Don Carlos II., to Marie-Louise de Bourbon, the niece of Louis XIV. of France; and as a proof of the taste of the nation, a minute account of the whole procedure on that occasion was published to the world, with the approbation of all the authorities, civil and ecclesiastical. Among a hundred and eighteen victims produced on the

[1] Auto General de la Fe celebrado en Mexico, en 1659: Puigblanch, tom. i. pp. 85—87, 190, 192.

[2] Epistola Jo. Manni, Madr. 4 Nov. 1566: MSS. Bibl. Corpus Christi, No. cxiv. 252.

[3] Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 543—544.

[4] Lithgow's Travels, part x.

[5] The Narrative of Martin's Sufferings was published in English, and translated into French, under the title of "Le Procès et les Souffrances de Mons. Isaac Martin. Londres, 1723."

[6] Llorente, iii. 470.

scaffold, we meet with the name of only one Protestant, whose effigy and bones were given to the flames. This was Marcos de Segura, a native of Villa de Ubrique, in Granada, whose sentence bears that he had formerly been "reconciled" by the Inquisition of Llerena, as a heretic who denied purgatory, but who, having relapsed into this and other errors, was again thrown into prison, where he died in a state of impenitence and contumacy.[1]

Although upwards of sixteen hundred victims were burnt alive in the course of the eighteenth century, we do not perceive that any of them were Protestants.[2] But the reformed faith can number among its confessors a Spaniard who suffered in the nineteenth century. Don Miguel Juan Antonio Solano, a native of Verdun in Aragon, was Vicar of Esco, in the diocese of Jaca. He was educated according to the Aristotelian system of philosophy and scholastic divinity; but the natural strength of his mind enabled him to throw off his early prejudices, and he made great proficiency in mathematics and mechanics. His benevolence led him to employ his inventive powers for the benefit of his parishioners, by improving their implements of husbandry, and fertilising their soil. A long and severe illness, which made him a cripple for life, withdrew the good Vicar of Esco from active pursuits, and induced him to apply himself to theological studies more closely than he had hitherto done. His small library happened to contain a Bible; and by perusing this with impartiality and attention, he gradually formed for himself a system of doctrine, which agreed in the main with the leading doctrines of the Protestant churches. The candid and honourable mind of Solano would not permit him either to conceal his sentiments, or to disseminate them covertly among his people. Having drawn up a statement of his new views, he laid it before the bishop of the diocese for his judgment, and receiving no answer from him, submitted it to the theological faculty in the university of Saragossa. The consequence was, that he was seized and thrown into the prison of the holy tribunal at Saragossa, which, in the infirm state of his health, was the same as sending him to the grave. He contrived, however, by the assistance of some kind friends, to make his escape, and to reach Oleron, the nearest French town; but after seriously deliberating on the course which he should pursue, he came to the resolution of asserting the truth in the very face of death, and actually returned of his own accord to the inquisitorial prison. On appearing before the tribunal, he acknowledged the opinions

[1] Joseph del Olmo, Relacion Historica del Auto General de Fe, que se celebró en Madrid este ano de 1680, p. 248.

[2] The last person who was committed to the flames was a *beata*, burnt alive at Seville, on the 7th of November 1781. Llorente, iv. 270. "I myself," says Mr Blanco White, "saw the pile on which the last victim was sacrificed to human infallibility. It was an unhappy woman, whom the Inquisition of Seville committed to the flames, under the charge of heresy, about forty years ago. She perished on a spot where thousands had met the same fate. I lament from my heart, that the structure which supported their melting limbs was destroyed during the late convulsions. It should have been preserved with the *infallible* and *immutable* canon of the Council of Trent over it, for the detestation of future ages." Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism, p. 122—123.

laid to his charge, but pleaded in his defence, that after long meditation, with the most sincere desire to discover the truth, and without any other help than the Bible, he had come to these conclusions. He avowed his conviction, that all saving truth was contained in the Holy Scriptures; that whatever the Church of Rome had decreed to the contrary, by departing from the proper and literal sense of the sacred text, was false; that the idea of a purgatory and *limbus patrum* was a mere human invention; that it was a sin to receive money for saying mass; that tithes were fraudulently introduced into the Christian church by the priests; that the exaction of them was as dishonourable on their part as it was impolitic and injurious to the cultivators of the soil; and that the ministers of religion should be paid by the State for their labours, in the same manner as the judges were. The tribunal, after going through the ordinary forms, decided that Solano should be delivered over to the secular arm. The inquisitor-general at that time was Arce, Archbishop of Saragossa, the intimate friend of the Prince of Peace, and suspected of secret infidelity. Averse to the idea of an execution by fire during his administration, he prevailed on the Council of the Supreme to order a fresh examination of the witnesses. This was carried into execution, and the inquisitors renewed their former sentence. Arce next ordered an inquiry into the mental sanity of the prisoner. A physician was found to give an opinion favourable to the known wishes of the grand inquisitor; but the sole ground on which it rested was, that the prisoner had vented opinions different from those of his brethren. The only thing that remained was, to endeavour to persuade Solano to retract those opinions which had been condemned by so many popes and general councils. But this attempt was altogether fruitless. To all the arguments drawn from such topics, he replied, that money was the god worshipped at Rome, and that, in all the councils which had been held of late, the papal influence had decided theological questions, and rendered useless the good intentions of some respectable men. In the mean time, his confinement brought on a fever, during which the inquisitors redoubled their efforts for his conversion. He expressed himself thankful for their attention, but told them that he could not retract his sentiments without offending God and betraying the truth. On the twentieth day of his sickness, the physician informed him of his danger, and exhorted him to avail himself of the few moments which remained. "I am in the hands of God," said Solano, "and have nothing more to do." Thus died, in 1805, the Vicar of Esco. He was refused ecclesiastical sepulture, and his body was privately interred within the enclosure of the Inquisition, near the back gate, towards the Ebro. His death was reported to the Council of the Supreme, who stopped further proceedings, to avoid the necessity of burning him in effigy.[1]

[1] Llorente, iv. 127—133. Blanco White's Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism, p. 239—242.

Such are the details of the unsuccessful, but interesting, attempt to reform religion in Spain during the sixteenth century. Melancholy as the results were, they present nothing which reflects discredit on the cause, or on those by whom it was espoused. It did not miscarry through the imprudence or the infidelity of its leading friends. On the contrary, we have met with examples of the power of religion, of enlightened and pure love to truth, and of invincible fortitude, combined with meekness, scarcely inferior to any which are to be found in the annals of Christianity. To fall by such weapons as we have described, can be disgraceful to no cause. The fate of the Reformation in Spain, as well as in Italy, teaches us not to form hasty and rash conclusions respecting a course of proceedings on which Providence, for inscrutable reasons, may sometimes be pleased to frown.[1] The common maxim, that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church," was remarkably verified in the primitive ages of Christianity; but we must distinguish what is effected by the special interposition and extraordinary blessing of Heaven, from what will happen according to the ordinary course of events. In the nature of things, it cannot but operate as a great, and with multitudes as an insuperable, obstacle to the reception of the truth, that, in following the dictates of their conscience, they must expose themselves to every species of worldly evil; and persecution may be carried to such a pitch as will, without a miracle, crush the best of causes; for, though it cannot eradicate the truth from the minds of those by whom it has been cordially embraced, it may cut off all the ordinary means of communication by which it is propagated. Accordingly, history shows that true religion has been

[1] The following words of a writer, whose knowledge of facts was not equal to his strong natural sense, express an opinion which is now not uncommon: "I believe it will be found, that when Christians have resorted to the sword, in order to resist persecution for the Gospel's sake, as did the Albigenses, the Bohemians, the French Protestants, and some others within the last six hundred years, the issue has commonly been, that they have *perished* by it, that is, they have been overcome by their enemies, and exterminated; whereas, in cases where their only weapons have been 'the blood of the Lamb, and the word of their testimony, loving not their lives unto death,' they have overcome." Christian Patriotism, by Andrew Fuller. The facts which have been laid before the reader will enable him to judge of the truth of the last part of this assertion. Nor is the first part less incorrect and objectionable. The truth is, that the Albigenses, &c. who resisted, were not *exterminated;* while the Italian and Spanish Protestants, who did not resist, met with that fate. If the defensive wars of the Albigenses, &c. were unsuccessful, it ought to be remembered that those of the Protestants in Germany, Switzerland, Scotland, and the Low Countries, were crowned with success. The French Protestants were suppressed, not when they had arms in their hands, but when they were living peaceably under the protection of the public faith pledged to them in edicts which had been repeatedly and solemnly ratified. It is to be hoped that the public mind in Britain, much as has been done to mislead it, is not yet prepared for adopting principles which lead to a condemnation of the famous Waldenses and Bohemians, for standing to the defence of their lives, when proscribed and violently attacked on account of their religion. They lived during the period of Antichrist's power, and, according to the adorable plan of Providence, were allowed to fall a sacrifice to his rage; but while the Scriptures foretell this, they mention it to their honour, and not in the way of fixing blame on them. "It was given unto the beast to make war with the saints, and to overcome them." Instead of being ranked with those who *perished* in consequence of their having taken the sword without a just reason, these *Christian patriots* deserve rather to be numbered with those who "through faith waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens, and others were slain with the sword," all of whom, "having obtained a good report through faith, received not the promises, God having provided some better thing for us."

not only excluded, but banished, for ages from extensive regions of the globe, by oppressive laws and a tyrannical administration.

But we are not on this account to conclude that the Spanish martyrs threw away their lives, and spilt their blood in vain. They offered to God a sacrifice of a sweet-smelling savour. Their blood is precious in his sight; he has avenged it, and may yet more signally avenge it. They left their testimony for truth in a country where it had been eminently opposed and outraged. That testimony has not altogether perished. Who knows what effects the record of what they dared and suffered may yet, through the divine blessing, produce upon that unhappy nation, which counted them as the filth and offscouring of all things, but was not worthy of them? Though hitherto lost on Spain, it has not been without all fruit elsewhere. The knowledge of the exertions made by Spaniards, and of the barbarous measures adopted to put them down, provoked many in other countries to throw off the Roman yoke, and to secure themselves against similar cruelties. In particular, it inspired their fellow-subjects in the Low Countries with a determination not to permit their soil to be polluted by the odious tribunal of the Inquisition, and consolidated that resistance which terminated in the establishment of civil liberty, in connection with the reformed religion, in the United Provinces. While we bow with reverence to those providential arrangements which permitted the standard of truth to fall in one part of the world, we cannot but reflect with gratitude on the signal success vouchsafed to it in others. It was during the years 1559 and 1560 that the death-blow was given to the reformed religion in Spain; and during the same period the religious liberties of the Protestants of Germany were finally secured; the reformed church was regularly organised in the kingdom of France; England was freed from Popery by the accession of Elizabeth; and the cause of the Reformation, after struggling long for existence, attained to a happy and permanent establishment in Scotland.

CHAPTER VIII.

PROTESTANT EXILES FROM SPAIN.

Those who have taken an interest in the preceding narrative will feel a desire to know something of the fate of those Spaniards who escaped the horrors of the dungeon and the stake by abandoning their native country.

From the time that violent measures were first adopted to put down the new opinions, individuals who had incurred the suspicions of the clergy, or whose attachment to country yielded to their fears or to their passion for religious liberty, began to quit the Peninsula. As the persecution grew hotter, the emigration increased; nor had it altogether ceased at the close of the sixteenth century. Some of the emigrants crossed the Pyrenees, after which they sought out abodes in France and Switzerland; others, escaping by sea, took refuge in the Low Countries and in England.

Antwerp was the first place in which the refugees were formed into a church. The reformed opinions had been early introduced into this great mart of Europe, in consequence of the multitude of strangers who continually resorted to it, and the superior freedom which is enjoyed wherever commerce flourishes. It was to the merchants of Antwerp that the Spaniards were first indebted for the means of their illumination;[1] and they continued long to promote the good work which they had begun, by encouraging translations of the Scriptures and other books into the Spanish language.[2] Antonio de Corran, or Corranus, a learned native of Seville, was pastor of the Spanish church in Antwerp before the year 1568, when that city fell into the hands of the Duke of Alva, of sanguinary memory.[3] After it recovered its liberty, the exiles returned to their former asylum, and enjoyed the pastoral labours of another native of Seville, Cassiodoro de Reyna, the translator of the Bible, who appears to have continued with them until 1585, when the city was again brought under the Spanish yoke, after a memorable siege by the Duke of Parma. During his residence there, he drew up,

[1] See before, p. 60.

[2] Testimony is borne to the zealous liberality of the merchants of Antwerp, both by de Reyna and de Valera, in the prefaces to their translations into Spanish.

[3] MSS. of Archbishop Parker in the University Library of Cambridge, No. cxiv. 334. Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 148.

for the use of his hearers, the Antwerp Catechism, which he published both in Spanish and French.[1]

Previously to his settlement as Antwerp, de Reyna had resided at Strasburg, Frankfort, and other imperial cities, where he found a number of his countrymen, whom he would willingly have served as a preacher. But the German divines received him coldly, on account of his leaning to the sentiments of Calvin and the Swiss churches, on the subject of the eucharist.[2] On this account he retired to Basle, and meeting with a kind reception in that seat of literature, he finished his translation of the Bible, which had been his chief employment for several years.[3]

The Palatinate, and the dominions of the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, opened a more hospitable retreat to the refugees than any other part of Germany. It was in Heidelberg that de Montes published that work which first laid open to the eyes of Europe the mysteries of the Spanish Inquisition, and the sufferings which his Protestant countrymen had endured from that inhuman tribunal;[4] while a confession of faith in the name of the exiles from Spain, along with an account of their persecution, came from the press of Cassel.[5]

France was happily in such a state as to offer a refuge to the Spanish Protestants, when driven from their native country. Many of them repaired to the city of Lyons, where means of religious instruction had been provided for them, as well as for their brethren who had fled from Italy.[6] The French Protestants showed themselves uniformly disposed to sympathise with the Spanish refugees, contributed to their support, shared with them that degree of religious liberty which they happened at the time to enjoy, and admitted several of them to be pastors of their churches.[7] It is gratifying to find the French synods also receiv-

[1] Walchii Bibliotheca Theologica, tom. i. p. 463—464. De Reyna also published at Antwerp, in 1583, a French translation of Chytræus's History of the Augsburg Confession. Ib. p. 328. Ukert, Luther's Leben, tom. i. p. 282.

[2] Fechtii Apparatus ad Hist. Eccles. Sec. XVI., p. 305. In 1573, de Reyna published at Frankfort the Greek text of the Gospel according to John, with Tremellius's Latin translation of it from the Syriac; to which he added notes of his own. Le Long. Bibl. Sacra, part. ii. vol. iii. cap. iv. sect. iv. § 11. edit. Masch.

[3] A copy of this Bible, preserved in the public library of Basle, has the following inscription in the handwriting of the translator: "Cassiodorus Reinius Hispanus Hispalensis, inclytæ hujus Academiæ alumnus, hujus sacrorum librorum versionis Hispanicæ author, quam per integrum decennium elaboravit, et auxilio pientissimorum ministrorum hujus Ecclesiæ Basileensis ex decreto prudentissimi Senatus typis ab honesto viro Thoma Guarino cive Basileensi excusam demum emisit in lucem, in perpetuum gratitudinis et observantiæ monumentum hunc librum inclytæ huic Academiæ supplex dicabat A. 1570, mense Junio." Miscellanea Groningana, tom. iii. pp. 99, 100.

[4] The Heidelberg Catechism was also translated into Spanish for their use. Gerdesii Florilegium Libr. Rar. p. 77, edit. 1763.

[5] The Confession of the Spanish exiles was published in Spanish and German at Cassel in 1601. And at the same time was printed a Brief History of the Spanish Inquisition, with an Account of the *Spectackel* (auto-da-fé) at Valladolid, 21 May 1558. Freytag, Adparatus Litterarius, tom. iii. p. 196—200. The Confession was printed in German at Amberg in 1611, by Joachim Ursin, who published at the same time *Hispanicæ Inquisitionis et Carnificinæ Secretiora*. Gerdesii Florilegium Libr. Rar. p. 86—87. Learned men differ as to the real author, who concealed himself under this fictitious name; some fixing on Innocent Gentillet, the author of *Anti-Machiavel*, and others on Michael Beringer. The materials of the work are chiefly borrowed from that of Montanus.

[6] See before, p. 96, note 4. History of the Reformation in Italy, p. 214—215.

[7] Gaspar Olaxa, a Spaniard, was minister

ing into their communion Moors, who had escaped, along with the Protestants, from the Inquisition of Spain, and now abjured Mahometanism under circumstances which rendered their change of religion less obnoxious to suspicion.[1]

But it was in Geneva and England that the greater part of Spanish refugees found a safe harbour and permanent abode. As they were intimately connected with the Italian refugees who settled in these places, we shall, according to a former promise,[2] combine the affairs of both in the following narrative.

As early as 1542, there was formed at Geneva a congregation of Italian refugees, which had the chapel of the Cardinal d'Ostie assigned to it by the council, and was under the pastoral inspection of Bernardino de Sesvaz.[3] Its meetings were, however, discontinued after a short time, probably by the removal of some of its principal members; and they were not resumed until the year 1551.

The person to whom its revival was chiefly owing was Galeazzo Caraccioli, whose life presents incidents which would excite deep interest in a romance.[4] He was the eldest son of Nicol-Antonio Caraccioli, Marquis of Vico, one of the grandees of Naples. His mother was of the noble family of the Caraffi, and sister to the cardinal of that name who was raised to the pontifical chair. At the age of twenty he married Vittoria, daughter to the Duke of Nuceria, who brought him a large fortune, and bore him six children. The Emperor Charles V., who was under obligations to the Marquis, conferred on his son the office of gentleman-sewer; and the personal accomplishments of Galeazzo, the uniform correctness of his manners, his affability, and the talents which he discovered for public business, led all who knew him to anticipate his gradual and certain advancement in worldly honours. Serious impressions, accompanied with a conviction of the errors of the Church of Rome, were made on his mind by Valdes and Martyr, at the time that the Protestant tenets were secretly embraced by many individuals in Naples; and his religious dispositions were cherished by the advices of that pious and elegant scholar. Marc-Antonio Flaminio.[5]

of Castres, but deposed for fomenting dissensions in that church, before the year 1594. Quick's Synodicon, i. 172, 188. At a subsequent period, Vincente Solera was minister of St Lo, in Normandy. Ibid. i. 509; ii. 241. In 1614, Juan de Luna and Lorenzo Fernandez, Spaniards who had abjured monachism and popery, obtained, on the recommendation of the Church of Montauban, pecuniary relief from the National Synod of Tonneins. Ibid. i. 413—414. And in 1620, Geronimo Quevedo, who had escaped from the Inquisition, received a pension from the Synod of Alez, to be continued at the discretion of the Church of Montpellier. Ibid. ii. 43.

[1] Ibid. i. 491—492.

[2] History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy, p. 236.

[3] Spon, Histoire de Genève, tom. i. p. 290, note; 4to edition. I have not met with the name of Sesvaz among the Italian reformers, and am inclined to suppose that Ochino, who arrived at Geneva in the course of the year 1542, assumed that appellation for the purpose of concealment at the beginning of his exile.

[4] The Life of Caraccioli was written in his native tongue, by Nicola Balbani, minister of the Italian church in Geneva. It was translated into Latin by Beza; into French by Minutoli, and by Sieur de Lestan; and into English by William Crashaw.

[5] Giannone says that Flaminio wrote a letter to Caraccioli, exhorting him to adhere to the Reformation, which had been embraced by the Marchioness of Pescara and others. The letter, rich with the unction of true piety, is inserted in the Life of Caraccioli,

Having accompanied the Emperor to Germany, his acquaintance with the reformed doctrine was enlarged by conversation with some of the leading Protestants, and the perusal of their writings; and his attachment to it was confirmed by an interview which, on his way home, he had at Strasburg with Martyr, who had lately forsaken his native country for the sake of religion. After his return to Naples, he endeavoured to prevail on such of his countrymen as held the same views with himself to meet together in private for their mutual edification; but he found that the severe measures lately resorted to had struck terror into their minds, and that they were resolved, not only to conceal their sentiments, but also to practise occasional conformation to the rites of the popish worship. He now entered into serious deliberation with himself on one of the most delicate and painful questions which can be forced on a person in his circumstances. What was he to do? Was he to spend his whole life in the midst of idolatry, in the way of concealing that faith which was dearer to his heart than life, and incurring the threatening, "Him that confesseth me not before men, I will not confess before my Father and his angels?" Or, was it his duty to leave father, and wife, and children, and houses, and lands, for Christ's sake and the Gospel's? The sacrifice of his secular dignities and possessions did not cost him a sigh; but as often as he reflected on the distress which his departure would inflict on his aged father, who, with parental pride, regarded him as the heir of his titles, and the stay of his family—on his wife whom he loved, and by whom he was loved tenderly—and on the dear pledges of their union,—he was thrown into a state of unutterable anguish, and started back with horror from the resolution to which conscience had brought him. At length, by an heroic effort of zeal, which few can imitate, and many will condemn, he came to the determination of bursting the tenderest ties which perhaps ever bound man to country and kindred. His nearest relations, so far from being reconcilable to the idea of his abandoning the Church of Rome, had signified their displeasure at the pious life which he had led for some years, and at his evident disrelish for the gaieties of the court. Having no hope of procuring their consent, he concealed his design from them, and, availing himself of the pretext of business which he had to transact with the Emperor, set out for Augsburg, whence he speedily repaired to Geneva.[1] The intelligence of his arrival at that place, and his abjuration of the Roman religion, while it filled the imperial court with astonishment, plunged his family into the deepest distress. One of his cousins, who had been his intimate friend, was despatched from Naples to represent the grief which his conduct had caused, and urge him to return. As soon as his refusal was known, sentence was passed against him, and he was deprived of all the pro-

chap. v. and in Schelhorn's Amœnitates Ecclesiasticæ, tom. ii. p. 122—132; but it makes no mention the Reformation.

[1] His arrival in that city, in June 1551, excited such surprise that he was at first suspected by some as a spy. Spon, i. 290.

perty which he inherited from his mother. At the risk of his life he went to Italy and met his father at Verona, where he remained until the Marquis went to the Emperor, and obtained, as a special favour, that the sentence pronounced against his son should not extend to his grandson. During his father's absence, Galeazzo was waited upon by the celebrated Fracastoro, who used his great eloquence to persuade him to comply with the wishes of his friends. In the following year he met his father a second time at Mantua, when an offer was made to him, in the name of his uncle, now Pope Paul IV., that he should have a protection against the Inquisition, provided he would take up his residence within the Venetian States; a proposal to which neither his safety nor the dictates of his conscience would permit him to accede. All this time he had been refused the privilege of seeing his family; and it was not until the end of the year 1557 that he received a letter from his wife Vittoria, earnestly requesting an interview with him, and fixing the place of meeting. Having obtained a safe-conduct from the government of the Grisons, he immediately set out for Lesina, an island on the coast of Dalmatia, over against his paternal castle of Vico; but, on his arrival at the appointed place, Vittoria, instead of making her appearance, sent two of her sons to meet their father. He had scarcely returned to Geneva from this fatiguing and dangerous journey, when he received another packet from his wife, apologising for her breach of engagement, and begging him to come without delay to the same place, where she would not fail to meet him, along with his father and children. On his reaching Lesina the second time, none of the family had arrived; and unable to brook further delay, he crossed the Gulf of Venice, and presented himself at his father's gate. He was received with every demonstration of joy, and for some days the castle was thronged with friends who came to welcome him. But it behoved the parties to come at last to an explanation. Taking Vittoria aside, Galeazzo apologised for not having imparted to her the secret of his departure, gave a full account of the reasons of his conduct, and begged her to accompany him to Geneva; promising that no constraint should be laid on her conscience, and that she should be at liberty to practise her religion under his roof. After many protestations of affection, she finally replied, that she could not reside out of Italy, nor in a place where any other religion than that of the Church of Rome was professed; and further, that she could not live with him as her husband so long as he was infected with heresy. Her confessor had inculcated upon her that it was a damnable sin to cohabit with a heretic, and dreading the influence which her husband might exert over her mind, had prevented her from keeping her first appointment. The day fixed for his departure being come, Galeazzo went to take leave of his father, who, laying aside the affection with which he had hitherto treated him, and giving way to his passion, loaded him with reproaches and curses. On quitting his father's apartment, he had to undergo a still severer

trial of his sensibility. He found his wife and children, with a number of his friends, waiting for him in the hall. Bursting into tears, and embracing her husband, Vittoria besought him not to leave her a widow, and her babes fatherless. The children joined in the entreaties of their mother; and the eldest daughter, a fine girl of thirteen, grasping his knees, refused to part with him. How he disengaged himself, he knew not; for the first thing which brought him to recollection was the noise made by the sailors on reaching the opposite shore of the Gulf. He used often to relate to his intimate friends, that the parting scene continued long to haunt his mind; and that, not only in dreams, but also in reveries into which he fell during the day, he thought he heard the angry voice of his father, saw Vittoria in tears, and felt his daughter dragging at his heels. His return gave great joy to his friends at Geneva, who, in proportion to the confidence which they reposed in his constancy, were alarmed for the safety of his person.

Painful as this visit had been to his feelings, it contributed to restore his peace of mind, by convincing him that he could entertain no hope of enjoying the society of his family except on the condition of renouncing his religion. After he had remained nine years in exile, he consulted Calvin on the propriety of contracting a second marriage. That reformer, who took a deep interest in the character of his noble friend, felt great scruples as to the expediency of this step, but ultimately gave his approbation to it, after he had consulted the divines of Switzerland and the Grisons. Accordingly, the courts of Geneva having legally pronounced a sentence of divorce against Vittoria, on the ground of her obstinate refusal to live with her husband, he married Anne Fremejere, the widow of a French refugee from Rouen, with whom he continued to live happily in a state of dignified frugality. On being informed of this part of his conduct, we feel as if it detracted from the high unsullied virtue which Galeazzo had hitherto displayed. His second marriage, though contracted according to the rules of the canon law, gave occasion of reproach to the keen adversaries of the Reformation; but it did not lower him in the estimation of his acquaintance of either religious persuasion. By the citizens of Geneva he was all along held in the highest respect; the freedom of the city had been conferred on him soon after his arrival among them; a house was allotted to him by the republic; and he was admitted a member both of the great and small council. Princes, ambassadors, and learned men, Popish as well as Protestant, who visited the city, regularly paid their respects to the Marquis—a title which was always given him, though he refused to assume it even after the death of his father. Nothing gave greater offence to the papal court and the government of Naples than his choosing the *see of heresy* for his residence. It was probably with the view of removing this prejudice, and thereby procuring remittances from his patrimonial estate, that he consented, in the spring of 1572, to a proposal made by Admiral Coligny to take up his abode with

him ;[1] but providentially he was prevented from removing to France so soon as he had intended, and thus escaped the massacre of St Bartholomew, which took place in August of that year. After residing five years at Nion and Lausanne for the sake of economy, he returned to Geneva, which he did not again leave until his death, which happened in 1586, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.[2]

The first thing which engaged the attention of Caraccioli, after his settlement in Geneva, was the reorganising of the Italian congregation. Lattantio Ragnoni, a gentleman of Sienna, whom he had known at Naples, having arrived a few days after him, and given proofs of his orthodoxy and qualifications for public teaching, was persuaded by him to undertake the office of pastor to his countrymen.[3] They accordingly recommenced their public exercises in the Magdalene church, which was assigned to them by the council.[4] Caraccioli himself became one of their elders, and by the respectability of his character, and the wisdom of his counsels, contributed more than any other individual to the permanent prosperity of that church. In the close of the year 1553, they obtained a preacher of greater abilities in Celso Massimiliano, usually called Martinengo, because he was the son of a count of that name, in the territories of Brescia. He had entered into the order of canons regular, and having imbibed the reformed doctrine from Peter Martyr, preached it for some time with great boldness and eloquence ; but understanding that snares were laid for his life, he fled to the Valteline, whence he came to Basle, with the intention of proceeding to England. By the importunities of Caraccioli he was induced to abandon his intended journey, and to undertake the pastoral charge of the Italian church at Geneva.[5] On his death in 1557, Calvin exerted himself to procure for that flock the services of Martyr and Zanchi, who excused themselves on account of their engagements ; and it appears to have remained under the sole inspection of Ragnoni[6] until 1559, when they procured Nicola Balbani, who continued to serve them with much approbation nearly to the close of the sixteenth century.[7] It would seem that this situation was also held by Jean Baptiste Rotan, a learned man, who, on removing to France, incurred the suspicion of seeking to betray the reformed church by reconciling it to Rome.[8]

[1] On that occasion the Council of Geneva testified the strongest reluctance to consent to his departure. They promised to release him from all public charges, and to supply him with everything which he needed; while the Sieurs Roset and Franc offered him the use of their country houses. Fragmens, extraits des Registres de Genève, p. 44.

[2] Life of Galeacius Caracciolus, Marquis of Vico, *passim*. Giannone, Hist. de Naples, liv. xxxii. chap. 5. Gerdesii Italia Reformata, p. 104—112. Spon, i. 290. Fragmens, *ut supra*, pp. 16, 22, 24, 50.

[3] Life of Caracciolus, chap. xi.

[4] Spon. Hist. de Genève, tom. i. p. 290.

[5] Zanchii Epist. ad Landgravium : Opera, tom. vii. p. 3. Spon, i. 299, 300. Life of Caracciolus, chap. xvii.

[6] It appears from a letter of Calvin that Lattantio Ragnoni survived Martinengo. Calvini Epist. p. 128 : Opera, tom. ix.

[7] Senebier, Hist. Lit. de Genève, tom. i. p. 115—116. "The Italian minister of Geneva, Balbani," says Joseph Scaliger, "carried a *barrette* (a leather cap or cowl) in his breast, which he wore in the pulpit, and put his hat over it when he preached ; as all the other Genevese pastors wear small flat bonnets." Secunda Scaligerana, *voc.* Barrette.

[8] Bock, Hist. Antitrin. tom. ii. p. 665. Conf. Gerdesii Ital. Ref. p. 327—329. Senebier, i, 395.

The peace of the Italian church was for some time disturbed by the Antitrinitarian controversy. Alciati, a military officer from Milan, and Blandrata, a physician from Piedmont, in the visits which they made to Geneva, privately disseminated their sentiments, which were adopted by Valentinus Gentilis, a native of Cosenza in Calabria, who had joined the Italian congregation. The celebrated lawyer Gribaldo, after differing with Calvin, had taken up his residence at Fargias, a villa which he purchased in the neighbouring district of Gex, within the jurisdiction of Berne, from which he kept up an intercourse with the secret agitators in Geneva. They had caused great uneasiness to Martinengo, who, in recommending his church to the care of Calvin, when he was on his death-bed, adjured that reformer to guard them against the arts of these restless spirits.[1] In concert with Ragnoni, their surviving pastor, Calvin exerted himself in allaying these dissensions, and in 1558 drew up a confession of faith for the use of the Italian congregation. This was subscribed by Gentilis, under the pain of perjury if he should afterwards contradict it; but, encouraged by Gribaldo, he began again to spread the opinions which he had renounced, upon which a process was commenced against him, which issued in his expulsion from the city.[2]

The internal peace of the Italian church being restored, it continued to flourish, and gained fresh accessions every year by the arrival of persons from the different parts of Italy. All classes in Geneva, the magistrates, the ministers, and the citizens, vied with each other in their kind attention to the exiles from Italy, who were admitted to privileges, and advanced to offices, in common with the native inhabitants of the city. Nor had the republic any reason to repent of this liberal policy. The adopted strangers transferred their loyalty and affections to Geneva; and among those who have served her most honourably in the senate, the academy, and the field, from that time to the present, we recognise with pleasure Italian refugees and their descendants. It is sufficient here to mention the names of Diodati, Turretini, Calandrini. Burlamaqui, Micheli, Minutoli, Butini, and Offredi.

Individual Spaniards, who found it necessary to fly from the Inquisition, had taken refuge in Geneva from the time that Egidio was thrown into prison at Seville.[3] In 1557 additions were made to their number;[4] and the persecution increasing during the two subsequent years, emigrants poured in from all parts of the Peninsula.[5] The council extended to them the privileges which had been already granted to the

1 Calvini Epistolæ, p. 128: Opera, tom. ix.

2 Bock, Hist. Antitrin. tom. ii. pp. 427—443, 466—472, Calvini Epist. pp. 160, 162. Spon, i. 301—304.

3 See before, p. 95.

4 "Oct. 14, 1557. On reçoit 300 habitans le même matin; savoir, 200 François, 50 Anglois, 25 Italiens, 4 Espagnols, &c.; tellement que l'antichambre du conseil ne les pouvoit tous contenir." Fragmens Biographiques et Historiques, extraits des Registres de Genève, p. 24.

5 In a letter dated Zurich, 10th June 1558, Martyr writes to Utenhovius: "Quin et Hispani, ac ii docti et probi viri, turmatim Genevam confluunt." Gerdesii Scrinium Antiq. tom. ii. p. 673.

emigrants from Italy. It was Juan Perez, to whom his countrymen were otherwise so much indebted,[1] who first formed a Spanish church in Geneva.[2] After his departure to France, they enjoyed the pastoral labours of de Reyna and others of their learned countrymen; but as many of their members removed to England and other places, and as the most of them understood Italian, they adjoined themselves, before the close of the century, to the church which was placed under the charge of Balbani.[3] One of the most distinguished of their number, both in point of learning and piety, was Pedro Gales. While he taught Greek and jurisprudence in Italy, he had fallen under the suspicion of heresy, and being put to the torture at Rome, lost one of his eyes. Escaping from prison, he came to Geneva about the year 1580, and was appointed joint professor of philosophy with Julio Paci, an Italian lawyer.[4] During an interruption of the academical exercises caused by the attempts of the Duke of Savoy on Geneva, Gales was persuaded to accept the rectorship of the college of Guienne at Bordeaux. But finding his situation unpleasant, in consequence of the civil wars which then raged in France, and the envy of one of his colleagues, he left it, with the intention of repairing to the Netherlands. On his journey he was seized by some of the partisans of the League, and delivered first to his countrymen, and afterwards to the Spanish Inquisition, by whose sentence he was committed to the flames, after making an undaunted profession of his faith.[5] He had made a large collection of ancient manuscripts, with annotations of his own, part of which was preserved, and has been highly prized by the learned.[6]

England had the honour of opening a harbour to Protestants of every country who fled from persecution at the beginning of the Reformation. The first congregation of strangers formed in London was the Dutch or German, which met in the church of Austin Friars, under the superintendence of the learned Polish nobleman John a Lasco. It was followed by the erection of French and Italian congregations. As early as 1551 there was an Italian church in London, of which Michael Angelo Florio was pastor.[7] On its restoration after the death of Queen

[1] See before, p. 95.

[2] Bezæ Icones, sig. Ii. iij.: comp. Spon, i. 299.

[3] In the epistle dedicatory to his edition of the Spanish Confession of Faith, Eberhardt von Retrodt says that, when he was at Geneva in 1581, he heard "Sign. Balbado" (Balbani) preach to a large congregation of Italians and Spaniards, "in their own church."

[4] Paci was the intimate friend of the learned Peiresc. Tiraboschi labours to show that he returned to the Roman faith in his latter days; but his arguments are inconclusive.

[5] Meursii Athenæ Batavæ, 333. The Jesuit Andreas Schottus, unwilling to have it thought that a person of such erudition was put to death by the Inquisition, says: "It is reported that he was seized along with his wife by a military band, and expired in the Pyrenees." Schotti Biblioth. Hispanica, 612.

[6] Cujas, Casaubon and Father Labbe have all extolled the learning of Gales. Colomesiana, Collection par Des Maizeaux, tom. i. p. 612—613. Bayle, Dict., art. Gales, Pierre. The person whom I have called Pedro Gales in p. 87, was, I am satisfied on reflection, Nicolaus Gallasius, or de Gallars, one of the ministers of Geneva.

[7] Scrinium Antiquarium, tom. ii. p. 674; tom. iv. p. 478. Florio is the author of an extremely rare work: "Historia de la Vita e de la Morte de l'illustriss. Signora Giovanna Graia, gia Regina eletta e publicata d'Inghilterra. Con l'aggiunto d'una doctiss. disputa...e nel' Proemio de l'Authore. M. Michelangelo Florio Fiorentino, gia Predicatore famoso del' Sant' Evangelo in plu cita d'Italia, et in Londra. Stampato appresso Richardo Pittore, no l'anno di Christo 1607."

Mary, Florio returned; but, owing to some irregularity of conduct, he was not admitted to his former place, which was conferred on Jeronimo Jerlito.[1] The most distinguished of its members were Jacomo Contio, better known as an author by the name of Acontius, who was suspended for some time from communion, on suspicion of his being infected with Arian and Pelagian tenets;[2] his friend Battista Castiglioni, who had a place at court, and taught Italian to Queen Elizabeth;[3] Julio Borgarusci, physician to the Earl of Leicester;[4] Camillo Cardoini, a Neapolitan nobleman, whose son was afterwards made governor of Calabria, as a reward for abjuring the Protestant religion,[5] and Albericus Gentilis, who became professor of civil law at Oxford.[6] The foreign Italian congregation appears to have been united to the French in the course of the sixteenth century; but in 1618 the noted Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, preached in Italian at London, and had one of the family of Calandrini appointed as his colleague.[7]

There had been Spaniards in England from the time of Henry VIII., whose first queen belonged to that nation. Her daughter Mary entertained them about her person, and their number greatly increased after her marriage to Philip II. of Spain. As several of them were converted to Protestantism, some writers are of opinion that they must have heard the Gospel preached in their native tongue during the reign of Edward VI.[8] But it does not appear that the Spanish Protestants were formed into a congregation until the accession of Elizabeth. During the year 1559 they met for worship in a private house in London, and had one Cassiodoro for their preacher. In the course of the following year they presented a petition to secretary Cecil, and Grindal, Bishop of London, for liberty to meet in public. They had hitherto refrained, they said, "from taking this step, by the advice of persons whom they greatly respected, and from fear of giving offence; but they were convinced that their continuing to do so was no less discreditable to the religion which they professed, than it was incommodious to themselves. Their adversaries took occasion to say that they must surely harbour some monstrous tenets, detested even by Lutherans, when they were not permitted, or did not venture, to assemble publicly in a city where Protestants from every country were allowed this privilege. Some of their countrymen had withdrawn from their assembly, and others had declined to join it, lest they should suffer in the trade which they carried on with Spain,

[1] Strype's Life of Grindal, pp. 108, 135. History of the Reformation in Italy, p. 155.

[2] Bayle, Dict., art. Acontius; addition in Eng. Trans. Gerdesii Hist. Ref. tom. iii. Append. No. xvi. Scrin. Antiq. tom. vii. p. 123. Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 45.

[3] Bayle, *ut supra*. Gerdesii Italia Reformata, p. 166.

[4] Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 225.

[5] Wood's Fasti Oxon. col. 228. Edit. Bliss. Senebier, Hist. Lit. de Genève, tom. ii. p. 181.

[6] Matteo Gentile, a physician of Ancona, left his native country for religion, accompanied by his two sons, Alberico and Scipio. The latter settled with his father in Germany, and became as eminent a civilian as his brother. Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 90. Fasti Oxon. p. 217, edit. Bliss. Gerdesii Ital. Ref. p. 271—274.

[7] Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd of Trochrig, p. 260; MS. in the Library of the College of Glasgow.

[8] Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 246.

from their attendance on a private and unauthorised conventicle." They added, "that, if the King of Spain complained of the liberty granted to them, they would desist from the exercise of it, and quit the kingdom rather than involve it in a quarrel with foreign states."[1] The government was favourable to their application, and it would seem that they met soon after in one of the city churches, whose ministers, as stated in their petition, were willing to accommodate them. London was not the only place which furnished them with an asylum; but in other towns both they and the Italians generally assembled for worship along with the French emigrants.[2] With the view of counteracting the invidious and unfounded reports circulated against their orthodoxy, the Spanish Protestants in England drew up and published a confession of their faith, which was adopted by their brethren scattered in other countries.[3] This document proves that the Spanish exiles, while they held the doctrines common to all Protestants, were favourable to the views which the reformed churches maintained in their controversy with the Lutherans respecting the eucharist.[4]

The countenance granted by the government of England to Protestant exiles, and particularly to Spaniards, gave great offence to the Pope and to the King of Spain. It was specified as one of the charges against Elizabeth, in the bull of Pius V. excommunicating that princess. This drew from Bishop Jewel the following triumphant reply. Having mentioned that they had either lost or left behind them their all, goods, lands, and houses, he goes on to say: "Not for adultery, or theft, or treason, but for the profession of the Gospel. It pleased God here to cast them on land. The Queen, of her gracious pity, granted them harbour. Is it become a heinous thing to show mercy? God willed the children of Israel to love the stranger, because they were strangers in the land of Egypt. He that showeth mercy shall find mercy. But what was the number of such who came in unto us? Three or four thousand. Thanks be to God, this realm is able to receive them, if the

[1] Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 47—48. Strype's Annals of the Reformation, i. 237.

[2] Besides the metropolis, the Dutch and French exiles settled, and for some time had churches, in Southwark, Canterbury, Norwich, Colchester, Maidstone, Sandwich, and Southampton. Strype's Annals, i. 554. In 1575, John Migrode was pastor of the Dutch church in Norwich. Bibl. Bremensis, class. vi. p. 518. And in 1583, Mons. Mary was pastor of the French church in that city. Aymon, Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reformées de France, tom. i. p. 169.

[3] Gerdesius says it was published at London in 1559. Florilegium Libr. Rar. p. 87. edit. ann. 1763. Scrinium Antiq. tom. i. p. 151. The following is its title, as given in an edition with a German translation: "Confession de Fe Christiana hecha por ciertos Fieles Espannoles, los quales huyendo los abusos de la Iglesia Romana, y la crueldad de la Inquisition de Espanna, dexaron su patria, para ser recibidos de la Iglesia de los Fieles por hermanos in Christo. Anfenglich in Hispanischer Sprachen beschrieben jetzt uber allen frommen Christen zu Nutz und Trost verteuchet, durch Eberhardten von Redrodt Fürstl. Hessischen bestalten Hauptman über I. F. G. Leibguardia im Schlos und Vestung Cassel. Gedruckt zu Cassel durch Willem Wessel, 1601." 8vo. folior. 69. Freytag, Adparatus Litter. tom. iii. p. 196—200.

[4] See the extracts from the Spanish Confession given by Gerdesius, in his Scrinium Antiquarium, tom. i. pp. 149, 150. The same fact is confirmed by another publication: "Anton. Corrani, dicti Bellerive, Epistola ad Fratres Augustanæ Confessionis, data Antwerpiæ, d. 21 Januarii 1567;" which was printed in Latin, French, German, and English.

number be greater. And why may not Queen Elizabeth receive a few afflicted members of Christ, which are compelled to carry his cross? Whom, when he thought good to bring safely by the dangers of the sea, and to set in at our havens, should we cruelly have driven them back again, or drowned them, or hanged them, or starved them? Would the vicar of Christ give this counsel? Or, if a king receive such, and give them succour, must he therefore be deprived? They are our brethren; they live not idly. If they take houses of us, they pay rent for them; they hold not our grounds but by making due recompense. They beg not in our strects, nor crave anything at our hands, but to breathe our air, and to see our sun. They labour truly, they live sparefully; they are good examples of virtue, travail, faith, and patience. The towns in which they abide are happy, for God doth follow them with his blessings." Referring to the Spaniards who came to England in the reign of Queen Mary, the bishop thus contrasts them with their Protestant countrymen: "These are few, those were many; these are poor and miserable, those were lofty and proud; these are naked, those were armed; these are spoiled by others, those came to spoil us; these are driven from their country, those came to drive us from our country; these came to save their lives, those came to have our lives. If we were content to bear those then, let us not grieve now to bear these."[1]

The Spanish monarch was not less indignant than his holiness at the asylum granted to his Protestant subjects. Not contented with persecuting them at home, he hunted them in every country to which they were driven. Large sums of money were appropriated to the maintaining of spies, and defraying other expenses incurred by that disgraceful traffic. In France and Germany, individuals were from time to time carried off, and delivered over to the Inquisition. Not daring to make such attempts on the free soil of England, the emissaries of Spain had recourse to methods equally infamous. They required the English government to deliver up the refugees as traitors and criminals who had fled from justice. Francisco Farias and Nicolas Molino, two respectable members of the Spanish congregation, who had resided eight years in this country, were denounced by one of their countrymen who acted as a spy in London. In consequence of this, the Spanish ambassador received instructions from his court to demand of Elizabeth, that they should be sent home to be tried for crimes which were laid to their charge; and to induce her to comply with the request, their names were coupled with that of a notorious malefactor who had lately escaped from Flanders. If these innocent men had not had friends at court who knew from experience to sympathise with the exile, they might have been delivered up to a cruel death.[2] To enable it to meet any future demand

[1] View of a Seditious Bull, in Bishop Jewel's Works.

[2] Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 109; Append. No. xiii.

of this kind, the English government adopted measures to obtain an exact account of all the members of the foreign congregations who had come from any part of the King of Spain's dominions.[1]

In the year 1568, Corranus came from Antwerp, and undertook the pastoral charge of the Spanish congregation in London. Having been involved in a quarrel with Jerlito and Cousin, the ministers of the Italian and French congregations, who accused him of error and defamation, the parties appealed to Beza, who referred the controversy to Bishop Grindal. The commissioners named by the bishop to try the cause suspended Corranus from preaching.[2] He appears to have been a man of a hot temper ;[3] but his learning recommended him to Secretary Cecil, by whose influence the suspension was taken off, and he was made reader of divinity in the Temple. When he went to Oxford at a subsequent period, some of the heads of colleges scrupled to receive him, on account of the suspicions formerly entertained as to his orthodoxy ; but their objections were overcome, and he was admitted to read lectures on theology in the university, as well as to hold a living in the Church of England.[4] Though there is no evidence that Cypriano de Valera ever acted as a preacher in England, yet he took an active part in the affairs of the foreign churches.[5] But his labours were chiefly by means of the press, in which respect he was more extensively beneficial to his countrymen than any of the exiles. He arrived in England soon after the accession of Elizabeth, and appears to have spent the remainder of his life chiefly in this country. After studying for some time at both universities,[6] he devoted himself to the writing of original works in Spanish, and the translating of others into that language. The most of these were published in England, where also his translation of the Bible, though printed abroad, was prepared for the press. It would seem that the circulation of the last-mentioned work in Spain was much more extensive than we could have expected.[7]

[1] Strype's Life of Grindal, pp. 110, 111. In the year 1568, the Spaniards and the Italians who had been subjects of the King of Spain, amounted to about fifty-seven in London alone. Ibid. p. 135.

[2] Ibid. p. 125—127, 147—149.

[3] When the sentence was intimated to him, he exclaimed, "It seems you English are determined to wage both a civil and ecclesiastical war against the Spaniards ; a civil war by taking their ships, an ecclesiastical in my person."

[4] Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 149. Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 578—581 ; Fasti. vol. i. p. 203. edit. Bliss. He died in 1591, aged sixty-four.

[5] Riederer, Nachrichten, tom. iii. p. 482.

[6] The act of his incorporation at Oxford, 21 Feb. 1565, bears that he was M.A. of Cambridge, of three years' standing. He had obtained the degree of B.A. Cantab. in 1559—1560. Wood's Fasti Oxon. vol. i. p. 169.

[7] To his works already mentioned, the following may be added. "El Catholico Reformado." Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Nov. tom. i. p. 261. "Catecismo, que significa, forma de instrucion, &c. En casa de Ricardo del Campo, 1596." This is a translation of Calvin's Catechism, and was printed at the same press, and in the same year with Valera's Spanish New Testament. Riederer, Nachrichten, tom. iii. p. 475—484. His Spanish translation of Calvin's Institutions appeared in 1597. Gerdesii Florilegium Libr. Rar. p. 55. The celebrated Diodati, in a letter to the Synod of Alençon, dated 1st May 1637, says: "The new Spanish translation of Cyprian de Vallera hath produced incredible effects in Spain ; no less than three thousand copies having penetrated, by secret ways and conveyances, into the very bowels of that kingdom. Let others publish the fruit of my Italian version, both in Italy and elsewhere." Quick's Synodicon, vol. ii. p. 418.

The influx of Spanish refugees into England ceased with the sixteenth century, though a solitary individual, who had found the means of illumination in his native country, flying from the awakened suspicions of the inquisitors, occasionally reached its hospitable shore after that period.[1]

[1] Ferdinando Texeda, B.D. of the university of Salamanca, having embraced the Protestant religion, came to England about the year 1623. Wood's Fasti, p. 413.

CHAPTER IX.

EFFECTS WHICH THE SUPPRESSION OF THE REFORMATION PRODUCED ON SPAIN.

Tyranny, while it subjects those against whom it is immediately directed to great sufferings, entails still greater misery on the willing instruments of its vengeance. Spain boasts of having extirpated the reformed opinions from her territory; but she has little reason to congratulate herself on the consequences of her blind and infatuated policy. She has paid, and is still paying, the forfeit of her folly and crimes, by the loss of civil and religious liberty, and by the degradation into which she has sunk among the nations.

Other causes, no doubt, contributed to produce this melancholy issue; but that it is to be traced chiefly to a corrupt religion, will appear from a general comparison of the condition of Spain with other European nations, and from an examination of her internal state.

It is a fact now admitted on all hands, that the Reformation has ameliorated the state of government and society in all the countries into which it was received. By exciting inquiry and diffusing knowledge, it led to the discovery and correction of abuses; imposed a check, by public opinion, if not by statute, on the arbitrary will of princes; generated a spirit of liberty among the people; gave a higher tone to morals; and imparted a strong impulse to the human mind in the career of invention and improvement. These benefits have been felt to a certain degree in countries into which the reformed religion was only partially introduced, or whose inhabitants, from local situation and other causes, were brought into close contact with Protestants. But while these nations were advancing with different degrees of rapidity in improvement — acquiring free governments, cultivating literature and science, or extending their commerce and increasing their resources— Spain, though possessed of equal or greater advantages, became stationary, and soon began to retrograde. It is impossible to account for this phenomenon from any peculiarity in her political condition at the middle of the sixteenth century. Italy was in very different circumstances in this respect, and yet we find the two countries nearly in the same condition, owing to their having pursued the same measures in regard to religion. On the other hand, the political state of France, at

the era referred to, was very similar to that of Spain. The nobles had been stripped of their feudal power in both countries; the French parliaments had become as passive instruments in the hands of the sovereign as the Spanish cortes; and both kingdoms were equally exhausted by the wars which for more than half a century they had waged against one another. But the bulls of the Vatican had not the same free course in France as in the Peninsula. The Reformation deposited a seed in that country which all the violence and craft of Louis XIV., a despot as powerful as Philip II., could not eradicate; and though persecution drove from its soil thousands of its most industrious citizens, yet, as there was no Inquisition there, literature and the arts survived the shock. The consequence has been, that, after coming out of the storms of a revolution which long raged with most destructive fury, and being subjected to a military government of unparalleled strength, France still holds a place among the great powers of Europe, nor has she been entirely stripped of her liberties, though she has received back that family which formerly reigned over her with unlimited authority; while Spain, after being long subject to a branch of the same family, and participating of all the effects of the revolutionary period, is now lying prostrate and in chains at the feet of a despot and his ghostly ministers.

But the evils which Spain has brought upon herself, by her bigoted and intolerant zeal for the Roman Catholic religion, will appear in a more striking light from an examination of her internal state.

The unsuccessful attempt to reform religion in Spain led to the perpetuation of the tribunal of the Inquisition, not only by affording a pretext for arming it with new powers, but by increasing the influence which it already exerted over the public mind. It became the boast of that tribunal that it had extirpated the northern heresy, and henceforth all true Spaniards were taught to regard it as the palladium of their religion. This, if it did not entail the miseries of tyranny and ignorance in Spain, at least sealed the entail. To the superficial and egotistical philosophy, which is too often to be met with in the present day, we owe the discovery, that the Inquisition was no cause of the decline of the Spanish nation, inasmuch as it was merely the organ of the government. That the Spanish monarchs employed it as an engine of state, we have seen, and that it could not have tortured the bodies, or invaded the property of the subjects, without power conveyed to it by the state, is self-evident; but it is equally true that it was in itself a moral power, and exerted its authority over the minds of both princes and subjects. When Macanaz persuaded Philip V. to lay restraints on the transmission of money to Rome, his holiness, by means of the Inquisition, not only drove the minister into exile, but forced his master to retract the law which he had passed, and, in a letter addressed to the Council of the Supreme, to confess that, led astray by evil counsel, he had rashly put his hand into the sanctuary. And to complete its triumph, the

enlightened Macanaz, while in France, was induced to write a defence of the Holy Office, which is appealed to by its apologists in Spain to this day.[1] When at a recent period the Cortes wished to abolish that tribunal, they were made to feel that it had an existence independently of their authority, and a foundation deeper than that which mere laws had given it.

But civil and religious despotism are natural allies. Though the Inquisition exalted the power of the pope above that of the king, and its advocates have sometimes had recourse to the principles of civil liberty to vindicate the restraint and dethronement of princes who proved refractory to the church,[2] yet it all along yielded the most effective support to the arbitrary measures of the government, and exerted its influence in crushing every proposal to correct abuses in the State, and stifling the voice of complaint. Under other forms of despotism, actions, or the external manifestation of liberal opinions, have been visited with punishment; but in Spain every reflection on politics was denounced by the monks as damnable heresy, and proscribed in the sanctuary of conscience.

Ever since the suppression of the Reformation, it has been the great object of the inquisitors and ruling clergy to arrest the progress of knowledge. With this view they have exercised the most rigid and vigilant inspection of the press and the seminaries of education. Lists of prohibited books have been published from time to time, including vernacular translations of the Bible,[3] and the writings not only of the reformers, but also of Roman Catholics, who discovered the slightest degree of liberality in their sentiments, or who treated their subjects in such a way as to encourage a spirit of inquiry. A commentary on the Pentateuch by Oleaster, a member of the Council of Trent, and a Portuguese inquisitor, which had been several years in circulation, was ordered to be called in and corrected, because the author had ventured to depart from the Vulgate and the interpretations of the Fathers.[4] The commentaries of Jean Ferus, a French monk, who had availed himself of the learning of the Protestants, were censured as containing "the heretical sentiments of Luther;" and for reprinting

[1] Puigblanch, ii. 12—21.

[2] The treatise of the Jesuit Mariana, *De Rege, et Regis Institutione*, which was burnt at Paris by the hands of the common hangman, is well known to the learned. In the library of Lambeth there is a copy of the works of Charles I. with the corrections made on it by order of the Inquisition of Lisbon. Furious dashes of the pen appear across those passages in the prayers which refer to the Protestant religion. Describing a "right monarchy," the British monarch had said, "where counsel may be in many, as the senses, but the supreme power can be but in one, as the head." The inquisitors have allowed this passage to stand; but over against it, on the margin, they have written, "If king, false; if pope, true." Catal. of Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, No. cccxxii.

[3] The prohibition of Bibles in the Spanish language was erased from the index by an edict dated 20th Dec. 1782; and yet the inquisition of Seville, by a general edict promulgated 1st Feb. 1790, commanded all such Bibles to be denounced. This might be an oversight; but it is certain that the index still contains a prohibition of two books, upon this ground, that they point out the advantages of reading the Scriptures. Nor was it the intention of the Inquisition to give the Bible to the common people; and accordingly it is printed in such a form as to confine it to the wealthy.

[4] Simon, Lettres Choisies, tom. i. p. 193—197.

them in Spain, Michael de Medina, guardian of the Franciscans at Toledo, was thrown into the secret prisons of the Inquisition, and was saved from the disgrace of making a public recantation, only by a premature death.[1] Arias Montanus was under the necessity of defending himself against the charges which the inquisitorial censors brought against his polyglot Bible, published under the patronage of Philip II.[2] Luis de Leon, professor of divinity at Salamanca, having written a translation of the Song of Solomon in Spanish, to which he added short explanatory notes, was confined for five years in the dungeons of the Inquisition; and his poetical paraphrases of the Book of Job and other parts of Scripture, distinguished for their elegance and purity, were long suppressed.[3]

The taste for theological studies, which had been produced by the revival of letters in Spain, survived for some time the suppression of the Reformation. It was cherished in secret by individuals, who, convinced that the Protestants excelled in the interpretation of Scripture, appropriated their writings in whole or in part, and published them as their own. The Latin Bible, with notes, by Leo Juda, and other Swiss divines, after undergoing certain corrections, was printed at Salamanca with the approbation of the censors of the press; but the real authors being discovered, it was subsequently put into the index of prohibited books.[4] Hyperius, a reformed divine, was the author of an excellent book on the method of interpreting the Scriptures. Having removed from it everything which appeared to contradict the tenets of the Church of Rome, Lorenzo de Villavicencio, an Augustinian monk of Xeres in Andalusia, published that work as his own, not even excepting the preface; and in consequence of the little intercourse which subsisted between Spain and the north of Europe, nearly half a century elapsed before the plagiarism was detected.[5] Martini Martinez was less fortunate; for publishing a similar work, in which he exalted the originals above the Vulgate, he was subjected to penance, and prohibited from writing for the future.[6] Precluded from every field of inquiry or discussion, the divines of Spain addicted themselves exclusively to the study of scholastic and casuistic theology.

The same tyranny was extended to other branches of science, even those which are most remotely connected with religion. All books on general subjects composed by Protestants, or translated by them, or containing notes written by them, were strictly interdicted. A papal bull, dated 17th August 1627, took from metropolitans, patriarchs, and all but the inquisitor-general, the privilege of reading prohibited books. Nicolas Antonio, the literary historian of Spain, was obliged to remain five years in Rome before he obtained this privilege, with the view of

[1] Simon, *ut supra*, p. 148—152. Llorente, iii. 86—88.

[2] Rodriguez de Castro, Biblioteca Espanola, tom. i p. 649—666.

[3] Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Nov. tom. ii. p. 45—47. Geddes's Prospectus, p. 87.

[4] Le Long, Bibl. Sacra, iii. 439—448, edit. Masch. Carpzovii Critica Sacra, p. 739.

[5] Carl Friedric Staudlin, Geschichte der Theologischen Wissenschaften, tom. i. p. 145. Riveti Opera, tom. ii. p. 948.

[6] Antonii Bibl. Hisp. Nov. tom. ii. p. 105.

finding materials for his national work.[1] The Pontifical History of Illescas was repeatedly suppressed, and the author constrained at last to put his name to a work containing statements and opinions dictated to him by others, and diametrically opposite to those which he had formerly given to the world.[2] While the native historians of Spain were prevented from speaking the truth, histories written by foreigners were forbidden under the severest pains, as satires on the policy and religion of the Peninsula. The consequence has been, that the Spaniards entertain the most erroneous conceptions of their own history, and are profoundly ignorant of the affairs of other countries.[3]

Not satisfied with exerting a rigid censorship over the press, the inquisitors intruded into private houses, ransacked the libraries of the learned and curious, and carried off and retained at their pleasure such books as they in their ignorance suspected to be of a dangerous character. So late as the beginning of the eighteenth century, we find Manuel Martini, Dean of Alicant, and one of the most enlightened of his countrymen in that age, complaining bitterly, in his confidential correspondence, of what he suffered from such proceedings.[4]

Universities and other seminaries of education were watched with the most scrupulous jealousy. The professors in the university of Salamanca, who appear to have shown a stronger predilection for liberal science than their brethren, were forbidden to deliver lectures to their students; and similar orders were issued by Philip II. to those of the Escurial, who were instructed to confine themselves to reading from a printed book.[5] Moral philosophy is too intimately allied both to religion and politics not to have excited the dread of the defenders of superstition and despotism; and, in fact, the feeble attempts made in Spain to throw off the degrading yoke have chiefly proceeded from the teachers of that science. This accordingly gave occasion to repeated interdicts, besides processes carried on against individuals. During the reign of Don Carlos IV., the prime minister Caballero sent a circular to all the universities, forbidding the study of moral philosophy, "because what his Majesty wanted was, not philosophers, but loyal subjects."[6] Even natural philosophy, in its various branches, was placed under the same trammels, and the Copernican system is still taught in that country as an hypothesis. Medical science is neglected; and surgeons, before entering on practice, are obliged to swear, not that they will exercise the healing art with fidelity, but that they will defend the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin.[7]

The great events which distinguished the reign of the Emperor Charles V., by awakening the enthusiasm, contributed to develop the

[1] Puigblanch, ii. 366—434.
[2] Llorente, i. 475, 476.
[3] Sismondi, Hist of the Literature of the South, vol. iv. p. 124.
[4] Martini Epist. pp. 32, 36: Schelhorn, Ergötzlichkeiten, tom. i. p. 685—690.
[5] Simon, Lettres Choisies, tom. i. p. 365.
[6] Doblado's Letters, pp. 115, 358.
[7] Townsend's Travels, ii. 283.

genius of the Spanish nation; and the impulse thus given to intellect continued to operate long after the cause which had produced it was removed. But the character of the degenerate age in which they lived was impressed even on the towering talents of Cervantes, Lope de Vega, and Calderon, and can be easily traced in the false ideas, childish prejudices, and gross ignorance of facts which disfigure their writings. With these master spirits of literature the genius of Spain sunk; and when it began to recover from the lethargy by which it was long oppressed, it assumed the most unnatural form. Imagination being the only field left open to them, Spanish writers, as if they wished to compensate for the restraints under which they were laid, set aside the rules of good taste, and abandoned themselves to all the extravagancies of fancy, which they embodied in the most inflated and pedantic language. Although the natural talents of the inhabitants are excellent, there is at present no taste for literature in Spain. The lectures on experimental philosophy which Solano began to deliver gratis in the capital towards the close of the last century, though distinguished by their simplicity and elegance, were discontinued for want of an audience. Reading is unknown except among a very limited class. Every attempt to establish a literary magazine has failed, through the listlessness of the public mind, and the control of the censorship.[1] And the spies of the police and the Inquisition have long ago banished everything like rational conversation from those places in which the people assemble to spend their leisure hours.[2]

In Italy the same causes produced the same effects. Genius, taste, and learning, were crushed under the iron hand of inquisitorial despotism. The imprisonment of Galileo in the seventeenth, and the burning of the works of Gianonne in the eighteenth century,[3] are sufficient indications of the deplorable state of the Italians during a period in which knowledge was advancing with such rapidity in countries long regarded by them as barbarous. When their intellectual energies began to recover, they were directed to a species of composition in which sentiment and poetry are mere accessories to sensual harmony, and the national love of pleasure could be gratified without endangering the authority of the rulers. To ennoble pleasure and render it in some degree sacred; to screen the prince from the shame of his own indolence and effeminacy; to blind the people to every consideration but that of the passing moment; and to give the author an opportunity to exert his talents without incurring the vengeance of the Inquisition—is the scope and spirit of the Italian opera.[4] Later writers in Italy, whose productions breathe a fiery spirit

[1] It has been wittily said that in Madrid, provided you avoid saying anything concerning government, or religion, or politics, or morals, or statsmen, or bodies of reputation, or the opera, or any other public amusement, or any one who is engaged in any business, you may print what you please, under the correction of two or three censors.

[2] Townsend's Travels, ii. 154, 275. Dobladó's Letters, pp. 377, 380.

[3] Anecdotes Ecclésiastiques de l'Histoire de Royaume de Naples brulée à Rome en 1726, pref. p. viii. Amst. 1738.

[4] Sismondi, History of the Literature of the South, vol. ii. p. 290.

of liberty, were of the French, or rather revolutionary school, and afford no criterion for judging of the national feelings and taste.

In Spain the increase of superstition, and of the number and opulence of the clergy, has kept pace with the growth of ignorance. The country is overrun with clergy, secular and regular. Towards the close of last century it contained nearly nine thousand convents; and the number of persons who had taken the vow of celibacy approached to two hundred thousand.[1] The wealth of the church was as disproportionate to that of the nation, as the number of the clergy was to its population. The cathedral of Toledo, for example, besides other valuable ornaments, contained four large silver images, standing on globes of the same metal; a grand massive throne of silver, on which was placed an image of the Virgin, wearing a crown valued at upwards of a thousand pounds; and a statue of the infant Jesus, adorned with eight hundred precious stones. Six hundred priests, richly endowed, were attached to it; and the revenues of the archbishop were estimated at nearly a hundred thousand pounds.[2] The sums which are extorted by the mendicant friars, and which are paid for masses and indulgences, cannot be calculated; but the bulls of crusade alone yield a nett yearly income of two hundred thousand pounds to his Catholic Majesty, who purchases them from the pope, and retails them to his loving subjects.[3] Equally great are the encroachments which superstition has made on the time of the inhabitants. Benedict XIV. reduced the number of holidays in the States of the Church, and recommended a similar reduction in other kingdoms. But in Spain there are still ninety-three general festivals, besides those of particular provinces, parishes, and convents; to which we must add the bull-feasts,[4] and the Mondays claimed by apprentices and journeymen.[5]

Commerce and all the sources of national wealth are obstructed by persecution and intolerance. But the evil is unspeakably aggravated when the greater part of the property of a nation is locked up, and a large proportion of its inhabitants, and of their time, is withdrawn from useful labour. Holland, with no soil but what she recovered from the ocean, waxed rich and independent, while Spain, with a third part of the world in her possession, has become poor. The city of Toledo is

[1] Townsend's Travels, vol. ii. p. 233. The city of Toledo, which contains 25,000 souls, has 26 parish churches, 38 convents, 17 hospitals, 4 colleges, 12 chapels, and 19 hermitages. Medina del Campo consists of 1000 houses, and has 9 parish churches, 70 priests, 17 convents, and 2 hospitals. Salamanca contains 3000 houses, and has 27 parish churches, 15 chapels, 580 priests, and 1509 persons under vows. Ibid. i. 309—363; ii. 84.

[2] Ibid. i. 309 — 311. Conf. Scaligerana Secunda, *voc.* Espagnols.

[3] For this bull, in Aragon, the nobles pay about six shillings and fourpence, the common people about two shillings and fourpence, In Castile it is somewhat cheaper. No confessor will grant absolution to any one who does not possess it. Townsend, ii.171—172. Doblado's Letters, p. 214. Dr Colbach has given an account of this traffic. In 1709 a privateer belonging to Bristol took a galleon, in which they found 500 bales of these precious goods, containing each 16 reams, and amounting in all to 384,000 bulls. Captain Dampier says he careened his ship with them.

[4] These disgraceful spectacles are countenanced by the clergy, and a priest is always in attendance to administer the sacrament to the *matadors* who may be mortally wounded.

[5] Townsend, i. 350; ii. 233—235.

reduced to an eighth part of its former population; the monks remain, but the citizens have fled. Every street in Salamanca swarms with sturdy beggars and vagabonds able to work; and this is the case wherever the clergy, convents, and hospicios are numerous. With a soil which, by its extent and fertility, is capable of supporting an equal number of inhabitants, the population of Spain is not half that of France.

The effects produced on the national character and morals are still more deplorable. Possessing naturally some of the finest qualities by which a people can be distinguished—generous, feeling, devoted, constant—the Spaniards became cruel, proud, reserved, and jealous. The revolting spectacles of the auto-da-fé, continued for so long a period, could not fail to have the most hardening influence on their feelings.[1] In Spain, as in Italy, religion is associated with crime, and protected by its sanctions. Thieves and prostitutes have their images of the Virgin, their prayers, their holy water, and their confessors. Murderers find a sanctuary in the churches and convents. Crimes of the blackest character are left unpunished in consequence of the immunities granted to the clergy.[2] Adultery is common, and those who live habitually in this vice find no difficulty in obtaining absolution. The *cortejos* or male paramours, like the *cicisbei* in Italy, appear regularly in the family circle. In great cities the canons of cathedrals act in this character, and the monks in villages. The parish priests live almost universally in concubinage, and all that the more correct bishops require of them is, that they do not keep their children in their own houses. Until they begin to look towards a mitre, few of the clergy think of preserving decorum in this matter.[3]

The dramatical pieces composed by their most celebrated writers, and acted on the stage with the greatest applause, demonstrate the extent to which the principles of morality have been injured by fanaticism and bigotry. In one of them,[4] after the hero has plotted the death of his wife, and accomplished that of his parents, Jesus Christ is represented as descending from heaven to effect his salvation by means of a miracle. In another,[5] an incestuous brigand and professed assassin preserves, in the midst of his crimes, his devotion for the cross, at the foot of which he was born, and the impress of which he bears on his breast. He erects a cross over each of his victims; and being at last slain, God restores him to life in order that a saint might receive his confession, and thus secure his admission into heaven. In another

[1] Cogan mentions that he was one day walking in the streets of London with a young lady from Portugal, about nine years of age, a Protestant, and of a mild compassionate disposition. Seeing a crowd collected round a pile of fagots on fire, he expressed an anxiety to know the cause, upon which the young lady replied without any emotion, "It is only some people going to burn a Jew." Philosophical Treatise on the Passions, note L.

[2] Sismondi, Hist. of the Lit. of the South, vol. iii. 404; iv. 6, 7, 18. Townsend's Travels, 223, 398. Doblado's Letters, p. 222.

[3] Townsend's Travels, ii. 147—151. Doblado's Letters, p. 220.

[4] The *Animal profita*, by Lope de Vega.

[5] The *Devocion de la Cruz*, by Calderon.

piece,[1] Alfonso VI. receives the capitulation of the Moors of Toledo, and, in the midst of his court and knights, swears to maintain their religious liberties, and to leave for their worship the largest mosque in the city. During his absence, Constance his queen violates the treaty, and places the miraculous image of the Virgin in the mosque. Alfonso is highly indignant at this breach of faith, but the Virgin surrounds Constance with a crown of glory, and convinces the king, to the great delight of the spectators, that it is an unpardonable sin to keep faith with heretics. To give one instance more; in another piece,[2] the hero, while leading the most abandoned life, is represented as adhering to the true faith, and thus meriting the protection of St Patrick, who follows him as his good genius to inspire him with repentance. When about to commit a murder, in addition to numbers which he had already perpetrated, he is converted by an apparition of himself, and exclaims, "What atonement can be made for a life spent in crime?" to which a voice of celestial music replies, "Purgatory." He is then directed into St Patrick's Purgatory, and at the end of a few days comes out pardoned and purified. Still more precious specimens of religious absurdity and fanaticism might have been given from the *autos sacramentales*, a species of composition which continued to be popular till a late period, and has employed the pens of the most celebrated writers in Spain.

The Italians are bound to religion chiefly by the ties of interest and pleasure. The Spaniards are naturally a grave people; their devotional feelings are strong; and had they lived under a free government, they would have welcomed a purer worship, when, after a long period of ignorance, it was unveiled to their eyes, and might have proved its most enthusiastic and constant admirers.[3] But their minds have been subjugated and their feelings perverted by a long course of debasing slavery. As to religion, the inhabitants of Spain are now divided into two classes, bigots and dissemblers. There is no intermediate class. Under such an encroaching system of faith as that of the Church of Rome, which claims a right of interference with almost every operation of the human mind, the prohibition of all dissent from the established religion is a restraint sufficiently painful. But this is the least evil. Every Spaniard who disbelieves the public creed is constrained to profess himself to be what he is not, under the pain of losing all that he holds dear on earth. What with masses, and confessions, and festivals, and processions, and bowing to crosses and images, and purchasing pardons, and contributing to deliver souls from purgatory, he is every day, and every hour of the day, under the necessity of giving his countenance to what he detests as a Christian, or loathes as the cause of his country's degradation. It is not enough that he contrives to avoid going to church or chapel: the idol presents itself to him abroad and at home,

[1] The *Virgen del Sagrario*, by the same author.
[2] The *Purgatorio de San Patricio*, by the same author.
[3] "Si l'Espagnol estoit libre, il embrasseroit fort la Religion, au prix de l'Italien." Scaligerana Secunda, *voc.* Italiens.

in the tavern and in the theatre. He cannot turn a corner without being in danger of hearing the sound of the hand-bell which summons him to kneel in the mud, till a priest, who is carrying the consecrated host to some dying person, has moved slowly in his sedan chair from one end of the street to the other. If he dine with a friend, the passing bell is no sooner heard than the whole party rise from table and worship. If he go to the theatre, the military guard at the door, by a well-known sound of his drum, announces the approach of a procession, upon which "Su Magestad! Dios, Dios!" resounds through the house; the play is instantly suspended, and the whole assembly, actors and spectators, fall on their knees, in which attitude they remain until the sound of the bell has died away, when the amusement is resumed with fresh spirit. He has scarcely returned to his inn, when a friar enters, bearing a large lantern with painted glass, representing two persons enveloped with flames, and addresses him, "The holy souls, brother! Remember the holy souls."[1]

Religion in its purity is calculated to soothe and support the mind under the unavoidable calamities of life; but when perverted by superstition it aggravates every evil to which men are exposed, by fostering delusive confidence, and leading to the neglect of those natural means which tend to avert danger or alleviate distress. In Spain every city, every profession, and every company of artisans, has its tutelary saint, on whose miraculous interposition the utmost reliance is placed. The merchant, when he embarks his goods for a foreign country, instead of insuring them against the dangers of the sea in the ordinary way, seeks for security by paying his devotions at the shrine of the saint under whose protection the vessel sails. There is scarcely a disease affecting the human body which is not submitted to the healing power of some member of the calendar. So late as 1801, when the yellow fever prevailed in Seville, the civil authorities, instead of adopting precautionary measures for abating the violence of that pestilential malady, applied to the archbishop for the solemn prayers called *Rogativas;* and not trusting to these, they resolved to carry in procession a fragment of the true cross, preserved in the cathedral of Seville, which had formerly chased away an army of locusts, together with a large wooden crucifix, which, in 1649, had arrested the progress of the plague. The inhabitants flocked to the church; and the consequence was, that the heat, fatigue, and anxiety of a whole day spent in this ridiculous ceremony, increased the disease in a tenfold proportion.[2]

Popery, by the false light and repulsive form in which it represents Christianity, tends naturally to produce deism and irreligion. In France, where a certain degree of liberty was enjoyed, it led at first to the covert dissemination and afterwards to the bold avowal of infidel opinions, by those who had the greatest influence over the public mind.

[1] Doblado's Letters, pp. 8—14, 169. Townsend's Travels, i. 330.

[2] Townsend, i. 152—154. Doblado, pp. 195—199, 316—318.

In countries where a rigid system of police, civil and ecclesiastical, has been kept up, its operation has been different, but not less destructive to national character and the real interests of religion. The great body of the unbelievers, anxious only for present enjoyment, and regarding religion in no other light than as an engine of state, have made no scruple of fostering the popular credulity, that they might share its fruits; while those of more generous and independent spirit, writhing under the degrading yoke, have given way to irritation of feeling, and, confounding Christianity with an intolerant superstition, cherish the desperate hope that religion, in all its forms, will one day be swept from the earth, as the support of tyranny and the bane of human happiness. It is well known that the Italian clergy have for a long time given the most unequivocal proofs that they disbelieve those doctrines, and feel indifferent to those rites, from which they derive their maintenance and wealth.[1] We were formerly aware that the principles of irreligion were widely diffused among the reading classes in Spain; but more ample information, furnished by recent events, has disclosed the fact, that this evil is not confined to the laity, and that infidelity is as common among the educated Spanish clergy as vice is among the vulgar crowd of priests. There is a lightness attached to the character of the Italians, which, together with the recollection that they have been the chief instruments of enslaving the Christian world, disposes us to turn away from the manifestations of their irreligion with feelings of contempt. But such is the native dignity of the Spanish character, and its depth of feeling, that we dwell with a mixed emotion of pity and awe on the ravages which infidelity is making on so noble a structure. Who can read the following description by a Spaniard without the strongest sympathy for such of his countrymen as are still in that "gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity" from which he was so happily rescued! "Where there is no liberty, there can be no discrimination. The ravenous appetite, raised by a forced abstinence, makes the mind gorge itself with all sorts of food. I suspect I have thus imbibed some false and many crude notions from my French masters. But my circumstances preclude the calm and dispassionate examination which the subject deserves. Exasperated by the daily necessity of external submission to doctrines and persons I detest and despise, my soul overflows with bitterness. Though I acknowledge the advantages of moderation, none being used towards me, I practise none, and in spite of my better judgment learn to be a fanatic on my own side. Pretending studious retirement, I have fitted up a small room to which none but

[1] An English gentleman who had resided long in Italy, and obtained lodgings in a convent, was frequently engaged in friendly discussions with the most intelligent individuals of the house on the points of difference between the Churches of Rome and England. On the termination of one of these disputes, after the greater part of the company had retired, a young monk, who had supported the tenets of his church with great ability, turning to his English guest, asked him, if he really believed what he had been defending. On his answering seriously in the affirmative, the monk exclaimed, *Allor lei crede piu che tutto il convento*—"Then, sir, you believe more than all the convent." Doblado's Letters, 476.

confidential friends find admission. There lie my prohibited books in perfect concealment, in a well-contrived nook under a staircase. The Breviary alone, in its black binding, clasps, and gilt leaves, is kept upon the table, to check the doubts of any chance intruder."[1] The same person writes at a subsequent period: "The confession is painful indeed, yet due to religion itself—I was bordering on atheism. If my case were singular, if my knowledge of the most enlightened classes of Spain did not furnish me with a multitude of sudden transitions from sincere faith and piety to the most outrageous infidelity, I would submit to the humbling conviction that either weakness of judgment or fickleness of character had been the only source of my errors. But though I am not at liberty to mention individual cases, I do attest, from the most certain knowledge, that the history of my own mind is, with little variation, that of a great portion of the Spanish clergy. The fact is certain; I make no individual charge; every one who comes within the description may still wear the mask, which no Spaniard can throw off without bidding an eternal farewell to his country."[2]

It is evident from this slight sketch that there are many and powerful obstacles to the regeneration of Spain. Superstition is interwoven with her national habits and feelings; and civil and spiritual despotism are bound together by an indissoluble league, while they find a powerful auxiliary in the depraved morals of the people; for liberty has not a greater enemy than licentiousness, and an immoral people can neither preserve their freedom when they have it, nor regain it after it has been lost. But what augurs worse than perhaps anything else for Spain is, that it does not possess a class of persons animated by the spirit of that reformation to which the free states of Europe chiefly owe their political privileges. Infidelity and scepticism, besides weakening the moral energies of the human mind, have a tendency to break up the natural alliance which subsists between civil and religious liberty. Those who are inimical or indifferent to religion cannot be expected to prove the firm and uncompromising friends of that liberty which has religion for its object. They love it not for itself, and cannot be prepared to make all sacrifices for its sake. Thus, when tyranny takes the field, brandishing its two swords, the right arm of liberty is found to be palsied. The irreligious or sceptical principles of those who have been called Liberals must always excite a strong and well-grounded prejudice against their schemes. If they demand a reform in the state, the defenders of abuse have only to raise against them the cry of impiety. Bigots and hypocrites are furnished with a plausible pretext for putting them down. And good men, who may be convinced of the corruptions which adhere to both church and state, and might be willing to co-operate in removing them, are deterred from joining in the attempt, by the apprehension

[1] Doblado's Letters, p. 134; comp. p. 112—113.

[2] Blanco White's Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism, p. 7—12: comp. p. 129—134.

that it may lead to the overthrow of all religion. It is not difficult to trace the operation of all these causes in defeating the struggles for liberty which have been made within these few years in Italy and the Peninsula.

But may we not cherish better hopes, as the result of those events which have recently induced the more enlightened portion of the Spanish nation to turn their eyes to Britain instead of France, from which they formerly looked for instruction and relief? Let us hope that those individuals who have taken refuge in this country, and whose conduct has shown that they are not unworthy of the reception they have met with, will profit by their residence among us; that any of them who, from the unpropitious circumstances in which they were placed, may have formed an unfavourable opinion of Christianity, will find their prejudices dissipated in the free air which they now breathe; that what is excellent in our religion, as well as our policy, will recommend itself to their esteem; and that, when Providence shall open an honourable way for their returning to their native country, they will assist in securing to it a constitution, founded on the basis of rational liberty, in connection with a religion purified from those errors and corruptions which have wrought so much woe to Spain—which have dried up its resources, cramped and debased its genius, lowered its native dignity of character, and poisoned the fountains of its domestic and social happiness.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Dedication by Francisco de Enzinas of his Spanish Translation of the New Testament.[1]

To the Puissant Monarch Charles V., ever August Emperor, King of Spain, &c. Francisco de Enzinas wishes Grace, Health, and Peace.

Sacred Majesty,—Many and various opinions have been broached in our day, as to the expediency of translating the Scriptures into the vulgar tongues; and how opposite soever they are to each other, they argue equal zeal for Christianity, and proceed upon reasonings sufficiently probable. For my own part, without meaning to condemn those of different sentiments, I have espoused the side of them who conceive that such translations, were they executed by learned men of mature judgment and great skill in the several languages, would mightily advance the interest of the Christian Republic, by affording both instruction to the illiterate, and comfort to the well-informed, who delight to hear in their own language the discourses of Jesus and his Apostles concerning those mysteries of our redemption from which our souls derive salvation and comfort. But, with the view of at once satisfying those who think differently, and of showing that this undertaking is neither new nor dangerous, I am anxious to state to your Majesty, in a few words, the reasons which have induced me to commence this work. And this I do under a sense of the duty which I owe to your Majesty, who is not only the highest minister of God in temporal things, and the greatest monarch in Christendom, but also my king and lord, to whom I am bound, as a vassal, to give account of my leisure and my busy hours; and who is, to speak the truth, in what regards religion, a diligent overseer, and zealous for the honour of Jesus Christ and the spiritual interests of his kingdom.

There are three reasons, sacred Majesty, which have induced me to undertake this work.

First, in reading the Acts of the Apostles, I find that, when the Jews and Gentiles were exerting all their powers against the kingdom of Christ, which then began to prosper, and when they were unable to impede it on account of the great miracles which Peter and the other Apostles performed, and the heavenly doctrines which they taught, they laid hold of St Peter and St John, and consulted what measures they should pursue towards them and this new religion. After various opinions had been given, Gamaliel, the teacher of St Paul, and the most honoured of the assembly, arose. He told them that they ought to be cautious in this affair, as it was one of great importance; and produced several examples of persons who had lately formed sects and taught new doctrines, but had in a short time perished along with the tenets they inculcated. After some discourse, he concluded in this manner: In fine, my opinion is, that you should let these men alone, and permit them to do as they please; for if this doctrine of theirs be new, or of the world, or

[1] Translated from the original, printed at Antwerp in 1543.

the invention of men pleased with novelty, then it and they will soon perish. But if it be from God, be assured that neither you nor any mortal will be able to stop its progress: the very attempt to do this would be a fighting against God and the determination he has taken. I have often, sacred Majesty, reflected on these words, when reviewing the dispute which has now lasted for twenty years. Certain persons, influenced by good motives, have frequently opposed with great perseverance the printing of such translations; but far from being able to prevail, they have lost ground every day, and new versions are issuing successively from the press in all the kingdoms of Christendom; while those who opposed them at first, have now begun to keep silence on the subject, and even to read and approve of them not a little. In all this, methinks, I see the saying of Gamaliel fulfilled, and that this is an undertaking, which, if well executed, will serve greatly to advance the glory of God. After having waited many years for the end of this dispute, I see that it has at length arrived at a happy termination, and that God has most certainly made use of it for his own purposes. This consideration induces me to try what I can do in the matter, with the view of benefiting my countrymen to the utmost of my power, though I should succeed but in part; for it is a true saying, that in great and difficult achievements, the very wish and attempt are worthy of high commendation.

The second reason, sacred Majesty, which has had weight with me, is the honour of our Spanish nation, which has been calumniated and ridiculed by other nations on this head. Although their opinions differ in many points, yet all of them agree in this, that we are either indolent, or scrupulous, or superstitious; and from this charge none of the strangers with whom I have conversed will exculpate us. Although the spiritual advantage of our neighbour and the service of God are no doubt the considerations which ought to influence the Christian, yet, as long as we live in the flesh, and walk by the light of reason, we shall find that honour will often lead us to do at once what no arguments could induce us to perform. Now, not to speak of the Greeks and the other nations who were made acquainted with the salvation of Jesus Christ by reading the sacred Scriptures in their own language, there is no people, as far as I know, except the Spaniards, who are not permitted to read the Bible in their native tongue. In Italy there are many versions, the greater part of which has issued from Naples, the patrimony of your Majesty. In France they are innumerable. In Flanders, and throughout the whole of your Majesty's territories in that quarter, I have myself seen many, while new ones are publishing daily in its principal towns. In Germany they are as plentiful as water, not only in Protestant, but also in Catholic states. The same may be said of all the realms of the illustrious King Don Fernando, your Majesty's brother; as also of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Spain stands alone, as if she were the obscure extremity of Europe. For what reason that privilege has been denied to her which has been conceded to every other country, I know not. Since in everything we boast, and that not unjustly, that we are the foremost, I cannot see why in this business, which is of the highest moment, we should be the last. We labour under no deficiency in genius, or judgment, or learning; and our language is, in my opinion, the best of the vulgar ones; at least it is inferior to none of them.

The third reason which has induced me to undertake this work is, that were it injurious in itself, or did it lead to bad consequences, I am convinced, that among all the laws which have been enacted since the appearance of these sects, one would have issued from your Majesty or the Pope, forbidding, under great penalties, the composition and printing of such books. As this has not been done to my knowledge, notwithstanding the many laws passed, and the great diligence (thank God) used since that time, I am persuaded that no evil can attach to the undertaking, and that it is in perfect consistency with the laws of your Majesty, and of the supreme pontiff. Nor do I want examples to countenance me, seeing that similar works have been published in all languages and nations. It is a mark of little prudence, says the comic poet, when I reckon nothing well done, except that which I myself do, and suppose I alone hit the mark, and every other person errs. So it happens in the present case. For, not to speak of the European nations, whose sentiments on this subject I have already shown, if we consult the history of the ancients we shall find that all of them held the same opinion. The Jews, though they were an illiterate and hardened race, as Christ remarks, had their law delivered to them in their own language, difficult as it was to be understood on

account of the types of the Messiah which it contained. After their return from Babylon, as they were better acquainted with the Syriac than the Hebrew, they made use of the Chaldee paraphrases, which they called the Targums. The Christians, succeeding them, possessed the Scriptures in Greek, which, at that period, was the common language of the East. The other nations translated them into their own tongues, viz. Egyptian, Arabian, Persian, Ethiopian, and Latin; and in these languages also they had their Psalmody, as St Jerome affirms in his epitaph upon Paula. This Father likewise translated the Bible into Hungarian, for the benefit of his own countrymen. The Latins henceforth employed the Latin version—a custom which remained in their church for more than six hundred years, till the time of the Emperors Phocas and Heraclius, and Pope Gregory the Great. The practice of reading the holy Scriptures in a language which all could understand, was abandoned, not from a conviction of its being wrong, but because at the irruption of foreign nations into Europe the Latin tongue ceased to be spoken among the common people, while the Church continued to employ it as formerly, and has continued to do so to the present day. This, however, is the case only in these parts of Europe. In Greece, the modern Christians preserve the old practice; as also in Africa, Egypt, Ethiopia, Syria, Palestine, Persia, the East Indies, and throughout all the world. It would appear, then, that I am not singular in my sentiments on this subject; that this undertaking is not novel; and that that cannot be an evil which has existed for such a length of time in the Church of God, which so many nations have approved of, and which the Catholic church esteems to be good. If any one should be inclined to think it injurious on account of the danger there is at present of heresy, let such a one know that heresies do not arise from the reading of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongues, but from their being ill understood, and explained contrary to the interpretation and doctrine of the Church, which is the pillar and foundation of truth, and from their being treated of by evil-disposed men, who pervert them to suit their own wicked opinions. The same thing was remarked by St Peter concerning the Epistles of St Paul, which heretics in that age, as well as this, were in the practice of abusing in order to confirm their false tenets.

These reasons, sacred Majesty, have induced me to undertake this work. Not to say that it is a most just and holy cause, it is certainly worthy of your Majesty's royal dignity, worthy of your knowledge, worthy of your judgment, worthy of your approbation, and worthy of your protection. And since I am well assured, with Solomon, that the hearts of good princes are governed by God, I trust in heaven that your Majesty will take this my work in good part; that you will encourage and defend it by your authority; and that you will employ all means to procure it a favourable reception by others. This ought to be done the more on this account, that the good which may be expected to result from it throughout the kingdom is neither wealth, nor honour, nor worldly advantages, but spiritual blessings, and the glory of Christ Jesus. May He prosper your Majesty in the journey and enterprise you have undertaken, and in all others of a like nature; and after you have reigned long upon the earth, may He receive you to reign with himself in heaven. Amen.

From Antwerp, 1 October, 1543.

No. II.

Extracts from a Preface by Juan Perez to his Spanish Translation of the New Testament.[1]

Two reasons have induced me to undertake the important task of translating the New Testament, from the language in which it was originally composed, into our common and native Romance language. The one is, that when I found myself lying under great obligations to my countrymen on account of the vocation which the Lord had given me to preach the Gospel, I could discover no method by which

[1] Translated from the original Spanish, as given by Riederer, Nachrichten zur Kirchen-Gelehrten und Bücher-Geschichte, vol. ii. p. 147—149. Altdorf, 1765.

I could better fulfil, if not wholly, at least in part, my desire and obligation, than by bestowing on them a faithful version of the New Testament in their own language. In this respect I have obeyed the will of the Lord, and followed the example of his holy apostles. * * * The holy apostles, instructed in the will and intention of their Master, with the view of discharging their ministry, and publishing more extensively that which was committed to their care, did not write in Hebrew, which was then understood only by a few persons already skilled in the holy Scriptures, nor yet in the Syriac and Latin tongues. Nearly all of them wrote the Gospel in Greek, as it was then employed and understood, not only in Greece, but also among the Jews and Romans, and generally by all those who inhabited Asia and such parts of Europe as were subject to the Roman empire ; for neither the Latin nor any other language was at that time so generally known or so common as the Greek. * * * The other reason to which I referred as urging me to the present undertaking, is the advancement of my nation's glory, famed as it has always been in every quarter for its bravery and victories, and inclined to boast that it is freer than all other nations from those errors which have arisen in the world against the Christian religion. To overcome others is a thing which is esteemed glorious and desirable among men ; but to overcome one's self is much more glorious and honourable in the sight of God ; for to subdue our domestic enemies is the way to subject ourselves entirely to His government, and the victory obtained over them is the more illustrious and the more to be desired, as an intestine war is of all others the most dangerous, and as the reward here held out to the conquerors is the most precious and the most lasting. That which accomplishes this greatest of all victories is the reading and understanding of the contents of this sacred volume. In order that it may be understood and improved, I have translated it into the Romance. It is certainly honourable and glorious that we should be exempt from errors and all their consequences. Every one in the nation ought to labour as much as in him lies that this glory may accrue to us. For my part, I have endeavoured to provide a defence by which our country may always be protected from evil and from the entrance of error, by providing it with the New Testament, wherein is a summary of all the laws and advices we have received from heaven ; so that we may not only be enabled to detect infallibly every error, but also to avoid it with certainty. It is impossible that our glory can be lasting and permanent, unless we call in the aid of this volume, by habitually reading its statutes and meditating on its counsels.

No. III.

Extracts from the Confession of a Sinner, by Constantine Ponce de la Fuente, Chaplain to the Emperor Charles V.[1]

O thou Son of God, whom the eternal Father hath sent to be the Saviour of men, that Thou mightest offer thyself a sacrifice as a satisfaction for sin, I would present myself before the throne of Thy mercy, beseeching Thee to listen while I speak, not of my own righteousness and merits, but of the transgressions and grievous errors which I have committed against men, and more especially against the majesty, the goodness, and the compassion of Thy Father. Draw me forcibly by a discovery of that everlasting punishment with which my sins inwardly menace me. But O Thy compassion draws me by a very different cord ; making me to know, though not so quickly as I ought, all that Thou hast been to me, and all that I have been to Thee. I present myself before Thy sacred Majesty, accused and condemned by my own conscience, and constrained by its torture to speak out and confess, in the presence of earth and heaven, before men and angels, and in the audience of Thy sovereign and divine justice, that I deserve to be banished for ever from the kingdom of heaven, and to live in perpetual misery under the chains and tyranny of Satan. O my Lord and Saviour, my cause would be lost, I would be utterly undone, wert not Thou a judge to deliver from condemnation those whom their sins have handed over to eternal death. * * * * Blessed and praised for ever be

[1] Translated from a French version in Histoire des Martyrs, p. 503—506. Anno 1597.

Thy name by all those who know Thee, because Thou camest into this world not to condemn but to save sinners; because, being Thyself just, Thou hast become the advocate of the guilty, even of Thine enemies and accusers, and hast been afflicted and tempted in all things, in order to give us a surer proof of Thy compassion. Thou art holiness for the polluted, satisfaction for the guilty, payment for the insolvent, knowledge for the erring, and a surety for him that has no help. What I know of Thee, O my Saviour, draws me unto Thee, and I have begun to know Thee in a manner which makes me see that I am a wretch unworthy to approach Thy presence.

How shall I begin, O Lord, to render an account of my transgressions? What direction shall I take, the better to discover the error of my ways? Lord, give me eyes to look upon myself, and strengthen me to bear that look; for my sins are so great that I am ashamed to recognise them as mine, and try to remedy them by other sins—belying and disowning myself, if by any means I may find in me something not so exceedingly culpable. In all this, Lord, I mark the greatness of Thy compassion; for when I shut my own eyes lest I be confounded at the sight of my sins, Thou openest Thine, that Thou mayest observe and watch over me. Thou hast put it beyond doubt, O Redeemer of the world, that Thou examinest wounds with the intention of healing them, and that how disgusting soever they may be, they are not an eyesore to Thee, nor art Thou ashamed to cleanse them with Thine own hand. Guide me, Lord, and lead me along with Thee; for if I walk alone, I shall wander from the right path. Thy company shall strengthen me to bear the presence of myself. Sustain me, that I may not lose courage. Hold me firmly, that I may not fly from myself. Command the devil to be silent when Thou speakest with me.

There was a time, Lord, when I was nothing; Thou gavest me existence and formedst me in my mother's womb. There Thou didst impress on me Thy image and resemblance, and gave me the capacity of enjoying Thy blessings. There is nothing in me so minute or so delicate but what was conducted by Thy wisdom and singular design to its full perfection. I entered the world by a great miracle and under the power of Thy hand. I was nursed and invigorated by Thy providence. I was naked and Thou clothedst me, weak and Thou strengthenedst me; in short, Thou hast made me to feel that I live by leaning on Thy mercy which will never fail me. Before that I knew myself to be miserable I was undone; I contracted sin even in coming out of my mother's womb; this was my inheritance in being of the line of Adam. Behold the fortune which I heir from my father; it is to know myself miserable and sinful. Notwithstanding this, Thy compassion has embraced me, Thou hast helped me in my poverty, and delivered me from my evils. Thou hast enriched and adorned me, Thou hast divorced me from my own heart on which I leaned for support, and hast washed me as with pure water in Thy precious blood. Thou hast intrusted me with those favours which I most needed, which made me Thine, which delivered me from mine enemy, and gave me an assured pledge of eternal happiness. If Thy wisdom had not imposed silence, if I had not confided in Thee, seeing my true nature and condition, what could I have said but, in the words of Job, "Would that they had carried me from the womb to the grave, for surely that life which ought to prove a blessing is only for my evil and for my transgression, and it were better that I had never been!" Yet would I not be the judge of Thy glory, seeing I have so little advanced it, nor of Thy will, seeing it is the right rule of all justice. I am Thy servant, Lord, and Thine have I been as often as I have ceased from sinning. Thou hast preserved my privileges, though I myself took no charge of them. My innocence endured only so long as I had not eyes to look with delight on vanity and malice. I may say that when asleep I was Thine, but no sooner did I awaken to the knowledge of Thee than I discovered my aversion to look upon Thee; and the greater my obligations were to follow Thee, the faster did I fly from Thy presence. I was in love with my own ruin, and gave it full rein; and in this manner did I allow it to dissipate Thy benefits. I joined myself to Thine enemies, as if my happiness consisted in being traitor to Thee. I closed my eyes, I shut up all my senses, that I might not perceive that I was in Thy house, that Thou wast the Lord of the heavens whose rain descends upon me, and of the earth which sustains me in life. I was a sacrilegious person, a despiser of Thy bounty, ungrateful, a contemner of Thy mercy, an audacious man, fearing not

Thy justice. Nevertheless I slept as soundly as if I were one of Thy servants, and appropriated everything to myself without considering that it came from Thee. * * * *

Such has been the pride of man, that he aimed at being God; but so great was Thy compassion towards him in his fallen state, that thou abasedst Thyself to become not only of the rank of men, but a true man, and the least of men, taking upon Thee the form of a servant, that Thou mightest set me at liberty, and that by means of Thy grace, wisdom, and righteousness, man might obtain more than he had lost by his ignorance and pride. He had thrown himself into the power of the devil, to be formed into his image and remain his prisoner, banished from Thy presence, condemned in Thy indignation, the slave of him who had seduced him, and whose counsel he chose to follow in contempt of the justice and majesty of the Father. But so completely hast thou retrieved what man had lost, that I may justly say, "Man is true God," since God is true man, since believers have the privilege of being made partakers of the divine nature, since they are all Thy brethren, and since the Father joins with Thee in calling them to imitate Thee, that they may grow daily in Thy likeness, and execute Thy will, and that thus each of them may be in truth denominated a son of God, and born of God. O the misery of those who would seek for happiness in any other than Thee, seeing that Thy compassion can give them more than even their own presumption could demand! Thou knowest, Lord, the return I have made for Thy benefits, and whether or not I have merited them. Would that I knew this as well! that, flying far from myself, I might come nearer unto Thee; for, to complete my misery, all that I know and feel of my heinous sins, forms the least part of them. It is many years, Lord, since Thou becamest man for me, and didst abase Thyself to such a depth that I might be raised thus high. Having once presumed to equal myself with God, I forsook the path in which Thou wouldst have me to walk, and took that which led to my destruction, listening to the voice of Thine enemy, and avowedly taking up arms against thee. What was this but my arrogant heart seeking to govern me by its own wisdom, to set me at large in my own ways, and to settle down in the pleasure and satisfaction of its own obstinate disobedience? I was a worm in comparison with others, and all plainly perceived my littleness and insignificance; but as for me, my discourses were my gods; so far had I forgotten what Thou wast, and how low Thou didst condescend for my sake. Thou hast abased Thyself in order to become man—a new man, of the same line with Adam, and yet without the sin of Adam; for such a nature was suited at once to Thy greatness and to the work of our justification. Thou didst take upon thee human flesh, and wast born of a virgin-mother, that Thou mightest be every way fitted to our condition, and that Thou mightest be entirely such a one as it behoved him to be who is at once God and man. Thou hast called us to be new creatures, that by the privilege of our union with Thee we might throw off the depravity which we had inherited from our father, and in Thee receive new life and strength, that as we have borne the image of the old and sinful man, so we may recover the resemblance of the new and innocent man. As for me, enamoured of my old nature, and satisfied with my former lusts, as if I did well in pursuing them, I deemed it sufficient to believe that Thou wast innocent; I was desirous of remaining guilty, not considering that by this conduct I both ruined my own soul, and egregiously outraged Thy goodness by rejecting and forsaking Thee, even when thou wast come to seek and to save me. * * * *

But notwithstanding all this, Thy mercy is so powerful that it draws me unto Thee; for if Thy hatred against sin has been manifested in divers ways, much more have the workings of Thy mercy appeared in the salvation of men. To punish sinners Thou hadst only to issue a command; but, Lord, to save them from destruction, Thou hadst to lay down thy life. This cost Thee thine own blood shed upon the cross, even by the hands of those for whom Thou didst offer it. In executing justice, Thou hast acted as God; but to display Thy marvellous mercy Thou hast become man, assuming our infirmities, enduring disgrace and death, that we may be assured of the pardon of our sins. Lord, since it pleases Thee that I should not perish, I come unto thee like the prodigal son, desiring to share that kind treatment which all who dwell in Thy house receive, having found to my bitter experience that all those for whom I forsook Thee are mine enemies. Although the recollec-

tion of my sins accuses me bitterly, and I am sorely amazed at the sight of Thy throne, yet I cannot but assure myself that Thou wilt pardon and bless me, and that Thou wilt not banish me for ever from Thy presence. Lord, hast Thou not said and sworn, that Thou hast no pleasure in the death of the sinner, and that Thou delightest not in the destruction of men? Hast not Thou said, that Thou art not come to call the righteous but sinners to repentance, not to cure the whole but them that are sick? Wast not Thou chastised for the iniquity of others? Has not Thy blood sufficient virtue to wash out the sins of all the human race? Are nor Thy treasures more able to enrich me, than all the debt of Adam to impoverish me? Lord, although I had been the only person alive, or the only sinner in the world, thou wouldst not have failed to die for me. O my Saviour, I would say, and say it with truth, that I individually stand in need of those blessings which Thou hast given to all. What though the guilt of all had been mine, Thy death is all mine. Even though I had committed all the sins of all, yet would I continue to trust in Thee, and to assure myself that Thy sacrifice and pardon is all mine, though it belong to all. Lord, thou wilt show this day who Thou art. Here is a work by which thou mayst glorify thyself before the Father and before the host of heaven, even more than by the work of creation. Since Thou art a physician, and such a physician, here are wounds which none but Thyself is able to heal, inflicted on me by Thy enemies and mine. Since Thou art the health, and the life, and the salvation, sent from our Father in heaven, look upon my desperate maladies which no earthly physician can cure. Since Thou art a Saviour, here is a ruin, by the repairing of which thou wilt cause both enemies and friends to acknowledge Thy hand and power. * * * *

Formerly I was amazed at the wickedness of those that crucified Thee. So blind was I that I did not perceive myself among the foremost of that band. Had I attended to the treacheries of my heart and the scandals of my wicked works, in contempt of Thy judgment, commandments, and mercy, I must have recognised myself. Yes; I held in my hands the crown of thorns for Thy head, the nails to affix Thee to the cross, the gall and vinegar to give Thee to drink. The indifference with which I treated Thy sufferings for me was all these. To have gone farther would have been to put myself beyond the reach of the remedy. But the horror of Thy punishment, and the anger of the Father against those who despise Thee, impose silence on me, and force me to confess, that truly Thou art the Son of God. It is enough that I am the robber and malefactor sought out by Thee. It is time to cry for a cure. Lord, remember me now that Thou art come to Thy kingdom. Having nothing to allege for my justification but an acknowledgment that I am unrighteous, destitute of everything to move Thy compassion but the greatness of my misery, unable to urge any other reason why Thou shouldst cure me, but that my case is hopeless from every other hand, for my part I have no other sacrifice than my afflicted spirit and broken heart; and this I would not yet have had, if thou hadst not awakened me to the knowledge of my danger. The sacrifice which I need is that of Thy blood and righteousness. * * * Abide with me for my preservation; for the flesh grumbles and resists, the devil will redouble his assaults the nearer I approach Thee, and the world is full of gins and snares to entrap me. But such art thou, Lord, and so carefully dost thou watch over my salvation, that I am assured thou wilt never forsake me, and that Thou wilt so guard and secure me that I shall not be permitted to ruin myself.

No. IV.

Letter from Francisco Farias and Nicolas Molino to Grindal, Bishop of London.[1]

Most humane and illustrious Bishop,—The request which we have now humbly to present to you is, that you would give us your advice upon an affair of importance, as our father and faithful pastor. We understand, and have ascertained upon the

[1] Translated from the Latin, in Strype's Life of Grindal. Appendix, B. i. No. xiii.

best grounds, that a person inimical to the Gospel, who for certain reasons had fled from Spain, has, with the view of regaining the favour of the Spanish monarch, fabricated a calumnious story, and has been communicating with the ambassador from Spain, and the governess of Flanders. The object of this calumny is, that we two, Spaniards, who have been these eight years exiles in this country for the word of God, should be delivered up and carried back to Spain. Their plan is as follows: that the King of Spain shall be advertised to require the Spanish inquisitors to draw informations against us of heinous crimes, to which they should add another information against a Spaniard of infamous character, who has fled from Flanders for robbery and other crimes, and is now living here; that along with these advices, King Philip shall write to the Queen, requesting these criminals to be delivered up to his ambassador, with the view of their being sent to Spain; and that the name of the notorious malefactor from Flanders shall be placed first in the list, that so no one may doubt that we are chargeable with as great or even greater crimes.

As to the informations which may be brought hither, we call God to witness, for whose name we suffer exile, that nothing can be laid to our charge which, if true, does not entitle us to praise rather than blame. But knowing that, on account of our religion, we have incurred the great odium of the Spanish Inquisition, and that, from the time we left Spain till the present time, it had expended above six thousand crowns in attempts to discover us and our fellow-exiles, we have no doubt that the inquisitors will find as many false witnesses as they please, and thus be able to fix upon us whatever crimes they wish. Now, supposing that such informations should be presented to her Majesty the Queen, along with letters from King Philip, desiring that we should be delivered up, we desire to know whether or not we shall be exposed to danger. If we should, it is our intention to remove to some other country where such a calumny will not be listened to. On this account, most pious bishop, we request your advice as speedily as possible, in order that we may provide for our safety in time; for Judas will not sleep till he has betrayed us, and perhaps the informations are already upon the road. Besides, one of our wives is pregnant, and will not be able to bear the fatigues of the journey, if it be delayed much longer. You will see then that delay may be the means of our being delivered up, and taken to a place where we shall suffer the most inhuman tortures. If Providence has assigned this lot to us, we will adore Him, and pray that He would confirm us in His faith, and so strengthen us as that we may be enabled, for the glory of His name, to remain firm to the end.

No. V.

Specimens of early Spanish Translations of the Scriptures.

The fragment of the Translation of the Bible by Bonifacio Ferrer, printed in 1478, but composed about the beginning of the fifteenth century, is extremely curious, as indicating the state of the Spanish language at that early period. As a specimen of it I shall give the last chapter of the Book of Revelation, as reprinted in the Biblioteca Espanola of Rodriguez de Castro. To this I add, for the purpose of comparison, the same chapter in the version of the New Testament by Francisco de Enzinas, taken from the original work, printed in 1543.

Ferrer's Version.

Mostra a mi vn riu de aygua viua resplandentaxi com crestall procedint de la seilla de deu [e] del anyell. En lo mig de la plaza de ella: e de la una parte e altra del riu lo fust de vida por tant dotze fruyts: per cascuns mesos reten sō

Enzinas' Version.

Y el me amostro vn rio limpio de agua viua, resplandesçiente como Christal, que salia de la silla de Dios y del Cordero. En el medio de la plaça della. Y de la vna parte y de la otra del rio el arbor de la vida, que trai doze frutos, dando cada

Ferrer's Version.

fruyt: e les fulles del fust a sanitat de les gẽts. E res maleyt no sera pus: e la seilla de deu e del anyel seran en aquella: e los seruents de ell suiran a aquell: e veuran la faç de ell: e lo nom de ell scrit en los fronts de ells. E nit pus no sera: e no hauran fretura de lum de candela ne d'lum de sol: car lo seuyor deu illuminara aqlls: e regnaran enlos setgles dels setgles. E dix a mi: aquestes paules fidelissimes son e verdaderes. E lo senyor deu dels spirits dels prophetes ha trames lo angel seu mostrar als seruẽts seus les coses: que cõue tost esser fetes. E veus que vinch iuaçosament. Benauenturat es lo qui guarda les paules de lu [*sic*] pphecia d'aquest libre.

E yo ioan qui oi e viu aquestes coses. E puix que les hagui oides e vistes: caygui perqueado res dauant los peus del angel: qui mostraua a mi aquestes coses. E dix a mi: guarda nou faces. Seruent so ensemps ab tu e ab los frares teus prophetes: e ab aquells qui seruen les paraules de la prophecia de aquest libre. A deu adora. E dix a mi: no sagelles les paraules de la prophecia de aquest libre. Car lo temps es prop. Qui nou noga en cara: e qui en les sutzures es en sutzeeixca en cara: e qui iustes sia iustificat en cara e lo sant sia santificat en cara. Ueus que vinch tots: e lo guardo meu es ab mi: retrea cascu segons les obres sues yo so alpha e o: primer e darrer: principi e fi. Benauenturats son los que lauen les stoles sues en la sanch del anyell. per que sia la potestat de ells en lo fust de vida: e per portes entren en la ciutat. De fora los cans a j'ents veri e los luxuriosos los homicides e los seruint a les idoles: e tot aquell qui ama e fa mentira. yo iesus be trames [*sic*] lo angel meu a testificar aquestes coses a uosaltres en les esglesies. yo so rael e linatge de dauid: stela resplandent e matutina. E lo spos e la sposa di en: vine. E lo qui ou: diga vine. E qui ha set vinga. E qui vol prenda de grat aygua de vida. Car faç testimonia tot oint les paraules de la prophecia de aquest libre. Si algu haura aiustat aquestes: aiustara deu sobre aqll les plagues que son scrites en aquest libre: e si algu haura diminuit de les paraules de la prophecia de aquest libre: tolra deu la part de ell del libre de vida e de la ciutat sancta: e de aquestes coses que son scrites en aquest libre. Diu ho lo qui testimonia dona de aquestes coses.

Enzinas' Version.

mes su fruto: y las hojas del arbor son para la sanidad de los gentiles. Y toda cosa maldita, no sera mas. Pero el throno de Dios y el Cordero estara en ella, y sus sieruos le seruiran, y veran su rostro, y su nombre estara en sus frentes. Y la noche no esta mas alli, y no tienen neçessidad de lumbre de candela, ni de la lumbre del Sol. Por que el Senor dios los alumbra, y reinaran para siempre jamas. Y me dixo: Estas palabras son fieles y verdaderas. Y el Senor Dios de los sanctos prophetas ha embiado su angel, para mostrar a sus sieruos las cosas que es neçessario que sean hechas bien presto. Y veis aqui que yo vengo presto. Bienauenturado es aquel que guarda las palabras de la propheçia de este libro. Y yo Iohan soi aquel que ha oydo, y visto estas cosas. Y despues que yo vbe oydo y visto: yo me eche para adorar delante de los pies del Angel que me mostraba estas cosas. Y el me dixo: Mira que tu no lo hagas: por que yo soi consieruo tuyo, y de tus hermanos los prophetas, y de los que guardan las palabras de este libro. Adora a Dios. Y me dixo: No senales las palabras de la propheçia de este libro, por que el tiẽpo esta çerca. El que es injusto, sea injusto mas: El que es suçio, ensuçiese mas. Y el que es justo, sea justificado mas. Y el sancto sea sanctificado mas. Y veis aqui, yo bengo presto. Y mi galardon esta comigo, para dar a cada vno, como sera su obra. Yo soi, Alpha y O, el primero y el postrero, el prinçipio y el fin.

Bien auenturados son los que hazen sus mandamientos, para que su potencia sea en el arbor de la vida, y que entren por las puertas en la çibdad. Pero los perros seran de fuera, y los hechizeros, las rameras y los homiçidas, jdolatras, y cada vno que ama, y haze mentira. Yo Iesus he embiado mi Angel, para daros testimonio de estas cosas en las yglesias. Yo soi la raiz y el genero de Dauid, la estrella resplandesçiente y de la manana: Y el espirito y la esposa dizen: Ben. y el q lo oy, diga: Ben. Y el que tiene sed: benga. Y el que quiere, tome del agua de la vida debalde.

Pues yo protesto a cada vno que oy las palabras de la propheçia de este libro: si alguno anadiere a estas cosas, pondra Dios sobre el las plagas escritas en este libro. Y si alguno disminuyere

Ferrer's Version.

Encara Uinch tots: amen. Uine senyor iesus. La gracia del senyor nostro iesucrist sia ab tots vosaltres Amen.

Enzinas' Version.

do las palabras del libro de esta propheçia, Dios quitara su parte del libro do la vida, y de la santa çibdad, y de las cosas quo estã escritas en este libro. El que da testimonio de estas cosas, dize: Cierto, yo bengo en breve. Amẽ. Tanbien. Ven senor Iesus. La graçia de nuestro Senor Iesu Christo sea con todos vosotros. Amen.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

Note I.—First Institution of the Inquisition, and its Fruits.

(See p. 52.)

The tribunal of the Inquisition was first established in the Castle of Triana, at Seville, in 1481. This was commemorated by an inscription over the principal entrance of the Castle, which is to be found in Llorente. Another inscription in Spanish records the number of prosecutions which followed, stating, that from their commencement against "Judaizing heretics," down to the year 1524, more than 2000 had abjured "the nefarious crime of heresy," and of the whole, more than 1000 had been "devoted to the fire and burnt." Relacion Historica de la Guderia de Sevilla. Por D. J. M. M. de E. P. 37.

Note II.—Pedro de Lerma.

(See p. 63.)

Of this person, regarding whom our author has simply stated that, being "Professor of Divinity and Chancellor of the University of Alcala, he was denounced to the Inquisition of Toledo, as suspected of the Lutheran opinions, and fled to Paris," I am enabled, through the kindness of Mr Wiffen, to give a little more information. It appears that when denounced to the Inquisition he was nearly seventy years of age. Descended of a noble family at Burgos, he was, from his age, station, principles, and discretion, held in high esteem throughout Spain. His yearly income amounted to nearly six thousand crowns. Versant in scholastic learning, he was at the same time a diligent student of Scripture. He had reached an advanced age when the writings of Erasmus fell into his hands, by the perusal of which he perceived and at once acknowledged that the studies pursued in the schools were less fitted to promote knowledge than to foster a vain ostentation of learning. From this time his discourses became remarkable for freedom and simplicity. The change was observed by the friars, and he was thrown into the Inquisition, where, having been threatened with the torture, he at length submitted, and was compelled to make a public recantation in the chief cities where he had preached. He was finally set at liberty in 1527, when he was visited by his nephew, Francisco de Enzinas, or Dryander, who found the old man in his native city, Burgos, sad and broken in spirit, and resolving to leave his country, where, he said, it was impossible for the learned to live safely among such persecutors. Resigning his honours, he went by sea to Flanders, where he began to breathe in freedom; and pursuing his journey to Paris, he was honourably welcomed by his former friends. Here he lived four years, dying in 1541. Enzinas visited him shortly before his death, and paid him every mark of respect. He endeavoured in vain to procure a copy of the eleven propositions which the inquisitors had compelled him to abjure as heretical;

but at length a friar, who had copied them down at the time, allowed him to read them. The first was, "That the law was not given for the just." The others were of a trifling nature. Histoire de l'Estat de Pais-Bas: 1558. P. 152 *et seq.*

Note III.—Lutheran Books in Spain.

(See p. 66.)

In a letter, dated 1530, Andrew Osiander says: "Est in Hispania mulier quædam Evangelii studiosa, quæ libellum edidit dignum qui publicaretur. Itaque ab Episcopo quodam versus in latinam linguam excusus est. Philippo (Melanchthoni) promisit quidam eum se ei exhibiturum; quod si fiet, vel descriptum ad vos mittam." Bretschneider, Corpus Reformatorum, vol. ii. col. 164.

Note IV.—The Illuminati of Spain.

(See p. 68.)

The Spanish term for this class of religionists was *Alumbrados*. An account of an auto-da-fé of these persons at Seville in 1624, and of the tenets attributed to them, will be found in "The Friend" for July 1850. Their tenets, which, as stated by the author, bore a strong resemblance to those afterwards adopted by the "Society of Friends," were said to have been such as the following: "That mental prayer is a divine precept, and in this consists the essence of the Christian religion; that prayer is a private sacrament; that this is only realised in mental prayer, vocal prayer being valueless; that the servants of God should not be exercised in external rites; that the melting, trembling, and sinkings which are to be seen in such teachers and their followers, are indications of the love of God; that such perfect persons are governed immediately by the Holy Spirit," &c. "The Alumbrados," says the writer of the above account, "continued to exist in Spain, in smaller or greater numbers, for a period of ninety years; a great many were put to death, but in time of persecution the greater part recanted, or concealed their spiritual and internal principles under the outward observance of the ceremonies of the Romish ritual—a broad cloak to cover a conforming conscience, whether of truth, miscalled heresy, or of infidelity itself."

Note V.—Doctor Juan Gil (known as Egidius.)

(See p. 73—77.)

De Castro has confirmed the account which our author has given of the process against Egidius, on the authority of De Montes. He calls Soto "a wicked hypocritical fellow." He has also given a more detailed account of Gil's retractation. Our author states simply "that he lost courage, and silently acquiesced in the sentence pronounced against him" (p. 160), and that he appeared among the criminals condemned to penance, in an auto-da-fé celebrated at Seville in 1552" (p. 169). De Castro states, on the authority of a MS. in the Cathedral of Seville, that he made a formal recantation of several Lutheran propositions, and gives the sentence that was passed upon him. The Spanish Protestants, and their Persecution by Philip II.; a historical work, by Señor Don Adolpho de Castro: English translation, p. 34—36. London, 1851. This author speaks of Egidius "*re-imbibing* Lutheran opinions" after his release from imprisonment. But the Doctor does not seem to have ever abandoned the beliefs which he had been induced, under the influence of fear, to recant. He never recovered his spirits, and went mourning over his fall to the grave. P. 99.

Note VI.—Bartolome de Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo.

(See pp. 84, 154, &c.)

Of the extraordinary history of this distinguished man, De Castro has furnished us with numerous details. He began life as a furious persecutor, and was mainly instrumental in urging the fiery executions of our martyrs in England during the reign of Bloody Mary. He was, moreover, among the most zealous in his own country in the work of prohibiting and burning heretical books. There can be no doubt, however, that in the course of examining the works of the reformers, he had imbibed their leading sentiments; and he was destined, during an imprisonment of sixteen years (Dr M'Crie has stated at one time seventeen, and at another eighteen years), to taste the bitterness of the cup which he had compelled so many of his countrymen and ours to drink. De Castro, speaking of his Catechism, which was the foundation of all his troubles, thinks that "he evidently took passages from the writings of Luther, and inserted them, dressing them up with his own reasoning." He gives an interesting account of his seizure by the Inquisition, an event which, considering the high position of the Archbishop, who was primate of the Spanish Church, excited the deepest sensation throughout Spain and Europe. The familiars of the Inquisition, using every precaution to disguise their object, crept silently, with their armed followers, towards the Archbishop's palace, which they surrounded at the dead of night. The prelate was in bed, and one of them, approaching it, knelt on the floor upon one knee, saying in tears, "Most illustrious Señor, your reverence will give me your hand and pardon me." "Why so?" said the Archbishop, drawing the curtains and sitting up in bed. "Because," was the reply, "I come to do a thing which your reverence may see from my face how much against my will I do it;" and he pointed to the alguazil, who approached, saying, "Most illustrious Señor, I am commanded by the Holy Office to make you its prisoner." Carranza, having demanded their authority, said, "But these gentlemen are not aware that they cannot be my judges, being, as I am by my dignity, immediately subject to the Pope, and to no other person." Being informed that they were armed with the Pope's authority, he surrendered himself with great composure. That night, the inhabitants being forbidden to appear out of doors or at the windows under the severest penalties, he was led forth mounted on a mule, and conveyed to prison at Valladolid. After his long confinement, he was at last, under Pope Gregory XIII., allowed to escape, on making an abjuration at Rome of "the bad doctrine which he had drawn from many condemned heretics." He read his abjuration in a tone of disdain, as if it had been the writing of some other person, and converted his penance into a triumph. But the unusual exercise thus entailed on him brought on a fever, which terminated his life on the 2d of May 1576, in the 73d year of his age. "Such was the end of the Archbishop of Toledo, after having suffered constantly for sixteen years in the cells of the Inquisition and in the Castle of St Angelo in Rome. 'I never saw him sad,' says Don Antonio de Fuenmayor, in his *Vida de San Pio V.*; 'he spoke temperately in his cause, and reproached nobody, not even those whom he believed to be his enemies.' To which adds Father Quintanadeuñas, 'He manifested so generous a spirit, and such a Christian-like courage, in his adverse fortunes, that he surprised Spain and astonished Italy.'" The Spanish Protestants. By Don A. de Castro. P. 126—186.

It was on the trial of Carranza that Pope Pius V., who favoured him for his past services to the Church, insisted on his judges *standing* during the examination, giving orders that the benches should be turned with the backs reversed, so that they might recline if they chose, but not sit down. It is a strong proof of the zeal of these inquisitors, that, though they grumbled profoundly at this arrangement, "in this way for three years," says De Castro, "did the Congregation hold its *sittings* (!) once a-week, and for two or three hours at a time."

Note VII.—Claud Senarcle, the friend of Juan Diaz.

(See p. 90.)

It is stated here that the narrative of the horrid murder of Diaz was drawn by this noble Savoyard, who "had accompanied him, and slept in the same bed with him on the night before his murder." The following additional particulars are recorded by Pantaleon: "Claud Senarcle, a youth of noble descent, slept with Diaz, and had remained in bed [after Diaz had left it]; but, moved by some undefinable and secret misgiving, immediately leaped from the bed, and snatching up his clothes, wished to enter the stone [sitting] room, to see what Diaz was doing. Having left the bedroom, he heard the footsteps of the murderers who were on the stairs; and as he was doubtful whether the persons were passing up or down, he shut the door of the stairs, and went straight into the stone-room to put on his clothes. As soon as he entered it, and saw the spectacle that lay prostrate on the floor, he was perfectly horrified, and in his stupor let his clothes fall from his hands, and his very voice stuck in his throat." H. Pantaleon, in Rerum in Eccles. Gest.: Basil, 1553. Pp. 169, 170.

Note VIII.—First Auto-da-fe at Valladolid.

(See p. 135—140.)

Referring to this atrocious spectacle, Mr Mendham has reprinted a small tract of extreme rarity, giving an account of it in Italian, printed at Bologna, to all appearance at the very time, and probably under the auspices of the inquisitorial pontiff Paul IV. Mr Mendham says: "The Italian account, here afresh presented to the reader, will not, it is hoped, prove unserviceable to Dr M'Crie in a second edition, which is reckoned upon, of his highly valuable History of the Suppression of the Reformation in Spain." Memoirs of the Council of Trent, Appendix, p. 334—340. On comparing Dr M'Crie's account with this rare tract, I can discover not the smallest discrepancy, and no material addition to the information. The tract, however, corroborates the statements in Llorente, and Skinner's Registers, from which our author took his facts; and it contains a list of the names of all the prisoners, under the three separate heads of "The Burnt," "The Reconciled," and "Those who remain in prison *for another Auto;*" which last exhibits a list of no less than *thirty-seven* persons, including the names of

Fra Domenico di Roias [Roxas].
Don Carlo de Seso, habitatore dello Grugno.
Pietro de Cazaglia [Cazalla], prete curato de Pedrosa.
Pietro Soteglio, habitador di Aldea, il palo della diocesi di Zamorra.
Donna Marina de Guevara, monaca nel monasterio di Balen di Valladolid.
Donna Felippa di Heredia, monaca di detto monasterio.
Donna Margherita di Santestefan, monaca di detto monasterio.
Donna Francesca di Zuniga, monaca del detto monasterio, &c. &c.

Seven nuns of the monastery of Balen appear in this fatal list, followed by seven others, who were *widows* or *girls*. The ordinary form in which those committed to the flames were noticed (no mention is made of previous strangulation), is—"Burnt in person as a Lutheran;" and in no one case, either of the burnt or the reconciled, do we notice the omission of the important phrase, "*con confiscatione de beni.*"

Note IX.—Confession of Doctor Augustin Cazalla at his Death.

(See p. 137.)

The author has said that Cazalla, "at the place of execution, addressed a few words to his fellow-prisoners in the character of a penitent." This admits of being qualified by the following particulars, taken from a MS. history of Valladolid, in the possession of B. Wiffen, Esq.:—

"Augustin Cazalla, when he came opposite the Princess, kneeled down and

said to her, 'Queen and my lady! for the love of God let your Majesty hear four things from me.' At which the chief alguazil ordered the procession to stop, and having petitioned her and received her consent, Cazalla kneeled before the Princess and, weeping, lamented his sins, exclaiming three times, 'Blessed be God! Blessed be God! Blessed be God!' and kissing the cross in the standard, and looking up to heaven, holding a cross and uttering loud expressions of grief that seemed to burst his heart with sorrow, said: 'Hear me, O heaven and men, and may our Lord be received with honour, and be ye holy witnesses, how I, a repentant sinner, return to the absolution of faithful Christians: I truly repent to God and to the holy commandments of Him the High Priest [*i.e.* Christ]. I well and sincerely repent of all my sins, and am going to die in the faith of my Lord and God. I acknowledge that, for the least of my sins, I merit the gravest pains of hell that are bestowed upon the condemned; but our Lord has shown mercy towards me by drawing me to the true knowledge of my former condition, to know that the way I was going was darkness, because of error and sin, and that the present is the way by which I and all Christians should walk.' And on this he said certain words [probably those Llorente quotes] and returned to take his place again."

If this was the confession of Cazalla, I agree with Mr Wiffen in thinking that there is no retractation in it, but a mode of speaking fitted to animate the private and timid Protestants who might be within hearing.

Note X.—Pillar Commemorating the Demolition of the House of Cazalla's Mother.

(See p. 140.)

Dr M'Crie states, on the authority of Llorente, that this pillar was to be seen on the spot on which it was erected till removed by the French in 1809. Mr Wiffen's minute information enables me to state, that the pillar, if indeed removed by the French, must have been replaced on the return of Ferdinand VII. He saw it so lately as the year 1826. It was, however, removed under the regency of Espartero, in 1840-1841. "As an instance, not merely of the intolerance of a barbarous age, but also of the succeeding centuries that permitted such a token of bigotry to remain standing so long," the same writer has inserted the inscription on this pillar, which, rendered into English, ran as follows: "Paul IV., presiding in the Roman Church, and Philip II., reigning over Spain: The holy office of the Inquisition condemned these houses of Pedro de Cazalla and Doña Leonor de Vibero, his wife, to be demolished and razed, because the Lutheran heretics assembled here in conventicle against our holy Catholic faith and the Roman church. In the year MDLIX., on the xxi. of May." Notice to Epistola Consolatoria. By Juan Perez. Reprinted, 1848. Pp. xxi. xxii.

Note XI.—Auto-da-fes at Seville.

(See p. 149, &c.)

"In the year 1842," says Mr Wiffen, "whilst travelling in that country, I found myself in the Alameda Vieja of Seville, in front of the house formerly occupied by the Inquisition, where several of the prisoners were confined who were burned at the auto-da-fé of 1560. Whilst gazing on the edifice with feelings of awe, I recalled to remembrance those martyrs for the truth, and at the same time I listened with painful interest to the narration made to me by a Spanish gentleman, of an attack made on those very premises at a recent period by an infuriated populace, who suffered but few of the friars, confined there for political offences, to escape with life. The building having taken fire, some perished in the flames, whilst others fell by the hands of the assassins." Notice prefixed to Epistola Consolatoria. By Juan Perez. P. xxiii.

Similar sensations were awakened in the breast of another traveller. "Here," says Mr Rule, "*is* a modern market-place, where *was* the first Inquisition of Seville, raised in the thirteenth century, by the misnamed Saint Ferdinand. From this soil, of which the pavement hides the bones of many victims, the groans of

martyrs ascended to heaven. From this place their blood still cries for vengeance ; and as we stood there, wretched Spain, distracted, half-peopled, waste, reeking with the blood of her children, was suffering the scourge of God's retributive justice." Memoir of a Mission to Gibraltar and Spain. By the Rev. W. H. Rule. London, 1844. P. 148.

The account of the auto-da-fé in 1680, by Joseph del Olmo, of which our author speaks as " a proof of the taste of the nation," (p. 162, note 1), was reprinted at Madrid in 1820, the year of the final suppression of the Inquisition, in two editions, 4to and 12mo, with illustrative notes. The editor of the latter, with a touch of satire which is yearly becoming more severe by the evidence of its truth, when giving the list of the grandees of Spain who attended that spectacle, says: " This list, and others that might be extracted from the accounts of other autos, is the true *Tizon de Espana*—Brand of Spain."

Note XII.—Armed Resistance to Persecution.

(See p. 164.)

The author here states in the text, and supports in a note, the sentiment that armed resistance to persecution, so far from entailing evil results, has, in point of fact, been followed by freedom, while tame submission has issued in the extermination of truth, and in the perpetuation of religious thraldom. This sentiment I have been requested by some to qualify, as inconsistent with the example and teaching of Christ. I am precluded, however, from taking such a course, not only by respect to the well-known opinions of the author, who, it may be remarked, expressed the same conviction twenty-six years before the publication of " Spain," in the sketches of this History which he inserted in the *Christian Magazine* for 1803, but from feeling myself unprepared to adopt a theory which is at variance with the plain facts of history. The teachings of Christianity ought not to be construed so as to condemn the teachings of nature. It is through their civil rights, which all are bound to protect, that the persecutor aims his blow at men's religious freedom. Even in the case of France, the argument from history tells in favour of patriotic resistance to the oppressors of conscience. On this subject, I am happy to be able to quote the authority of Mr Mendham : " A treacherous regret has sometimes been expressed that these sufferers, when they obtained sufficient power, were tempted to resist their persecutors by force, and eventually plunge the nation into a long and sanguinary war ; and expediency has been called in aid of the insinuation, by the question, What did they gain by such conduct? They gained *this*, that for generations Christianity was not extinguished in France, but, on the contrary, continued for the time to create human souls to holiness and salvation. Look at Italy and Spain. What has non-resistance, whether necessary or not, done in those countries?" Memoirs of the Council of Trent, Appendix, p. 344.

Note XIII.—Alleged Demolition of the Buildings of the Inquisition at Madrid.

A strange story on this subject was for some time in circulation, to the effect that when Napoleon penetrated into Spain in 1809, he gave orders for the demolition of the buildings of the Inquisition in the neighbourhood of Madrid ; that those orders were carried into execution by one Colonel Lemanousky, a Polish gentleman, who, after encountering some resistance from the priests, stormed the place, and, in a fit of indignation, excited by the spectacle of its horrible cells and instruments of torture, blew up the whole establishment with gunpowder. Mr Wiffen, who visited the house of Inquisition at Madrid in 1820, and found it entire, though stripped of its furniture, and bearing in its gloomy pits and vaults unmistakable vestiges of the purposes to which they had been applied, published a refutation of the above story, in *Notes and Queries*, vol. x., p. 120, &c. The most curious feature of this controversy was, that Colonel Lemanousky, who had first published the account in an American newspaper, and was still alive, though in extreme old age, in 1854, on seeing this refutation of his story, wrote to a New York paper, persisting in the

affirmation of its truth, but in a way that proved his ignorance of the house in question. Mr Wiffen was thereupon at the pains to confirm his statements by witnesses formally examined on the spot. See *Notes and Queries*, vol. xi., p. 108; vol. xii., p. 77.

Note XIV.—Spanish Refugees.

(See p. 166.)

"A Spaniard, named Peter Nunnes, a native of Avila, succeeded Conrad Gesner, as Professor of Greek at Lausanne, in 1540." Ruchat, Hist. Ref. de la Suisse, tom. vi. p. 452 (MS. note by the Author). He was succeeded by Theodore Beza. Ibid.

P. 167, note 7.—"Pierius, a Spaniard, pastor of Blois, held a conference with the Prince of Condé in 1563." Smedley, Hist. of the Ref. Religion in France, vol. i. p. 269 (MS. note by the Author).

Note XV.—Present State of Spain in reference to Religion.

It may be interesting to those who have perused our author's "History of the Suppression of the Reformation in Spain," to present a brief view of the progress of religious liberty in Spain since that period.

The progress of free opinion, the precursor of religious liberty and of true religion in Spain, may be said to have commenced at the suppression of the order of Jesuits in 1767, which practically moved the machinery of the Inquisition to its own purposes. From that time, losing the direction of the Jesuits, it lost much of its authority and energy, being thereafter employed less to search the consciences of men respecting their religious faith, than to serve the purposes of government, by bringing the severity of that dreaded tribunal to bear upon liberal opinions in politics and literature. In 1790, the Inquisitor-General Don Augustine Rubin de Cevallos published a new index of prohibited books, "which is, and ever will be," writes the canon J. L. Villaneuva, "a monument of the connections of that tribunal with the Jesuits and the court of Rome." The preparation of it was committed to Don Joaquin Castellot, Canon of the royal Capilla de la Encarnacion, Examiner of Books for the Holy Office, a man much behind the age in his information, and very Jesuitical. This index was handsomely reprinted in small folio, with additions, in 1844, and a supplement continued down to so recent a period as 1846. Since that period *censures* from time to time have been publicly issued upon the later works of the press, yet without authority, which have been collected into a *Resumen*, printed at Bilboa in 1852, containing a list of 235 articles; an evidence that the spirit of the Inquisition survives its existence as an institution.

Napoleon Buonaparte suppressed this infamous tribunal by a decree dated the 4th of December 1808, issued from the palace of the Duque del Infantado at Chamartin, one league from Madrid; and, again, after much discussion, its suppression was decreed by the extraordinary general Cortes, on the 12th of February 1813, as incompatible with the new constitutional monarchy. In December the same year Ferdinand VII. returned to his capital, resuming his absolute sovereignty, dissolving the Cortes, and imprisoning some of its most shining and patriotic members. As early as March 1814 he re-established the tribunal of the Inquisition by royal ordinance; Don Francisco Mier y Campello, Bishop of Almeria, had the doubtful honour of being its forty-fifth inquisitor-general and re-organiser. The Pope, in 1815, by a bull forbade the use of torture in all the tribunals of the Inquisition, and made some useful reforms in the manner of conducting trials. On the return of the Constitutionalists again to power, in 1820, the Cortes induced Ferdinand finally to abolish the obnoxious institution; yet on the restoration of his absolute rule, by the intervention of the French army under the Duc d'Angoulême in 1823, there were not wanting persons of high station to petition for its restoration, though without avail.

Thus the progress and prospects of a purer faith in Spain have varied with the fluctuations of political parties in that long-agitated country, because they who favour, or seem to favour it, are guided less by the perception of the true Christian

doctrine professed by Protestants, than by opposition to the heavy shadow of Rome, enshrouding the whole nation's energies for social progress in almost stagnant darkness. They see, and we now see too, the priestly power, the Jesuits and Rome, united with the reactionary principles of absolutism, although working under the forms of a constitutional government and a liberal party, advocating partial toleration in religion as a means for social progress. Under the reactionary ministry a papal Concordat was signed at Madrid, on the 16th of March 1851 ; its character will be evident by a recapitulation of the first three articles of it.

"Article I. The Roman Catholic Apostolical Religion, which, *to the exclusion of every other form of worship,* continues to be *the sole religion* of the Spanish nation, will FOR EVER be maintained in the dominions of her Catholic Majesty, with all the rights and prerogatives which it ought to enjoy according to the law of God and the sacred canons.

"Article II. Consequently, the system of instruction in the universities, colleges, seminaries, and public or private schools, will be in conformity with the doctrine of the said Catholic religion, and no impediment whatever shall be placed in the way of those bishops and diocesan prelates charged by their office to watch over the purity of the faith and morals, and in the exercise of this office to watch over the religious education of youth in the public schools.

"Article III. Nor shall any impediment be placed in the way of the said prelates and other sacred ministers in the exercise of their functions, nor shall they, under any pretext whatever, be molested in the discharge of their duties : on the contrary, all the authorities shall provide for their protection, and see that due respect and consideration be observed towards them according to divine precept, and that nothing be done causing contempt in any way. Her Majesty and her Royal Government will likewise dispense their powerful patronage and support to the bishops in cases which require it, principally when they have to place themselves in opposition to the malignity of those who try to pervert the minds of the faithful and corrupt their manners, or when they have to prohibit the publication, introduction, and circulation of bad and hurtful books, &c. &c.

(Signed) "JUAN BRUNELLI, Archbishop of Thessalonica.
"MANUAL BERTRAN DE LIS."[1]

The change of Government in 1854 led to the assembly of a constituent Cortes charged with the revision of the fundamental laws, which brought the Concordat and the existing laws respecting the national religion under review. The proposed basis for these was brought into the Cortes as follows: "The nation takes upon itself the obligation to maintain and protect public worship, and the ministers of the Catholic religion, which the Spanish people profess. But no Spaniard or foreigner shall be persecuted by the civil power for his opinions, so long as he does not exhibit them by public acts contrary to the religion" [of the state?] This is far in advance of the first article of the Concordat, and yet it is infinitely below the admission and toleration of the Christian rights of conscience. No less than eleven amendments were successively proposed, most of them for the extension of this small measure of religious freedom ;—the most remarkable was the following: "The nation takes the obligation to maintain and protect public worship and the ministers of the Catholic religion professed by the Spanish people. Yet it will tolerate and respect the form of worship which may be decorously used by any others, without permitting any one to be molested or persecuted on occasion of religion, providing that they also respect the worship of others and do not offend public morals." An animated debate ensued, conducted with much talent and eloquence, and the amendment was negatived by a majority of four only ; the numbers being, for the original proposition, 103, and for the amendment, 99. Finally the proposition, in its original form, was carried by 200 votes to 52, and it constitutes, for the present time at least, the very narrow legal foundation for religious liberty in Spain.

Much interesting and correct information on this subject is contained in the "Memoir of a Mission to Gibraltar and Spain, with Collateral Notices of Events favouring Religious Liberty, and of the Decline of Romish Power in that Country, from the beginning of this Century to the Year 1842. By the Rev. W. H. Rule.

[1] Concordat between the Queen of Spain and the Court of Rome, signed at Madrid, March 16, 1851. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, July 3, 1851.

London, 1844." Mr Rule, who is a Wesleyan minister, during several excursions into Spain was eminently successful in disseminating the knowledge of the truth. The result of his observations is, that the mysteries and mummeries of the Popish Church are giving way before a deeply-seated and widely-spread infidelity. He traces his account down to the year 1844, about the time of the fall of the liberal government under the regency of Espartero. A reactionary government followed, under the direction of Christina the queen-mother and General Narvaez, who used the priests for their own purposes, entering into stricter alliance with Rome, and peculating the public money, until an exasperated people rose and drove out the worthless administration, to be succeeded by a more liberal rule, which, however, has just now been driven from power, and a reactionary policy is again ascendant in that guilty and distracted country.

CORRIGENDA.

[The following corrections have been chiefly suggested by my friendly correspondent Mr Wiffen.]

Preface, page 1, *for* "That work [the Detection, by De Montes] was immediately translated into English," *read*, "into French, Dutch, German, English, and of late years, into Spanish."

Page 62, note, *for* "1517" [given as the date of the translation of the *Enchiridion* of Erasmus into Spanish], *read* "probably 1527."

Page 70, note 3, *for* "His Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans was published in Spanish at Venice in 1556, with a dedication, by his countryman, Juan Perez, to Julia Gonzaga," *read* "His Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans was edited by his countryman, Juan Perez, and published at Venice [Geneva] 1556, with a Dedicatory Epistle from Valdes to Julia Gonzaga." Gerdes may have mistaken the dedication as the editor's, and the address as the author's.

Page 73, note 1, before "The second edition of this work [Valera's *Dos Tratados*] was printed 1599," *read* "The first edition of this work was printed in casa de Arnoldo Hatfeldo, 1588; the second edition," &c. After "1600, 4to," *read*, "and another English translation appeared in 1704, entitled, 'Satyrical Lives of the Popes' in Gavin's 'Key to Popery.'" Both of these writers have given but apocryphal versions of the original. The author states in his Preface that he had merely got a sight of a copy of Valera's work, "now become very rare." A correct and handsome edition of the Spanish was printed a few years ago, with valuable notes.

Page 87, Pedro Gales. The person so called here was Nicolaus Gallasius, or De Gallars, one of the ministers of Geneva. See this corrected by our author himself, at page 174.

Page 92, lines 11 and 15, *for* "Catalonian," *read* "Catalan."

Page 95, line 5, *for* "Oxford," *read* "Cambridge." Peter Martyr and Ochino were sent to Oxford; Bucer and Dryander [F. de Enzinas] to Cambridge.

Page 102, note 3, *for* "It [Constantine's *Suma*] was printed at Antwerp, *without date*," *read*, "It was printed at Sevilla, 1551, and again at Antwerp, 1556." The latter is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and an earlier edition, but imperfect, is in Trinity Library, Dublin.

Page 176, line 5, *for* "It would seem they [the Spanish refugees] met soon after in one of the city churches," *read*, "They met soon after in the ancient church of St Mary Axe, since pulled down." *Documentos Ineditos.* Despatch of the Ambassador Quadra.

Page 178, line 4, *for* "In the year 1568 Corranus came from Antwerp," *read*, "In the year 1567 Corranus came from Antwerp."

Page 178, note 7. Mr Wiffen says that *El Catholico Reformado* was not written by Valera, as stated by Riederer and others, but is *The Reformed Catholic* of William Perkins, translated into Spanish by Guillermo Marsan, Gentil-hombre. Valera only revised it, and prefixed the Address to the Reader. Mr Wiffen considers the statement of Diodati, quoted in the same note, to the effect that no less than three thousand copies of Valera's translation of the Bible had penetrated into Spain, as quite exaggerated.

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